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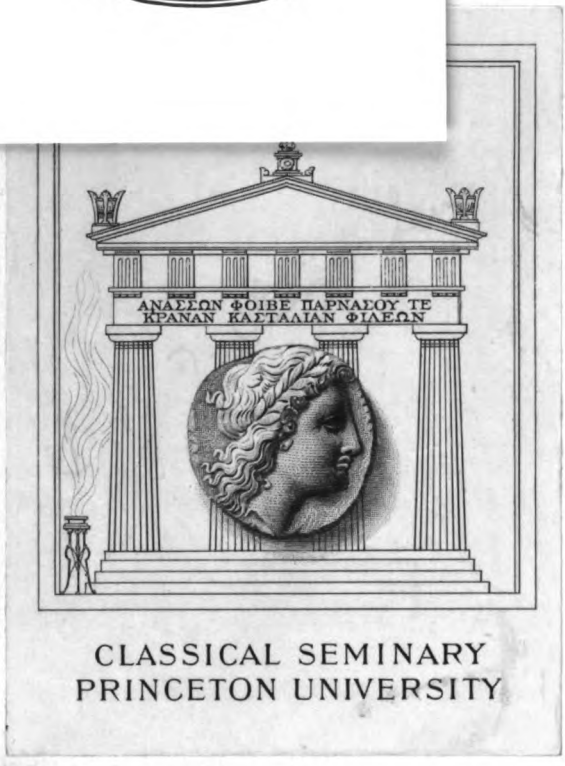
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Classical Philology

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NOTES ON THE DELPHIC ORACLE AND GREEK COLONIZATION

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

Near the beginning of Cicero's treatise *On Divination*, to illustrate the importance attached by different races to various kinds of prophetic power the question is asked, "What colony has Greece sent into Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily, or Italy without an oracle from the Pythia or Dodona or Ammon? Or what war has been undertaken by Greece without the will of the gods?"[1] With this general testimony of Cicero we may compare harmonious statements from other authors. "It was under the lead of Phoebus," says Callimachus, "that men measured out their cities, for Phoebus ever takes pleasure in the establishment of cities, and it is Phoebus himself who contrives their foundations."[2] And the rhetorician Menander[3] asserts that Apollo had colonized the mainland, the sea, Libya, the Hellespont, the East, and all Asia, and says that the earth would have run the risk of being uninhabited had not the oracles of the gods everywhere

[1] *De div.* 1. 3. For the form of expression compare Cic. *De rep.* 2. 9: "Coloniarum vero quae est deducta a Grais in Asiam, Thracam, Italiam, Africam, praeter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non adluat?"

[2] *In Apoll.* 55 ff.; cf. Justin. 8. 2. 11 (of the Athenians): "immemores . . . . quod illo duce [sc. Apolline] tot bella victores inierant, tot urbes auspicato condiderant."

[3] 17 (*Rhet. Gr.* IX, 326, Walz); cf. Aristides. *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237: *πεπύσθαι δέ τινα ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις οἶμαι τὸν περὶ Κυζίκου χρησμὸν καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πόλει, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐξηγητής ἐστι, τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἀρχηγέτης, τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις διὰ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ᾤκισεν οὓς ἀπέστειλεν ἑκαστοχόσε, ταύτης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος αὐτὸς γέγονεν οἰκιστής, κτλ.*

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gone forth, from Delphi and from Miletus.[1] Celsus also, as preserved to us in the pages of Origen,[2] inquires: "How many cities were founded as a result of oracles . . . . and as a result of oracles averted diseases and famine! And how many which neglected or forgot the oracles came to an evil destruction! And how many were sent forth for colonization and after complying with the things enjoined became prosperous!" In reply to which Origen,[3] not refuting the facts for pagan Greece, shows that the words of the Hebrew prophets, when heeded, have been followed by colonizations, cures, and rescues of equal importance, or, when neglected, by similar disasters. In the Scholia Danielis to Virgil's *Aeneid*[4] we find the statement, now grown vaguer through antiquity, that "the ancients used to receive by oracles signs by which they built their towns." Finally, in two other passages similar functions are ascribed to *μαντεῖαι* in general,[5] but possibly with Delphi more or less clearly in mind.

With these general statements, ranging in date from Callimachus to the scholia on the *Aeneid*, have been combined a multitude of concrete cases lying between limits far earlier and later, and on the results have been based the widely divergent views of many scholars, from the enthusiastic acceptance of Grote[6] and Curtius[7] to the critical attitude of Holm,[8] Busolt,[9] Pöhlmann,[10] and Hiller von Gaertringen,[11]

[1] *ὅτι ἐκινδύνευε μὲν ἀνοίκητος εἶναι γῆ πᾶσα, εἰ μὴ τὰ μαντεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ πανταχοῦ δὴ γῆς ἐξεφοίτησε παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐκ Μιλήτου, κτλ.* This fear of leaving a place wild and uninhabited appears a little farther on in the same passage (Wals, p. 328).

[2] *Contra Celsum* 8. 45. [3] *Ibid.*, 8. 46. [4] *Ad Aen.* 3. 88.

[5] Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 9: *ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε μαντείαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλαὶ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων πολλαὶ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν, κτλ.* Ps.-Lucian *De astrolog.* 23: *ἅπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἰδόντες μάλιστα μαντηίῃσιν ἐχρέοντο καὶ οὐ πάρεργον αὐτὴν ἐποιέοντο, ἀλλ' οὔτε πόλιας ᾤκιζον οὔτε τείχεα περιεβάλλοντο οὔτε φόνους ἐργάζοντο οὔτε γυναῖκας ἐγάμεον, πρὶν ἂν δὴ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκοῦσαι ἕκαστα, κτλ.*

[6] *History of Greece*, chap. i: "he [i.e., Apollo] is moreover the guide and stimulus to Grecian colonization, scarcely any colony ever being sent out without encouragement and direction from the oracle at Delphi; Apollo Archêgetês is one of his great surnames."

[7] II, chap. 4 (Eng. tr. [1888] II, 49–50); cf. Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire critique de l'établissement des colonies grecques* (1815), I, 53 ff., whose attitude is reasonably cautious.

[8] *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 278, 293 ff. (Eng. tr., I, 244–45).

[9] *Gr. Gesch.*, I, 678: "Man darf nicht glauben, dass das delphische Heiligtum der hellenischen Kolonisation die Bahnen vorgezeichnet hat."

[10] *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.* (5th ed.), pp. 47, 55 (with notes 3 and 4); n. 4 *fin.*: "Von einer förmlichen Leitung der Kolonisation, wie sie z. B. Curtius annimmt, kann keine Rede sein, da das delphische Orakel erst im 7. Jahrhundert eine panhellenische Bedeutung gewann. Die angeblichen Orakelsprüche, welche die Koloniegründungen auf Delphi zurückführen, sind meist Erfindungen *ex eventu*."

[11] In Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535–36 (*s.v.* "Delphoi").

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or the even more condemnatory silence of Beloch.[1] Upon a subject so often discussed it is unlikely that much new light will be shed; but since I have recently had occasion to collect a considerable number of colonization oracles, I have been tempted to re-examine the question a little in detail.

It should be remembered that the utterances of the Delphic oracle, like some other expressions of divine will, might be profoundly influenced by the wording of the questions submitted to it, as is well shown by Xenophon's famous question of the oracle and the criticism of it by Socrates, as told in the *Anabasis*.[2] Consequently our views of the effect of Delphi upon colonization will be much modified according as we judge whether the oracle was asked by intending colonists where they should settle or merely asked by them to approve their settlement in some locality already selected.

In addition to this double possibility in the form of the questions there is variety in the forms of answers ascribed to the oracle itself. We have, first, direct answers, in which the place to be settled is clearly mentioned by name or described in unmistakable terms. Secondly, there are what may be called conditional answers, in which, usually, no definite locality is named but the colonists are directed to found their town at the place where some particular thing shall occur. A third class may be called ambiguous oracles, in which, with or without conditional elements, the oracle as worded may be understood in more than one sense—sometimes in two widely divergent interpretations. In the past these three groups have not always been carefully differentiated, though it should be clear that arguments applying to one group will not necessarily hold for another.

Let us, then, briefly review the oracles, noting, first, the gods by whom they are given, next, the two types of question, and, thirdly, the three types of answer. We shall then be in a better position to consider the different theories.

1. Cicero, in the passage with which I began,[3] mentions three oracles—Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon—as having actively influenced colonization. The placing of these three on a level is censured by Holm, who says, "Moreover Cicero's words do not bear out the vast importance ascribed to Delphi, as they place it on a level with

[1] In his *Gr. Gesch.*
[2] *Anab.* 3. 1. 5–7.
[3] *De div.* 1. 3.

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Dodona and the Libyan Oasis. If Dodona and Ammon could achieve as much as Delphi, then the achievement was nothing more than a formality."[1] The great majority of the cases I have collected ascribe the oracle to Delphi or to Apollo by name. Not a few refer to *ὁ θεός* as the source,[2] but here, in the absence of qualification, we are probably justified in assuming Apollo of Delphi, the supreme prophetic god, as meant. Oracles of this sort from Dodona are mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[3] in the case of the Pelasgi (who had probably resorted to Dodona as being near where they were staying) and[4] in the case of Aeneas, who consulted it when he landed at Buthrotum, near by. Pausanias[5] and Suidas[6] mention an oracle from Dodona to the Athenians, and Stephanus of Byzantium[7] one to Galeotes and Telmessus. Other sources of such oracles are the Sibyl,[8] Apollo at Miletus (Branchidae),[9] at Clărus,[10] Grynean Apollo,[11] the *Lyciae sortes*,[12] and Apollo at Delos,[13] these three latter instances coming, not from Greek authors, but from chance revivals or possibly inventions in Virgil. A certain prophetess (*fatidica*) is said to have foretold to Evander a place of settlement,[14] and several cases of the foundations of towns are said to have been due to dreams. Thus accounted for are the origins of Alexandria,[15] the later city of Smyrna,[16]

[1] *Gesch. Gr., loc. cit.* I quote from the English translation, I, 244, n. 9.

[2] Hdt. 7. 170; Diod. 4. 29. 1; Dion. Hal. 19. 3. 1; Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 9. 2; Paus. 7. 3. 1; Plut. *Aetia Graeca* 13; 15; *id. De Pyth. orac.* 27; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 848; Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 133; Strab. 6. 262, 278; Zenob. 1. 57; 5. 74; Ephorus ap. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀλιεῖς; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θυάτειρα; *Paroem. Gr.* ii. 370, No. 33; 421, No. 96. Much more vague is the expression: *κατά τι λόγιον ἀποικίαν ἀπέστειλεν*, in Diod. 5. 54. 4; cf. *κατά τι θεοπρόπιον* (Zonar. 7. 1).

[3] 1. 18.

[4] Dion. Hal. i. 51; cf. i. 55, which indicates some doubt as to the source of the oracle about the eating of the tables: *ἦν γάρ τι θέσφατον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μέν τινες λέγουσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ γενόμενον, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ χέρσῳ τῆς Ἰδης, ἔνθα ᾤκει Σίβυλλα ἐπιχωρία νύμφη χρησμῳδός, ἣ αὐτοῖς ἔφρασε πλεῖν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου, κτλ.*

[5] 8. 11. 12.

[6] *S.v.* Ἀννίβας.

[7] *S.v.* Γαλεῶται.

[8] See n. 4, *supra*.

[9] Menand. Rhet. *loc. cit.*

[10] Paus. 7. 5. 3.

[11] Virg. *Aen.* 4. 345.

[12] *Ibid.* 4. 346, 4. 377.

[13] *Ibid.* 3. 85 ff.

[14] Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 273.

[15] Plut. *Alex.* 26; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀλεξάνδρειαι.

[16] Paus. 7. 5. 1–2. For a representation of this scene on a coin of Smyrna see Head, *Historia numorum*, 2d ed., p. 594.

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Laodicea, Nysa, and Antiochia.[1] Of these cases some are perhaps late inventions ascribing to other oracular seats what customarily belonged to Delphi, but besides these enough still remain to indicate that Delphi could hardly claim any exclusive privilege. Aside from Cicero's words I have found no evidence for Ammon, and it is not impossible that Cicero has added its name simply as that of a famous oracle often mentioned in connection with the other two,[2] and to furnish a rhetorical group of three, without any definite knowledge on his part of a tradition linking it with Greek colonization. Its inaccessibility would also have made consultation difficult.

2. As to the types of question asked there is in most cases no evidence. Occasionally there are indications that the oracle was questioned after a site had been selected by the questioners. Thus, according to Thucydides,[3] the Lacedaemonians in 426 B.C. thought that Heraclea Trachinia would be a convenient military stronghold and set out to found a town there. First they consulted the god at Delphi, and when he bade them settle they sent colonists from their own number and from the Perioeci and any other Greeks who wished to go, except Ionians, Achaeans, and certain other races. When Alexander proposed a relocation of the city of Smyrna the inhabitants of the existing city consulted the oracle at Clarus and obtained a favorable reply before complying with his wish.[4] Traditionally of the contrary sort are the cases in which commands for colonization

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἀντιόχεια, Λαοδίκεια.* Such dreams on the part of Aeneas are also related (Diod. 7. 3. 5; *Origo gent. rom.* 12. 5).

[2] Ar. *Aves* 716; Plat. *Legg.* 5. 738*c*; for those mentioned, in addition to others, in stock lists of oracles, see Max. Tyr. 14. 1; 41. 1; Orig. *Contra Celsum.* 7. 3; Athanas. *De incarnat.* 47; cf. F. Jaeger, *De oraculis quid veteres philosophi iudicaverint*, Munich, 1910, p. 22, n. 2. For rhetorical groups of three cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2. 20. 9.

[3] 3. 92. Diodorus (12. 59. 3–5), who gives a somewhat similar account, makes no mention of any consultation of the oracle. So Dorieus, after an initial failure in colonization ascribed to his having omitted to consult the oracle, questions the god *εἰ αἱρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώρην* (Hdt. 5. 42).

[4] Paus. 7. 5. 1–2. Epaminondas, before the foundation of Messene (Paus. 4. 27. 5), having already determined on its site, *ἐκέλευεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν εἰ βουλήσεται ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φαμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἴσια, οὕτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμόν*, κτλ. No weight should be attached to the statement of Diodorus, 8. 29. 1: *ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ καὶ Βάττος κτίσαι βουλόμενος Κυρήνην ἔλαβε χρησμὸν οὕτως*, for not only from this account but also from others (Hdt. 4. 150–56; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27) it seems clear that Battus is not thought of as having previously determined upon a site, but, on the contrary, as having had difficulty in identifying the one prescribed by the oracle.

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are given to those represented as having consulted the oracle about other matters and not having in mind the establishment of colonies. To Heracles after his labors;[1] to Cadmus inquiring about Europa;[2] to Alcmaeon seeking purification after the murder of his mother;[3] to the contemporaries of Orestes inquiring about averting pestilence and sterility of the fields;[4] to the Boeotians in a similar case;[5] to Battus trying to remedy his stammering;[6] to Myscellus asking how to obtain children;[7] and to the Heraclidae[8] and Lacius and Antiphemus[9] inquiring about entirely different matters, came oracles enjoining colonization or change of residence. In other instances the initiative traditionally came from the god.[10] The inquirers are sometimes groups—cities, bands of exiles, families—and often individuals, usually the *οἰκιστής*.[11]

3. The types of answer may next be considered. It must here be recognized that even if one should grant, for the sake of argument, the general authenticity of the answers reported, it must yet be admitted that the accounts of them are constantly incomplete, since

[1] Diod. 4. 29. 1.

[2] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 4. 1; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 494.

[3] Thuc. 2. 102; Paus. 8. 24. 8–9; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 7; 5. 3 ff.; Schol. Lucian *Deorum concil.* 12 (pp. 212–13, Rabe).

[4] Schol. Vat. Eur. *Rhes.* 250.

[5] Justin. 16. 3. 3.

[6] Hdt. 4. 150, 155, and Macan's note on 155; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 10. But J. J. Schubring (*De Cypselo Corinthiorum tyranno*, Göttingen, 1862, pp. 30–31) argues that Aristoteles (which we are told was his real name—Hier. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 1253, calls it Aristeus) took the title of Battus (the Libyan word for "king"), and that to explain its likeness to the Greek word for "stammerer" the oracle was invented. In this suggestion Schubring is followed by Studniczka, *Kyrene*, pp. 96–97. A reference in Heracl. Pontic. *De rebus publ.* 4. 1 (*FHG*, II, 212) should also be cited here.

[7] Diod. 8. 17.

[8] Isocr. *Archidamus* 17: *ὁ δὲ θεὸς περὶ μὲν ὧν ἐπηρώτησαν οὐκ ἀπεῖλεν, ἐκέλευε δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἰέναι χώραν.*

[9] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέλα.

[10] Cf. Hdt. 7. 170. In the case of Myscellus (Diod. 8. 17; Strabo 6. 262), when the oracle had bidden him found Croton, he, admiring the region of Sybaris, preferred to build there instead, and it was necessary for the god to reprove him in a second oracle.

[11] Cf. Aristides *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237. In an important inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander both the colonists and the oecist make separate inquiries of the god. See O. Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*. The inscription is also found in Kern's *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, No. 17; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, No. 855.

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only such parts of the tradition are cited as suit the immediate purpose of the writer who happens to preserve them. For various reasons it is unsafe to lay any especial weight upon those given to us in ostensibly the original words of the oracle. Yet taking the answers as they stand, under those which may be classed as direct[1] there are varying degrees of vagueness, from the ones which name only a continent[2] or country,[3] those which name but do not otherwise describe the future city,[4] those which give an additional characterization of its site by naming the river upon which it is to be built,[5] an island or other natural feature,[6] or a somewhat limited area in which it is to be situated,[7] to the dream of Alexander instructing him to build on the spot where he was then sleeping.[8]

[1] Occasionally an answer which is mainly direct may contain additional confirmatory conditional elements, as that to the Chalcidians (Diod. 8. 23. 2), in which the Apsia River is definitely mentioned, and the additional instruction is given:

ἔνθ' εἰσω βάλλοντι τὸν ἄρσενα θῆλυς ὀπυίει
ἔνθα πόλιν οἰκίζε, κτλ.

οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀψίαν ποταμὸν εὑρόντες ἄμπελον περιπεπλεγμένην ἐρινεῷ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀρσενόθηλυν ἔκτισαν πόλιν. Cf. the founding of Tarentum (Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4) and of Edessa (Justin. 7. 1. 7).

[2] One version of the founding of Cyrene (Heracl. Pont. *loc. cit.*) mentions only Libya as the destination of the colony; so even Hdt. 4. 150–51, in part of his account. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff., and Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27, for the perplexity of Battus in determining the site to which he was sent. But see also Schubring, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6, for the improbability that the people of Thera should not have known of Libya.

[3] E.g., Italy (Virg. *Aen.* 4. 345).

[4] So Tabae in Lydia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), and the accounts of Diodorus of the founding of Cyrene (8. 29. 1) and Croton (8. 17); cf. Strabo 6. 262, 269. In Strabo 6. 257, Messenian exiles are told to settle with the Chalcidians in Rhegium (cf. Timaeus in *FHG*, I, 206–7, Nos. 64–65.) The resettlement of Troy is definitely directed (Schol. Vat. Eur. *Rhes.* 250).

[5] Gela (Diod. 8. 23. 1); Tarentum (Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4); Laurentum (Zonar. 7. 1); the settlement on the Apsia (Diod. 8. 23. 2); the new site of Smyrna (Paus. 7. 5. 3).

[6] A mountain, in the Magnesia inscription, cited in p. 6, n. 11, *supra;* a floating island (Dion. Hal. 1. 18; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβοριγῖνες); Ortygia and Arethusa (Paus. 5. 7. 3); geographical features of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βυζάντιον). This oracle is not entirely clear and it is noteworthy that its third verse, as quoted by Stephanus, appears, very slightly altered, as the fourth verse of a somewhat similar foundation oracle for New Rome (Constantinople) in *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115; cf. G. Wolff, *De novissima oraculorum aetate*, pp. 3–4. Cf. Strabo 3. 169–70, for the colonization of Gades ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας, and the uncertainty as to where that might be; finally, for a tree growing out of the grave of Idmon cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 848.

[7] Cyprian Salamis (Eur. *Hel.* 148 ff.); Tarentum (Antiochus ap. Strabo 6. 279 and Diod. 8. 21. 3).

[8] Paus. 7. 5. 2. Upon the exact words of the Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 273 (. . . ."fatidica quae praedixisset Evandro his eum locis oportere considere") no stress should be laid.

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Among conditional answers one is struck by the large number in which the condition is dependent upon the appearance or action of some animal or plant. Of such the story of Cadmus and the cow,[1] whose sinking down in weariness denoted the place for the founding of Thebes, is the most famous and possibly suggested several others.[2] We find a sow,[3] a wild boar,[4] wolves,[5] foxes,[6] deer,[7] goats,[8] mice,[9] an eagle,[10] white crows,[11] and a lark[12] among the animals appearing in such replies. As an instance of a plant may be cited the wild olive growing on the grave of Idmon, mentioned by the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius.[13] But of more interest is a group of cases in which

[1] Eur. *Phoen.* 638 ff.; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1180 ff.; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 494; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 4. 1; Hygin. 178; Ov. *Met.* 3. 6 ff.; Plut. *Sulla* 17; Paus. 9. 12. 1 (where the cow is described in some detail); Serv. *Aen.* 3. 88; Nonnus *Dionys.* 4. 289 ff.

[2] Ilium (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 12. 3. 1–2: *ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν αὐτὴ* (the cow) *κλιθῇ τόπῳ*), and Buthrotum (Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 293: "in eo loco ubi bos cecidit"); cf. Steph. Byz. and *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* Βουθρωτός); also *Paroem. Gr.*, II, 370, No. 33.

[3] Diod. 7. 3. 4: *τετράπουν αὐτῷ καθηγήσασθαι πρὸς κτίσιν πόλεως*; Dion. Hal. 1. 55: *ἡγεμόνα τετράποδα ποιησαμένους, ὅπου ἂν κάμῃ τὸ ζῷον*; Serv. *Aen.* 3. 390: "ubi sus illa post fugam fuisset inventa."

[4] Athen. 8. 361: *ᾗ ἂν ἰχθὺς δείξῃ καὶ ὗς ἄγριος ὑφηγήσηται.*

[5] Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 2: *ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπὸ ζῴων ἀγρίων ξενισθῇ*, where the sequel shows the wild beasts to be wolves.

[6] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀλωπεκόννησος: *ἔνθα ἂν σκύλακας ἴδωσιν ἀλώπεκος.*

[7] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θυάτειρα: *οὗ ἂν ὀραθείη ἔλαφος τετοξευμένη καὶ τροχάζουσα*; *ibid. s.v.* Βυζάντιον: *ἔνθ' ἰχθὺς ἔλαφός τε νομὸν βόσκουσι τὸν αὐτόν.* Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115: *ἔνθ' ἰχθὺς ἔλαφός τε νομὸν βόσκονται ἐς αὐτόν.*

[8] Solinus 9. 12; Justin. 7. 1. 7: "iussus erat ducibus capris imperium quaerere"; Porphyr. Tyrius (*FHG*, III, 690) mentions merely the oracular command to settle.

[9] Strabo 13. 604: *ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται* (cf. Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 108: "ubi noctu a terrigenis oppugnatus esset"); Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 42 (*FHG*, II, 224), of a mouse, *οὗ ὀφθέντος πόλιν κατὰ χρησμὸν ἔκτισαν.*

[10] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γαλεῶται: *ὅπου τε ἂν αὐτῶν θυομένων δεττὸς ἁρπάσῃ τὰ μηρία.*

[11] Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 133: *ἔνθα ἂν ἴδωσι λευκὸν κόρακα*; cf. Eustath. ad Hom. *Od.* 13. 408 (p. 1746, 61 ff.); Athen. 8. 361; Zenob. 3. 87 (*Paroem. Gr.*, I, 78); Apostol. 7. 96 (*Paroem. Gr.*, II, 421); Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros;* Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 189. It should be noted, however, that this oracle indicates, not the place to settle, but the time to emigrate.

[12] Paus. 4. 34. 8: *κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος . . . . ἡγήσασθαι.* An undescribed bird is mentioned in the Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 242: "eo loco . . . . quo sagittis avem petisset." For the whole subject of animals as guides to a new home, see the important note of Frazer on Paus. 10. 6. 2, and, for ominous animals in general, L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1888.

[13] 2. 848; cf. p. 7, n. 6.

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there is an ambiguity between plant and animal life. The two most famous cases are those of the Ozolian Locrians and the city of Rhegium. Locrus was warned to settle, according to Plutarch[1] and Athenaeus,[2] wherever he should be bitten by a wooden dog (*ξυλίνης κυνός*). The solution of this puzzle was his being pricked by a briar (*κυνόσβατος*) and settling at the place where it occurred. The Chalcidians who found Rhegium are to establish their town where the male shall be discovered married to the female.[3] The answer comes when they find a vine twining around a wild fig tree. And for Tarentum a similar oracle is related.[4] Other conditional answers are that concerning the eating of tables by the Trojans,[5] and those in regard to Thurii,[6] Vienne,[7] Buneima,[8] and various other towns.[9] The conditional oracle described by Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* *Ἰδάλιον*) is plainly aetiological, for it commands the founder of Idalium to settle *ὅπου ἴδοι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα*. One of the company at the proper time exclaims *εἶδον, βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἥλιον*, and the town receives its name from this fact. Aetiological are also the oracles

[1] *Aetia Graeca* 15.

[2] 2. 70c.

[3] Diod. 8. 23. 2; Dion. Hal. 19. 2. 1; Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 25. 3 (*FHG*, II, 219). Compare the frequent poetic use of this figure, as in Hor. *Epod.* 2. 10.

[4] Dion. Hal. 19. 1. 4: *ἔνθ' <ἂν> ἴδωσι τράγον τῇ θαλάττῃ τέγγοντα τὸν γένειον.* The fulfilment follows: *κατά τινος ἐρινεοῦ πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης πεφυκότος ἄμπελον ἐθεάσαντο κατακεχυμένην, ἐξ ἧς τῶν ἐπιτράγων* (shoots) *τις καθειμένος ἥπτετο τῆς θαλάττης.* Cf. Diod. 8. 21. 3, citing the verses, and contrast p. 10, n. 6.

[5] Virg. *Aen.* 3. 253 ff.; 7. 107 ff.; Dion. Hal. 1. 55; Strabo 13. 608; *Origo gent. Rom.* 12. 3; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1250 and schol.

[6] Diod. 12. 10. 5–6: *ὅπου μέλλουσιν οἰκεῖν μέτριον ὕδωρ πίνοντες, ἀμετρὶ δὲ μᾶζαν ἔδοντες.* They find a *κρήνην ὀνομαζομένην Θουρίαν, ἔχουσαν αὐλὸν χαλκοῦν ὃν ἐκάλουν οἱ ἐγχώριοι μέδιμνον.* Cf. Zenob. 5. 19 (*Paroem. Gr.*, I, 123) where the preferable reading *μέτρῳ ὕδωρ πίνοντες* appears.

[7] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Βίεννος* : *ὅπου ἑλωδέστατον τόπον θεάσονται κατοικῆσαι.*

[8] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Βούνειμα* : *ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρας οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν.*

[9] Athen. 3. 96*d*, *e*: *ἔνθα ἂν ξενίοις πρῶτον τιμηθῇ, τοὺς πόδας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ παραθέντων*, which happened at Eleusis; Dion. Hal. 19. 3. 1–2; *γῆν δὲ οἰκίζειν εἰς ἣν ἂν καταχθέντες ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα μείνωσι.* This the colonists themselves arrange shall be in the territory of Tarentum. Strabo 4. 179: *ἡγεμόνι χρήσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος λαβοῦσι.* A dream further explains that they are to take *ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν.* Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* *Ἄβαρα*, *Ἀλιεῖς*; *id. s.v.* *Γέλα* (quoting Aristaenetus) speaks of two brothers who are bidden to go *πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου* and *ἐφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν.*

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dealing with Argilus in Thrace,[1] Buthrotum,[2] Halieis,[3] Alopeconnesus,[3] Thyatira,[3] Auara,[3] and Aegae.[4]

Among ambiguous answers may be included those requiring explanation before they can be used, and susceptible of more than one interpretation. This class was even in antiquity responsible for not a little of the adverse criticism of the oracles, as may be seen in an important section of Cicero's treatise *De Divinatione*,[5] and is a class noteworthy rather for the cleverness of its logical puzzles than for the frequency of its cases. Thus we find the oracle to Phalanthus[6] to found his city where he should see rain from a clear sky (*ὑπὸ αἴθρᾳ*), which is fulfilled at Tarentum by a flood of tears from his wife, whose name was Aethra. According to Pausanias[7] the Sicilian expedition was due to an oracle from Dodona bidding the Athenians colonize "Sicelia," which they wrongly understood as the island rather than a ridge of that name near Athens. The conditional oracles which I have enumerated in which there is a confusion in form and interpretation between the animal and vegetable kingdoms are, of course, related to this group. And there are also some cases where understanding is rendered difficult, not by equivocation, but by obscurity of language, such as that in which the Heraclidae are advised to return to their ancestral land,[8] doubtful advice because of the uncertainty as to what land is to be so considered.[9] Alcmaeon,

[1] Heracl. Pont. *De rebus pub.* 42 (*FHG*, II, 224).

[2] Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 293; Steph. Byz. and *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* Βουθρωτός.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

[4] Solinus 9. 12; cf. the story of the oracle about Gela (*Etym. Mag. s.v.*), though here the aetiological element lies in the rest of the story rather than in the words of the oracle itself, and is absent from the account as given in Diod. 8. 23. 1, and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* For an etymological explanation of the Battus legend see p. 6, n. 6. And in speaking of the conditional group in general I should mention a comparison suggested to me by Professor Campbell Bonner, namely, the passage in the *Odyssey* (11. 126 ff.) in which Teiresias directs Odysseus to perform certain sacrifices at a place to be identified in a manner quite characteristic of this conditional type.

[5] 2. 115–16.

[6] Paus. 10. 10. 6–8. And yet compare the very different oracle (due to a different tradition) given in the reference cited in p. 9, n. 4. Such inconsistencies as this have a force, not always easily measured, but cumulatively considerable, in weakening our acceptance of the oracular tradition.

[7] 8. 11. 12; Suid. *s.v.* Ἀννίβας.

[8] Isocr. *Archid.* 17 ff. Is the oracle in Virg. *Aen.* 3. 94–96, perhaps influenced by this story?

[9] *Ἄργος μὲν κατ' ἀγχιστείαν . . . . Λακεδαίμονα δὲ κατὰ δόσιν . . . . Μεσσήνην δὲ δοριάλωτον λῆψθεῖσαν*; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 65–68.

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too, was puzzled by the command to colonize a land which had not been seen by the sun and had not even been land at the time of his murder of his mother, until he discovered this place in the Echinades Islands which had recently risen from the sea.[1] The famous oracle in regard to Byzantium,[2] urging settlement opposite the city of the blind, appears, however, to have caused no doubt in the minds of its recipients, and additional indication of its late adaptation as an oracle comes from the ascription of the remark by Herodotus[3] to Megabazus the Persian.

If we look at the oracles preserved ostensibly in their original form, neglecting such labored revivals or archaizings as those dealing with Smyrna, Laodicea, and Constantinople,[4] and those about Dardanus,[5] and the Pelasgi,[6] we shall find that a considerable number are concerned with the colonies in Magna Graecia[7] and Sicily,[8] doubtless being derived from the histories of Antiochus of Syracuse and of Timaeus.[9] The others which I have gathered are those for Byzantium,[10] Magnesia,[11] Tabae in Lydia,[12] and Cyrene.[13]

One other kind of evidence must be noted, namely the indirect testimony regarding Delphi as a guide of colonization which is found

[1] See p. 6, n. 3.

[2] Strabo 7. 320; Tac. *Ann.* 12. 63; other references cited by J. Miller in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie, s.v.* "Byzantium." Plin. *N.H.* 5. 149 mentions Chalcedon as sometimes called *Caecorum oppidum.*

[3] 4. 144, and see the note of Macan, who remarks that "one cannot suppose that Hdt. would have transferred an immortal witticism from the god to a barbarian."

[4] Smyrna: Paus. 7. 5. 1–3; Laodicea: Steph. Byz. *s.v.*; Constantinople: *Anth. Pal.* 14. 115.

[5] Dion. Hal. 1. 68.

[6] *Ibid.* 1. 18; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβοριγῖνες.

[7] Croton: Diod. 8. 17; Zenob. 3. 42; Suid. *s.v.* Ἀρχίας. Apsia: Diod. 8. 23. 2; Tarentum: see p. 9, n. 4, and p. 10, n. 6.

[8] Gela: Diod. 8. 23. 1; Syracuse: Paus. 5. 7. 3; cf. Suid. *s.v.* Ἀρχίας.

[9] E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285; cf. p. 14, n. 3.

[10] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βυζάντιον.

[11] See p. 6, n. 11.

[12] Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

[13] Hdt. 4. 150 ff.; Diod. 8. 29. 1; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 10*a*. Against the genuineness of this tradition see p. 6, n. 6, and p. 7, n. 2. Yet F. Benedict, *De oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, who arranges very clearly the successive oracles dealing with the foundation of Cyrene, believes that the second (bidding the Therans to colonize Libya) may really have been given. The oracle dealing with Tegea (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) should hardly be classed with colonization oracles.

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in numerous inscriptions and other references[1] to Apollo with the title Archegetes and similar epithets.[2] These are in some instances found for towns for which there is literary tradition of a colonization oracle, as well as for many in which such literary data are lacking. In addition, beyond the statements which we can control, it may be supposed that some of the numerous cities named for Apollo[3] and the temples in which he appears without an epithet or with some other epithet than those here noted bear testimony to this same theory of his influence on colonization.[4]

Having reviewed the evidence, let us pass to a consideration of its meaning. The three main questions which occur to the mind are these: (*a*) Are any of the oracles preserved to us authentic, i.e., actually given to colonists before their emigration? (*b*) If not, is there any proof that the Delphic oracle really influenced colonization, and in what way did it do so? (*c*) To what motives may be ascribed the manufacture of oracles, if we should find any of such a kind?

a) We must at the outset adopt the only rational view, that, barring the negligible element of chance coincidences, those oracles in which historic facts are foretold with exactness and detail are to

[1] S. P. Lampros, *De conditorum coloniarum Graecarum indole praemiisque et honoribus*, Leipzig, 1873, 11 ff.; Farnell, *Greek Cults*, IV, 374 ff. And cf. the passage quoted in p. 1, n. 3. Of inscriptional and numismatic material there is much, which need not be repeated, from the collections of Lampros and Farnell. It concerns the following cities (F = Farnell, Vol. IV; L = Lampros): Aegina, F. 367, n. 34*d*; Alaesa, F. 375, n. 69; Apollonia (Epirus), F. 375, n. 74*a*; Attaleia, F. 375, n. 65; Calymna, F. 375, n. 70; Cyrene, Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 56 ff.; F. 375, n. 74*c*; Cyzicus, Aristides *Paneg. in Cyzico* 237; F. 375, n. 67*a*; Enna, L. 14, n. 3; Erythrae, F. 375, n. 65; Halicarnassus, F. 375, n. 68; Hierapolis (Phrygia), F. 375, n. 66; Ilium, F. 374, n. 63; Lycia, F. 375, n. 71; Megara, F. 374, n. 64; Naxos, Thuc. 6. 3. 1; Appian 5. 109; F. 375, n. 69; Rhegium, L. 13, n. 2; South Russia, F. 375, n. 72; Talmis (Nubia), L. 16, n. 5; Tauromenium, F. 375, n. 69; Telmessus, F. 375, n. 67; Thurii, F. 375, n. 74*b*. For certain other more indirect evidences see Lampros, pp. 16–20.

[2] The epithets of Apollo in these passages are: ἀρχηγέτης, ἀρχηγός, δωματίτης, ἡγεμών, κτίστης, οἰκιστής, προηγέτης, προκαθηγεμών. Should the passage in Plutarch *De Pyth. orac.* 16 be referred here? Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον [*sc.* ἐπαινῶ] Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Μάγνητας, ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησαμένους τὸν θεόν, ὡς καρπῶν δοτῆρα καὶ πατρῷον καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, κτλ.; cf. Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, I, Sp. 2826 *init.* (*s.v.* Ἀποικία).

[3] Roscher, *Lexicon*, I, 441, thinks that some of the twenty-five Apollonias mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium were probably named for this reason.

[4] Compare also the tithes (χρυσοῦν θέρος) sent by certain cities to Delphi (Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 133–34; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX [1895], 182, and n. 2; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 16).

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be considered as composed after the events which they predict.[1] By this principle the large class of conditional oracles must be rejected, since the movements of animals and the growth of plants could obviously not be foretold. Incidentally, such oracles fail to give directions sufficiently definite to admit of application.[2] Had any considerable number of conditional answers ever been given, the reputation of the oracle as a helpful and practical agency would have been very effectually ruined. Even in their most unsophisticated days, in matters of such importance, men could hardly have been expected to turn to Delphi unless from past experience they had gained the expectation of real assistance there. The ambiguous oracles are perhaps a trifle less open to question, at least in cases where they contain no conditional element, yet even of the few of these known to us almost none is free from suspicion. Those to the Heraclidae and to Alcmaeon fall in the realm of the mythical or legendary; that about Byzantium was originally a mere human remark;[3] the "rain from a clear sky" has a distinct conditional element; and the colonization of "Sicily"[4] appears suspiciously like a companion piece invented by some one to match the account of the death of Hannibal on "Libyan" soil, which is narrated in close connection with it. Of the plain answers, on the other hand, freed from conditional elements, and excluding late revivals in Virgil[5] and the *Palatine Anthology*[6] and such mythical cases as that of the Cyprian Salamis,[7] there seems to be a residuum which it might have fallen within the physical power of the oracle to declare.[8] To direct an

[1] Hendess, *Untersuchungen über die Echtheit einiger delphischer Orakel*, Guben, 1882, p. 1.

[2] Seldom, moreover, do they reveal that remarkable acquaintance with foreign lands that some modern writers have ascribed to the Pythian priesthood. Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 27, speaks of the difficulties connected with oracles in general: *τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε πολλὴν ἕδει μνήμην παρεῖναι. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τόπων σημεῖα καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἡρώων ἀπόρρητοι θῆκαι καὶ δυσεξεύρετοι μακρὰν ἀπαίρουσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

[3] See p. 11, n. 3.

[4] See p. 10, n. 7.

[5] See p. 7, n. 3.

[6] See p. 7, n. 6.

[7] See p. 7, n. 7.

[8] Even here we must note the warning of E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285, note: "Alle Orakel sind von der sehr begreiflichen, aber historisch absurden Anschauung beherrscht, dass der Gott dem ahnungslosen Oekisten befiehlt, nach der Stelle zu ziehn, wo er und seine Nachkommen prosperiren werden." The

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emigrant to a definite place, without predicting, in any very explicit way, what would befall him when he reached it, surely required a well-informed rather than a superhumanly wise intelligence.[1] This is not to assert that the oracles ostensibly preserved to us in meter[2] are authentic in form, for that they are largely later inventions is so generally agreed[3] as to need no especial discussion.[4] Yet that there should have been so large a fabrication without some historic basis seems improbable, especially in view of the additional evidence from the widespread traditions I have mentioned in regard to Apollo Archegetes. Finally, Thucydides is witness to the historic fact of the consultation of the oracle by the Spartans at the founding of the Trachinian Heraclea in 426 B.C.[5]

b) The explanation of these facts must be sought, I believe, as others have sought it, along the line of the confirmatory oracle. That

view of F. Benedict, *De oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, p. 37, is that most oracles about foundations are spurious, either containing prodigies by which the place is to be recognized or a description of the place so exact as to be clearly referable to the period after the place had been settled. "Genuina eiusmodi oracula ea tantum haberi possunt, quibus deus nihil iubet nisi urbem certo quodam loco condi fortasse nomine quoque addito, quod coloniae imponatur." Cf. p. 39, and pp. 37–39, for the oracles he considers as genuine, as having a genuine base later reworked, or as false.

[1] Even in this class there are, of course, suspicious oracles, to be rejected. Such are probably the antithetical pairs promising health and wealth to the settlers of Croton and Syracuse respectively (Strabo 6. 269; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Συράκουσαι; Suid. *s.v.* Ἀρχίας) and simultaneously sending the founders of Gela and Telmessus to the sun's rising and setting (Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Γέλα, Γαλεῶται. The *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* Γέλα, gives only one half of this pair.).

[2] See p. 11, nn. 5–13.

[3] E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II (1893), sec. 285: "Früh sind daher Orakelsprüche in Umlauf gekommen, welche den Oekisten gegeben sein sollen; Herodot und Antiochos von Syracus haben viele von ihnen bewahrt, ihnen folgt namentlich Timaeos (bei Diodor zum Theil erhalten), während Ephoros mit besserem geschichtlichen Verständniss sie meist bei Seite liess. Historisch ist keins dieser Orakel; vielfach sind sie aus den späteren Schicksalen der Colonie zurecht gemacht." Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 47; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2d ed., I, 677; Holm, *Gesch. Gr.*, chap. 19, sec. 9 (Eng. tr., I, 245); Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 190 ff.

[4] Doubts as to the authenticity of extant oracles on stylistic and other grounds began as early as antiquity. Cf. Cic. *De div.* 2. 116; Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 5 f. Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XXX, 192), speaking of the inscription from Magnesia, says, "Orakel zu verfertigen war leichter für einen magnetischen Localantiquar als dorisch zu schreiben." The date of this inscription is about 200 B.C., and the date of the oracular verses it contains only a little older (Wilamowitz, p. 194). And see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 98, against the genuineness of the Battus oracles.

[5] 3. 92.

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the consultation of Delphi was not a merely gratuitous act but rather a formal or conventional rite is well indicated by Herodotus,[1] who censures the neglect of Dorieus to consult Delphi as to where he should go, or to do any of the other customary things, and a little later indicates that his disobedience to a subsequent oracle led to his failure and death. Now, that the oracle should have been consulted, perhaps regularly, for the purpose of obtaining favorable predictions or a blessing before the founding of a colony, as before any other act of importance, is both easily credible and highly probable, and bears some resemblance to traditional customs in Italy.[2] That the approval of the god may have been sought not only for the place of settlement but also for the person of the founder is shown by an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander[3] describing the founding of that town, although generally the founder was apparently already chosen (sometimes self-chosen) and is often spoken of as the one who consults the oracle.[4] Those who came to Delphi for advice

[1] 5. 42 f.: ὁ Δωριεὺς . . . . αἰτήσας λαὸν Σπαρτιήτας ἄγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἔῃ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων. It is by no means clear that Plato (*Legg.* 6. 759*c*; 828*a*) includes the foundation of colonies as an event in which the oracle should intervene, but the approval of the colony's laws and the regulation of some of its religious ceremonies was to be derived thence.

[2] Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire de l'établissement des colonies grecques*, I, 54; Cic. *Phil.* 2. 40. But the divination in Italy is usually employed immediately before the founding of the town, rather than at so long an interval in advance.

[3] Cited in p. 6, n. 11. The relevant part follows: ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καθηγησόμενος ἡμῖν καὶ πόθεν, ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν·—

Ἔστι τις ἐν τεμένει Γλαύκου γένος ἄλκιμος ἀνήρ
ὃς γ' ὑμῖν πρώτιστα ἐπιέξεται ἀντιβολήσας
νηὸν ἐμὸν προλιποῦσι· τὸ γὰρ πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.
οὗτος καὶ δείξει χέρσου πολύπυρον ἄρουραν.

They apply to Leucippus, and he consults the god on his own behalf and obtains this reply:

στέλλ' ἐπὶ Παμφύλων κόλπον, Λεύκιππε, φέροπλον
λαὸν ἄγων Μάγνητα ὁμοσύγγονον, ὡς ἂν Ἱκεται
Θώρηκος σκόπελον καὶ Ἀμανθίου αἰπὺ ῥέεθρον
καὶ Μυκάλης ὄρος αἰπὺ ἀπεναντίον Ἐνδυμίωνος
ἔνθα δὲ Μανδρολύτου δόμον ὄλβιοι οἰκήσουσιν
Μάγνητες πολίεσσιν περικτιόνεσσιν ἀγητοί.

I have quoted these lines (without noting slight restorations) as being our most important single bit of epigraphical evidence bearing upon the subject under discussion. For the relation of the Magnesians to Delphi cf. also Athen., p. 173. That the epithet "Agyieus," or "god of ways," may have contributed to the consultation of Apollo by those intending to colonize, as Farnell (*Greek Cults*, IV, 202) suggests, appears to me unlikely, since this epithet belongs to him rather as god of streets.

[4] Cf. Oehler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, I, Sp. 2825, *s.v.* Ἀποικία.

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found there priests who, by reason of conversations with the visitors to the shrine, were no doubt rather well informed as to conditions—geographical, social, political, and commercial—in various parts of the Mediterranean world, and in a position to impart not a little intelligence of value. But here the zeal of some scholars has perhaps led them too far, as in the case of Curtius,[1] who says:

> The topographical knowledge of the priests was so accurate that they were always able to ascribe the ill-success of a colony, for which it was endeavored to make them responsible, to a misunderstanding or disobedience of the divine words. . . . . It cannot have been but that in the plans of the oracle all shipping news was very accurately preserved in writing, that the results of all new voyages were placed side by side, and that it was endeavored by means of maps of the different countries to understand the situation of the coast-lines already occupied, as well as of those still vacant and suited for settlements. Such attempts had been frequently made at the priestly centers of ancient geographical knowledge, before at Miletus the art of chartography was developed, and Anaximander introduced tabular maps of the earth into the circle of physical science.

This view of the systematic gathering of news and of Delphi as a "well-trained emigration agency,"[2] has, however, been much qualified by later scholars.[3] Evelyn Abbott[4] imagines the probable care of the priests in concealing the sources of their knowledge—

> as by this means the possession of it became the more surprising. Great indeed must have been the astonishment of the wandering mariner when he discovered that his divine guide was acquainted with the local peculiarities of the place selected for the colony to a degree which required a personal knowledge of the country.

But may we not perhaps reply that to the believing consultant the divine omniscience would have been hardly surprising, while the unbeliever (had there been such) would either not have consulted the oracle at all, or, if he had, would have directed his wonder toward the human mouthpieces of the divinity? Nor does Abbott sufficiently emphasize the fact that the oracles which might have been

[1] *History of Greece*, II, chap. 4 (Eng. tr. II, 49–50). And Bouché-Leclercq (*Histoire de la divination*, III, 132) speaks in similar words.

[2] C. W. C. Oman, *Hist. of Greece*, 5th ed., pp. 92–93.

[3] Notably Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, 2d ed., I, 678, and n. 2 (where a good bibliography is given); Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 55, n. 4; Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535, *s.v.* "Delphoi."

[4] *Hist. of Greece*, I, 362.

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given in advance, namely, the plain and direct answers, do not, so far as we can control them, seem to presuppose any superhuman intelligence, while those in which there appears some remarkable coincidence or unusual local knowledge are by that very fact exposed to the rationalizing suspicion of being oracles after the event.

Another element affecting the case is the theory that the oracles more or less frankly confirmatory were not merely intended to guide the settler but also to act as a sort of charter or deed to the land occupied. This view is well set forth by Holm,[1] who remarks that the oracle taken by a colonizing expedition "legitimized the undertaking and gave it a privileged position as regards others—always subject, however, to the proviso that the true meaning of the oracle was discovered." And Holm further compares the pronouncements of Pope Alexander VI legalizing the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. That colonists settling in lands already partly occupied (as in Magna Graecia) sometimes found difficulty in maintaining their position there is little doubt,[2] and at least one ancient account, though dealing with facts of rather shadowy historical character, yet seems to reflect this feeling, when Dionysius of Halicarnassus[3] represents the Aborigines as permitting the settlement of the Pelasgians only after they had learned of the oracle to the latter people bidding them to settle in a certain definite place. That the Spartans within historic times used or tried to use this legalizing character of the oracle to strengthen their claims to disputed land in Greece itself appears probable from several passages.[4] Abbott suggests[5] that "the priests at Delphi claimed a right of possession in the whole world beyond the limits of Hellas. In their eyes property did not exist, except among the Greeks." For this view he offers no evidence, and the appearance of the word δίδωμι in some of the extant oracles[6] is perhaps hardly more than a form, occurring in other kinds of oracles also.[7] Yet even

[1] *Gr. Gesch.*, chap. 19 (Eng. tr., I, 245, n. 9).

[2] G. Diesterweg, *De iure coloniarum Graecarum*, Berlin, 1865, p. 10.

[3] 1. 20. Perhaps compare also the first part of the Magnesia inscription.

[4] E.g., Isocr. *Archid.* 17 ff.; Hdt. 1. 66; Thuc. 3. 92; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τεγέα. And cf. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2535, *s.v.* "Delphoi," for the attempts to control the oracle as evidence of its influence.

[5] *Hist. of Greece*, I, 361.

[6] Hdt. 1. 66; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τεγέα; Diod. 8. 23. 2; Strabo 6. 279.

[7] Cf. Hendess, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

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with considerable qualification of Abbott's statement it is not hard to recognize the importance of such legitimizing power. It may be remarked in passing that for purposes of legitimization an oracle which clearly named and described the promised land would be of greater value—because bringing greater conviction—than one which did not, just as with deeds of property at the present day; while an ambiguous one, on account of the doubt as to its proper fulfilment, and a conditional one, because of the vague, transitory, or sometimes deliberately creatable character of its fulfilment, would have carried the least permanent conviction to hostile previous occupants of the soil. Of the oracles preserved ostensibly in their original form (i.e., in meter) I have found none entirely free from any mention of geographical features; that is, purely conditional.

In addition to the desire for good omens and the desire for legitimization a third motive may well have led to the consultation of oracles, namely, the wish to secure instructions as to the introduction of forms of worship into the new colony[1] and to obtain the religious advice and interest of the priests of one of the most powerful and centralized Hellenic cults and the protection of its deity. That definite inquiry about such matters was thought of as forming a regular part of the consultation by intending colonists is indicated by Dionysius.[2] To a new state, without history and traditions gained from its own soil, either religious or political, the connection, through the worship of Apollo Archegetes or of other gods prescribed by the Pythia,[3] with the ceremonial and mythological wealth of Hellas itself could hardly fail to be stimulating. And from the viewpoint of the oracle itself the political opportunities[4] offered for keep-

[1] Plat. *Legg.* 6. 759*c*; 8. 828*a*. A little of such advice is given in the traditional oracle to Dardanus (Dion. Hal. 1. 68):

> *εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίζησθα θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ*
> *θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε*
> *ἔστ' ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνὰ καθ' ὑμετέρην χθόνα μίμνῃ*
> *δῶρα Διὸς κούρης ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἡ δὲ πόλις σοι*
> *ἔσται ἀπόρθητος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἤματα πάντα.*

[2] 1. 68: *διαμαντευόμενον δὲ* [*sc.* *τὸν Δάρδανον*] *περὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τά τε ἄλλα μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς φυλακῆς τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν λαβεῖν*, κτλ.

[3] In connection with the dedications in colonies to Apollo, Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.* 2d ed., I, 678, n. 2) somewhat fancifully suggests that such dedications may have reference to his character as god of war and of the spring (when colonies were usually sent out).

[4] Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.*, 5th ed., p. 47.

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ing in touch with the outposts of Greek civilization, and, from the mercenary side, the returns in tithes[1] from the colonies over which some control could be asserted, furnished an ample recompense.

c) Some of these same reasons doubtless prompted the subsequent forgery of oracles. The desire for good omens applied only to the founding itself, but the wish to legitimize it, especially in cases of controversy,[2] might at any time arise, and the desire to consecrate the origins of colonies and cities and to refer them to the gods as originators, as Livy says,[3] would increase with the growing pride and dignity of the town. On the part of the priests, the chance to obtain tithes, with the development and increasing wealth of a settlement, would furnish a standing motive for asserting any claims that might antedate its founding. At a time when no needs of actual legitimization were involved, and when the oracle was no longer consulted to any great extent for purposes of colonization, conditional and ambiguous oracles might be very striking and effectual for such an end, and to such a period I believe they must mainly be ascribed. The indirect methods by which the priesthood at Delphi circulated such traditions we cannot control, for their tracks were, of course, carefully covered; but modern scholars have been ready to suspect their influence upon Herodotus, Antiochus of Syracuse, Timaeus,[4] and even Ephorus.[5] Once let the theory become established, as it was, apparently, by the time of Herodotus, that the seeking of advice from the oracle was the normal method, and local historians and antiquarians would naturally, unaided or in consultation with

[1] Farnell, *Greek Cults*, IV, 204; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 133–34.

[2] Cf. p. 17, n. 4. And Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XXX, 191) advances evidence for thinking that the motive for the foundation story in the Magnesia inscription was to secure special privileges for the city from the powerful Cretan sea-rovers, by emphasizing a former residence of the Magnesians in Crete.

[3] 1. *Praef.* 7.

[4] A. von Gutschmid, *Kl. Schriften*, IV, 150 ff., 159 ff. (*Index fontium Herodoti*); Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, 284–85; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, II, sec. 285; cf. Macan, edition of Herodotus, Books 4–6, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvi.

[5] Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 285; Hiller von Gaertrigen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, IV, Sp. 2522, *s.v.* "Delphoi." E. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, makes an exception of Ephorus, however. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, III, 131, n. 2: "L'oracle refit, à son point de vue, l'histoire de la colonisation, et l'on finit par trouver, à l'origine des métropoles elles-mêmes, l'inévitable χρησμός qui en détermine la fondation." Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 182.

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Delphi,[1] see that fitting oracles were not lacking in the cases of those towns in which they were interested.[2] If by the same process an etymology could be furnished for the name of the colony a double end would be attained.[3] The projecting of such inventions back into the period of legend would have been a task obviously neither distasteful nor difficult.

To sum up, then, we may say that a closer examination reveals the impossibility of a large number of the oracles extant ever having been delivered before the events to which they relate; but nothing prevents us from supposing that the oracle was formally consulted to obtain confirmation of previously selected sites and leaders of colonies, and for directions as to the cults to be introduced. This service was recognized by the colonies in dedications to Apollo Archegetes and by tithes, and thereupon several motives, sentimental, mercenary, and etymological, on the part of the colonists, the priests, and the historians, led to the invention of an increasingly imposing mass of legend which forms the bulk, if not all, of the extant oracles in meter, and which may occasionally drag into discredit oracles which possess some historic basis.[4]

[1] Delphic records are mentioned by Plut. *Solon* 11. 2: *τοῖς Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν*. For poets in collusion with Delphi as a cause of the circulation of oracles see Schöll, *Philologus*, X, 25–81; Benedict, *De Oraculis ab Herodoto commemoratis*, Bonn, 1871, pp. 1–2.

[2] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXX, 192. And for a theory as to the origin of the Cyrene oracles, see Studnicza, *Kyrene*, p. 100.

[3] See the aetiological oracles in p. 10, nn. 1–4.

[4] The work of Götte, *Das delphische Orakel in seinem politischen und sittlichen Einfluss auf die alte Welt*, Leipzig, 1839, has not been accessible to me. Certain other passages in which examples of colonization oracles appear may here be cited, without detailed comment: Vitruv. 4. 1. 4 (thirteen Ionian cities); Diod. 5. 81. 6 (Lesbos); Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 9. 55 (Milesian colonists).

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STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK[1]

DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 1

NEUTERS WITH GENITIVE IN -ατος

(Exclusive of -μα, -ματος)

BY CARL D. BUCK

The great mass of neuters with genitive in -ατος consists of those in -μα, -ματος, which have already been discussed and listed, in connection with other μ-suffixes, by Stratton (Chicago) *Studies in Classical Philology* 2. 115 ff. They are clearly the Greek representatives of the IE. neuter *men*-stems, as in ὄνομα = Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma*, etc., however opinions may differ as to the source of the τ-inflection, for which see references in Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gram.* 233.

The τ-inflection also represents a neuter *n*-stem in the case of words in -αρ or -ωρ, gen. -ατος, and in some more isolated words such as οὖς, οὔατος, κάρη, κρᾶατος, κτεάτεσσι.

From these words reflecting neuter *n*-stems, especially the overwhelmingly dominant class in -μα, -ματος (over 1,000 in number), the τ-inflection spread at the expense of the minor classes of third-declension neuters, namely, to γόνυ and δόρυ (already in Homer), to those in -ας (post-Homeric), even to some in -ος, and to a few others.

-αρ or -ωρ, gen. -ατος

This class reflects a well-defined composite type (nom.-acc. in -*r*, other cases from an *n*-stem), which must have become established in the parent speech. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*[2] 2. 1. 578 ff.; also Fraenkel, *KZ.* 42. 114 ff.; Schwyzer, *KZ.* 46. 165 ff. Specific correspondence is seen in: ἧπαρ, ἥπατος with Skt. *yákṛt*, gen. *yaknás*, Avest. *yākarə*, Lat. *iecur*, *iecineris* (based on **iecinis*, like *feminis* to *femur*); οὖθαρ, οὔθατος with Skt. *ūdhar*, gen. *ūdhnás* (Lat. *ūber*,

[1] See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff.

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ūberis, OE. *ūder*, with generalization of the *r*); *ὕδωρ*, *ὕδατος* with Umbr. *utur*. abl. *une* from **udne* (cf. also Skt. *uda-ka-m*, gen. *udnás*, Goth. *watō*, *watins*, OE. *wæter*, etc., with generalization of either the *n*- or the *r*-stem). The rare *σκῶρ* 'dung' is a root-noun (from IE. *sker*- 'separate'; cf. Skt. *apa-skara*- 'excrement,' Lat. *mūscerda*, OE. *scearn*, 'dung,' etc.), and the inflection *σκατός*,[1] etc., is probably of analogical origin.[2] For *ἦμαρ*, *ἤματος*, of which Arm. *aur* 'day' is a probable cognate, the agreement in type with the synonymous, though unrelated, Skt. *áhar* 'day,' gen. *áhnas*, is significant. *ἄλειφαρ* (also *ἄλειφα*, see below, p. 27), *ἀλείφατος*, from *ἀλείφω*, is a specifically Greek derivative, formed after the analogy of some word of related meaning such as *πῖαρ*.[3]

From the semantic point of view the IE. *r*/*n* type is too diverse for precise definition, but it comprises mainly words for familiar, concrete objects and divisions of time, the most noticeable feature being the number of words for parts of the body.

The following words are from *-ϝαρ*, *-ϝατος*: *πεῖραρ* from **περϝαρ* (cf. Skt. *parvan*- 'knot, period'); *εἶδαρ*, Hesych. *ἔδαρ*, from **εδϝαρ* to *ἔδω*; Att. *φρέᾱρ*, *φρέᾱτος*, Hom. *φρείατα*, from **φρηϝαρ* (cf. Arm. *albiur* 'spring,' Goth. *brunna*); *δέλεαρ* from **δελεϝαρ* (cf. *δέλευρον*, *δέλετρον*), ep. *δεῖλαρ* from **δελϝαρ*, Aeol. *βλῆρ* from **βληϝαρ*; *στέαρ*, Att. *στέᾱρ*, *στέᾱτος* from **στηϝαρ*, **στᾱϝαρ* (cf. Skt. *sthāvara*- 'firm'); further, though without quotable *-αρ*, Hom. *ἀλείατα*, Ion. *ἀλέατα* (Miletus), from **ἀλεϝατ*- (cf. *ἄλευρον*); *καίατα· ὀρύγματα . ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέντα χωρία* Hesych., from **καιϝατ*- (cf. Skt. *kevata*- 'cave, pit').[4]

[1] Not quotable in literature except by emendation (as that of Ahrens for *σκάτους* Sophron 12 Kaibel), but amply attested by the grammarians, Phryn. 354 Rutherford; Choerob. 1. 351. 23, etc.

[2] Cf. Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, and *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* 15. 3.

[3] Several words which originally belonged to this composite type have generalized the *ρ*, as *πῦρ*, *πυρός* (cf. OHG. *fuir*, Goth. *fōn*), *ἔαρ* 'blood,' *ἔαρος* (cf. Skt. *ásṛk*. gen. *asnás*), *ἔαρ* 'spring,' *ἔαρος* (cf. Skt. *vasan-tá*-), etc.; and there are many in *-αρ* and *-ωρ*, some but not all inherited, which occur only in the nom.-acc. form, as *ὄναρ*, *πῖαρ*, *ἔλωρ*, etc. These lie outside the scope of the present survey, which includes only words which actually show *r*-forms in Greek.

[4] In Hom. *φρείατα* the *-ει-* stands for *η* (as in *θείης*, *εἶος*, etc.), but in *ἀλείατα* it denotes metrical lengthening. Att. *φρέᾱρ* and *στέᾱρ* are of course due to quantitative metathesis. Non-Attic contraction of *ε*(*ϝ*)*α* to *η* (cf. Delph., Rhod. *ἐννῆ* = *ἐννέα*, etc.), explains *δέληατα* Theocr., *δέληι* Hesych. (cf. *δελήτιων* Sophron), *φρηῖ*

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These words would seem to reflect a composite of the *u̯er-* and *u̯en-* suffixes, but whether such a composite is inherited from the parent speech is not so certain as in the case of *ἧπαρ*, etc. For while the close relation of these suffixes is well established (cf. *πίων*, Skt. *pī́van-*, fem. *πίειρα*, Skt. *pī́varī*), their union in one paradigm is observed elsewhere only in Avestan. Thus Avest. *karšvar-*, *karšvan-* 'zone,' *θanvar-*, *θanvan-* 'bow,' *uruθwar*, *uruθwan-* 'belly' also *snāvarə* 'sinew, cord,' occurring only in this form, but = Skt. *snāva*, stem *snāvan-*; whereas in Sanskrit the neuter *van*-stems, like the *man*-stems, have *n*-declension throughout, nom.-acc. sg.-*va*, never *-var*. It is impossible to determine whether the situation in Sanskrit is secondary, owing to a generalization of the *n*-stem at the expense of a once existing *r*-form, or whether it reflects the original habit of the IE. *u̯en*-stems. In the latter case the Avestan *r* will be due to the analogy of the certainly inherited forms like *yākarə*. Similarly in Greek the *-ρ* of *πείραρ*, as contrasted with Skt. *parva*, may be secondary, after the analogy of *ἧπαρ*, etc., and conversely in one or another word the *-ϝαρ* may be inherited and the *-ϝατ-* analogical.

ὄνειαρ (*ὄνηαρ*) is obviously a Greek derivative from *ὀνᾱ-*, *ὀνη-* (cf. *ὄνησις*, *ὀνᾶσις*). But whether it was once **ὄνᾱ-ϝαρ*, formed after the analogy of others in *-ϝαρ* before their loss of *ϝ*, or was at the outset a hiatus form, as Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 201, *IF.* 35. 96, prefers, cannot be determined. For words which have every appearance of being specifically Greek analogical formations exist both among the *-αρ* forms, e.g., *ἄλειφαρ*, and among the *-ϝαρ* forms, e.g., *εἶδαρ*.[1]

In general, the type in *-ρ*, *-ατος*, not to distinguish further between *-αρ*, *-ωρ*, and *-ϝαρ*, enjoyed some degree of productivity in proethnic Greek.

Callim. (cf. Sicilian *φρητίοις*), *ἄλητα* Sophron, *ἀλήτων* Rhinthon, and *στῆρ*, *στητός* (MSS *σπιτός*), *στητῶδες* in medical writers. On these last cf. Solmsen, *KZ.* 34. 7 ff., who prefers the derivation from **στᾱ̆ιαρ* (but cf. Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 202). Aeol. *βλῆρ* might be from **βλεϝαρ*, but is more probably from **βληϝαρ*, the relation of *βλη* to *δελε* being like that of *τλᾱ* to *ταλα* (*τλᾱτός*, *τάλαντον*), etc.

[1] The number of new formations in *-ρ* is considerably increased if we include those which occur only in this form (above, p. 22, n. 3). The situation is similar in Avestan. Cf. especially Schwyzer, *KZ.* 46. 165 ff., who distinguishes two strata in Greek and Avestan—the inherited type of words of obscure derivation, and a secondary stratum of obvious derivatives from verbs existing in Greek or Avestan respectively, and having a wider semantic scope.

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In the historical period, however, it was not productive, but on the contrary in constant decline. Nearly all its representatives occur already in Homer, more precisely all the words which have been cited above except *σκῶρ*, *δέλεαρ* (Eur.+, *-ατος* Aristot.+), *καίατα*. Some occur only in Homer or later poetry; *πεῖραρ* was replaced by *πέρας* (see below); the others are words of infrequent use, except a few like *ὕδωρ*, and even these eventually disappeared.[1]

-ας, -ατος

In contrast to the preceding, this group does not represent an inherited mixed type. Although IE. words for 'eye' and 'ear' show an interchange between *i-*, *s-*, and *n-* forms (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*[2] 2. 1. 577), and the combination of the last two is reflected in Hom. *οὖς* (from **οὖσος*), *οὔατος*, there is no well-defined IE. *s/n* type parallel to the *r/n* type.[2] Furthermore, *οὖς* is the only *σ*-stem with gen. *-ατος* in Homer; there are none in *-ας*, *-ατος*, all the neuters in *-ας* which occur showing only *σ*-stem forms, as *τέρας*, *τεράων*, etc. In all the words which show *-ας*, *-ατος* in later Greek either the *τ*-inflection or the *-ας* is secondary.

The latter is the case in the one word that has the *τ*-inflection uniformly, namely, *πέρας*, *πέρατος*, which, like *πεῖρας* in Pindar, corresponds to Hom. *πεῖραρ*, and so represents a transfer, favored by the resulting avoidance of successive *ρ*'s, from the *-αρ*, *-ατος* type. (That is, **περϝαρ* [*πεῖραρ*] became **περϝας*, whence regularly *πεῖρας* and Att. *πέρας*.) *φρέας* for *φρέαρ* (Choerob. 1. 360. 18) is probably fictitious; *γοῦνας*, *δοῦρας* (*Gram. Gr.* 2. 407; *δοῦρας* also *Anth. Pal.* 6. 97) are obviously artificial creations to *γούνατος*, *δούρατος*. But *οὖας* as an analogical substitute for *οὖς* has more claim to genuineness. Apart from its occurrence in our text of Simon. 37. 14 Bergk, also Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1046. 81, it is given by the grammarians, including Herodian, e.g., 1. 392. 4, in a list containing no suspicious forms (a few lines before, 1. 391. 27 ff., it is expressly stated that *δέας* and *σπέας*, in spite of *δέατος*, *σπεάτεσσι*, are not in use).

[1] In Modern Greek, *ὕδωρ*, *ἦπαρ*, *οὖθαρ*, and *φρέαρ* have been replaced by other words (*νερό*, *συκώτι*, *μαστάρι*, *πηγάδι*), so that the type is totally extinct.

[2] Skt. *ūdhas* and *ahas* beside usual *ūdhar* and *ahar* are simply transfers due to the fact that the pause form of final *s* and *r* is the same. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* 1. 334.

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In the others the τ-forms have sprung up by analogy, in the first instance perhaps after πέρας, but mainly owing to the support of those in -μα, -ματος. From τέρας Herodotus already has τέρατος, τέρατα (2. 82) beside τέρεος, τέρεα (8. 37), and Attic writers regularly have the τ-forms. From the rare ὀπέας 'awl' Herodotus has ὀπέατι (4. 70, MSS ὑπέατι); cf. ὀπήτιον, ὀπητίδιον quoted by Pollux. The late ἄλας for ἅλς (Aristot. *Mirab.*, N.T., Plut., etc.), which is the acc. pl. ἅλας converted into a singular under the influence of κρέας, took on the τ-inflection, as ἅλατι *N.T. Col.* 4. 6, ἅλασιν Suid., etc.; cf. Mod. Gr. τὸ ἁλάτι. Polybius has κνέφατος from κνέφας. From δέρας the grammarians give δέρως and δέρατος, the latter, e.g., Hdn. 1. 401. 11; so perhaps to be retained in Diod. 4. 56. For ἐρυσίπελας the τ-inflection is to be inferred from ἐρυσιπελατώδης, etc., in medical literature. From κρέας the σ-stem forms are almost universal in our texts, including the papyri (Mayser, *Gram. d. griech. Papyri* 276, and cf. κρέως *Ox. Pap.* 10. 1335 of 482 A.D.), likewise in inscriptions. But κρέατος occurs in an Attic inscription of 338 B.C. (Meisterhans-Schwyzer 143), and, not to mention some few other instances (cf. Crönert, *Mem. gr. Herc.* 172), this had plainly become the current form of inflection in the time of the grammarians. Aside from its casual mention by Herodian (e.g., 1. 406. 25), note the canon of Theodosius (1. 35 Hilgard), τὸ κρέας τοῦ κρέατος κοινῶς, τοῦ κρέαος ἰωνικῶς, τοῦ κρέως ἀττικῶς: τὰ εἰς $\overline{\alpha\varsigma}$ οὐδέτερα ἡ μὲν κοινὴ διάλεκτος διὰ τοῦ $\overline{\tau o\varsigma}$ κλίνει, κρέατος γήρατος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων καθ' ὑποστολὴν τοῦ τ, κρέαος γήραος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἀττικῶν συναιροῦσα τὸ $\overline{\alpha o}$ εἰς ω, τοῦ κρέως, τοῦ γήρως.[1] Cf. also Mod. Gr. τὰ κρέατα, etc. The same sources give γῆρας, γήρατος, though the latter seems not to be notable otherwise before the Byzantine period.

That the encroachment of τ-forms become general in later Greek is apparent from the statements of the grammarians, like that just quoted, and also from the situation in Modern Greek, where the few remaining representatives in the spoken language of the old neuters in -ας are regularly inflected as τ- or το-stems. Cf. Thumb, *Handbook*, § 105.

[1] The statements of Moeris 336 Koch, τέρα καὶ τερῶν Ἀττικῶς, τέρατα καὶ τεράτων Ἑλληνικῶς, and of Thom. Mag. 348 Ritschl, τέρα καὶ τερῶν Ἀττικοί, ὡς κρέα, κρεῶν· τέρατα δὲ καὶ τεράτων ἁπλῶς Ἕλληνες, rest upon a similar observation of the difference between Attic and Hellenistic inflection, but are unfortunate in the example chosen, since τέρας has τ-inflection even in Attic.

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The case of *κέρας* is different from the preceding on account of the *ᾱ* in *κέρᾱτος*,[1] etc., which are the forms regularly employed in Attic, except in the military phrase *ἐπὶ κέρως*. According to the view now current *κέρᾱτος* is from **κερασατος*, which is thought to represent an inherited *n*-stem extension (see below on *κρᾰ́ατος*, Skt. *çīrṣṇás*), or in any case (as giving it with intervocalic *σ* implies) a proethnic Greek form. But the fact that in Homer only *σ*-stem forms occur, *κεράων*, etc., with no trace of *κερᾱτ-*,[2] while not conclusive against this, yet makes in favor of a later origin, just as in the case of *τέρατος*, etc. It is possible that a **κερα-ατος*, whence *κέρᾱτος*, was formed from *κέρα-ος*, prior to its Attic contraction, by analogical substitution of *-ατος* for *-ος*, just as in **γονϝ-ατος* (*γούνατος*, *γόνατος*) from **γονϝ-ος* (*γουνός*); or, what amounts to much the same, that **κερα-ατος* was a blend of *κέραος* and a **κερατος* (like *τέρατος*). Why this should have happened in this word in contrast to others in *-ας*, we cannot say.

γέρᾱτα Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1046. 28 (second century A.D.), is an artificial imitation of *κέρᾱτα*.

-ος, -ατος

Aside from *οἶς* (from **οἰϝσος*), *οἴατος*, on which see above, p. 24, a very few analogical *τ*-forms to neuters in *-ος* occur, namely, *σπεά-τεσσι* Xenoph. (Hdn. 1. 391) to *σπέος*, *δέατος* Soph., Hecat. to *δέος*, and *χρήατα* in an Arcadian inscription (*IG.* 5. 2. 343) to *χρέος* (from **χρηος*).[3]

In Att. *φῶς* from *φάος* the *τ*-forms, *φωτός*, etc. (beside *φάους*, etc.), were obviously formed to the nominative subsequently to its contraction. There is no trace of **φάατος* to *φάος*.

τάψατι=τάφει seems to occur in pap. Brit. Mus. 1. 102. 556: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐν τῶ τάψατι*. But apart from the *ψ* which, if correct, is due to the influence of *θάψαι*, the isolated example of transfer to the *τ*-type at this late date is difficult to credit.

[1] The stem *κερᾱτ-* is also seen in *κερατίνης* and other derivatives, likewise in the rare compound adjective forms, as *ὑψικέρατα* Pind. fr. 321 Bergk (Ar. *Nub.* 597), *πυργοκέρατα* Bacch. fr. 51, *λευκοκέρατες* Hesych., *χρυσοκέρατ'* Eur. *Hel.* 382, *ὀξυκέρατι* Phot. *s.v. ὀξοπρῴρῳ ταύρῳ*. Cf. especially Danielsson, *Gram. und Etym. Stud.* 26 ff.

[2] The late epic *κερᾰ́ατος* is an artificial imitation of *κρᾰ́ατος*.

[3] **χρηος* is not necessarily from **χρηϝος*, still less *χρήατα* from **χρήϝατα*. Cf. Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1913. 200.

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-υ, -ατος

The neuters γόνυ and δόρυ were originally inflected *γονϝ-ος, *δορϝ-ος, etc., whence Hom. γουνός, δουρός and Att. (poet.) δορός. But this was an isolated type, and after the analogy of the numerous neuters in -ατος arose as collateral forms *γονϝ-ατος, *δορϝ-ατος, whence γούνατος, δούρατος in Homer, though much less frequent than γουνός, δουρός, and Att. γόνατος, δόρατος, the regular prose forms.[1]

-ᾱ(-η), -ατος and -α, -ατος

Regarding the complicated and much-discussed[2] inflection of κάρᾱ, Hom. κάρη, no doubt exists that the τ-forms reflect an *n*-stem, as seen in Skt. *çīrṣan-* 'head,' gen. *çīrṣnás* (but nom.-acc. sg. *çiras* like κέρας), no matter whether Hom. κρᾰ́ατος, whence κρᾱτός, be taken from *κρᾱσατος or viewed as merely metrical lengthening of κράατος from *κρασατος. (καρήατος and κάρητος are secondary forms from the nom.-acc. κάρη.) It is far less certain that the nom.-acc. κάρᾱ is from *καρασα with α from ϙ (so Brugmann, Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*), of which a supposed parallel is the following.

ἄλειφα (Aesch.+)[3] beside ἄλειφαρ (Hes., Theoc.), ἀλείφατος (Hom.+) has been accepted as an isolated instance of a nom.-acc. in -α from ϙ, parallel to the frequent -μα from -mϙ (Skt. -*ma*, Lat. -*men*). Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 108; Brugmann, *Grundriss*[2] 2. 1. 311. But on the evidence of other languages an IE. nom.-acc. sg. in -ϙ, exclusive of -mϙ or -μϙ, must have been exceedingly rare if indeed it existed.[4] It is doubly suspicious that the sole alleged representative

[1] Any historical connection between *γονϝατος, *δορϝατος and the Sanskrit *n*-stem forms to neuter *u*-stems as gen. *jānunas, dārunas* to *jānu, dāru*, as is assumed by Pedersen, *KZ.* 32. 253, is wholly improbable.

[2] Danielsson, *Gram. und Etym. Stud.* 1 ff.; J. Schmidt, *Pluralbild. d. idg. Neutra* 363 ff.; Brugmann, *IF.* 18. 428 ff.; Ehrlich *KZ.* 38. 86 ff.

[3] To the references in Liddell and Scott add the important *SGDI.* 5495. 34. In Hes. *Th.* 553 the preferred MSS reading is ἄλειφαρ.

[4] Certainly most neuter *n*-stems, other than those with the suffixes -*men* or -μϙen, belonged to the composite type, with nom.-acc. sg. supplied by a different stem. In Sanskrit only those in -*man* and in -*van* have nom. -acc. sg. in -*a*, never those in *an* (cf. Lanman, *Noun-Inflection in the Veda* 530). There are no forms pointing to -n̥ in Germanic or Balto-Slavic (OPruss. *wundan* 'water' is an *o*-stem form). In Latin, outside of those in -*men*, and *inguen, unguen*, early *sanguen*, there are only *pollen*, a word of doubtful history and in this form quotable only from the grammarians (cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*[4] 181 with references to discussions), *glūten*, which might easily owe its form to the analogy of *unguen*, and the late and obviously secondary *turben* and *circen*.

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of such a form in Greek, apart from the hypothetical *καρασα, should be a word which is so plainly a specifically Greek derivative as is ἄλειφα from ἀλείφω. I prefer to believe that ἄλειφα, beside ἄλειφαρ for which see above, p. 22, either owes its form to the analogy of some form in -μα,[1] perhaps ἄλειμμα, though this is not quotable until later, or is in origin an *o*-stem *plurale tantum*.

The names of the letters like ἄλφα, βῆτα, etc., with final α, though regularly indeclinable, seem sometimes to have adopted the τ-inflection; at least δέλτατος and θήτατος are quoted from Democritus (*Schol. Dion. Thrax.* 184. 18 Hilgard).

-ον, -ατα

This caption signifies nothing more than the existence of plural τ-forms in the case of a few words which regularly appear as neuter *o*-stems. Hom. κτεάτεσσι (cf. also the verb κτεάτισσα) is an isolated relic of a neuter *n*-stem of which κτέανον, κτέανα. κτεάνων represent an *o*-extension.[2] The late κτέαρ (Quint. Sm., etc.; cf. Lobeck, *Paralip.* 176) is probably an artificial creation, rather than an actual survival, of the appropriate singular to κτεάτεσσι.

Hom. προσώπατα, προσώπασι, occurring once each beside regular πρόσωπα, πρόσωπον, and imitated by Oppian and other late poets, have also been taken as relics of an old *n*-stem, which appears in Skt. *ákṣi*, gen. *akṣnás*, Goth. *augō*, gen. *augins*, etc. Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 108, 398. But since the *o*-stem is otherwise constant in πρόσωπον and likewise in its closest cognate, Skt. *prátīka-m*, it is more probable that προσώπατα, προσώπασι sprang up in Greek as occasional variants due to the analogy of other words for parts of the body, especially ὄμματα and οὔατα.

To ὄνειρον beside masc. ὄνειρος, the latter more common in Homer, the plural ὀνείρατα occurs once in Homer (the only neuter plural form), and later was more common than ὄνειρα; cf. also ὀνειράτων Hdt.+, ὀνείρασι Aesch.+, and, sometimes even in the

[1] So already Fraenkel, *KZ.* 43. 116.

[2] κτέανα, etc., Hesch. +, κτέανον Pindar. Used mainly in the plural like κτήματα and χρήματα (in Homer κτῆμα once, χρῆμα never). Fraenkel, *IF. Anz.* 26. 61, holds that κτέανα, etc., are real *n*-stem forms which have escaped transfer to the τ-inflection because they could be felt as *o*-stem forms, and that κτέανον was formed to these. I am skeptical of this, and no less of the alleged parallels βέλεμνα and κάρηνα.

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singular, *ὀνείρατι* Aesch., *ὀνείρατος* Plato. As already observed by J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 375, *ὀνείρατα* is a blend of *ὄνειρος* and **ὄνατα*, the plural of *ὄναρ*.

Lycophron's *μηλάτων* (*Alex.* 106) from *μῆλον* is not a *τ*-stem form. It is obviously fashioned after *προβάτων*, *πρόβατον* being the prose equivalent of *μῆλον*.

WORD-LIST

NEUTERS WITH GENITIVE IN *-ατος*

(Exclusive of *-μα*, *-ματος*)[1]

κάρᾱ, *κράατος*, *κρᾱτός*, etc. Hom.+ [p. 27.
εἶδαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 22.
ὕδωρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 22.
δέος, *-ατος* Soph., Hecat. [p. 26.
δέλεαρ, *-ατος* Aristot.+[p. 22.
ὄπεας, *-ατος* Hdt. [p. 25.
σπέος, *σπεάτεσσι* Hdn. [p. 26.
κρέας, *-ατος* Att. inscr., gram. [p. 25.
φρέαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 22.
(*κτέαρ*), *κτεάτεσσι* Hom.+[p. 28.
στέαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 22.
οὖθαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 21.
καίατα Hesych. [p. 22.
ἀλείατα Hom., *ἀλέατα* Ion. inscr. (Delphin. in Milet 31) [p. 22.
ὄνειαρ, *-ατος* Hom. [p. 23.
σκώρ, *σκατός* Sophron (emend.), gram. [p. 22.
ἄλας, *-ατος* N.T.+ [p. 25.
ἦμαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 25.
γόνυ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 27.
ἧπαρ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 21.
πρόσωπον, *-ατα* Hom. [p. 28.
γέρας, *-ᾱτα* Kaibel Epig. Gr. 1046. 29 [p. 26.
δέρας, *-ατος* Diod.(?), Hdn. [p. 25.
κέρας, *-ατος* Aesch.+[p. 26.
-κερᾱτ- in adj. cpds [p. 26.[1]
ὑψι- Pind.
πυργο- Bacch.
λευκο- Hesych.
χρυσυ- Eur.
ὀξυ- Phot.
πέρας, *see πεῖραρ*.
τέρας, *-ατος* Hdt.+[p. 25.
γῆρας, *-ατος* Hdn.+[p. 25.
ὄνειρον, *-ατα* Hom.+[p. 28.
πεῖραρ, *πεῖρας*, *πέρας*, *-ατος* Hom.+ [pp. 22, 24.
δόρυ, *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 27.
δέλτα, *-ατος* Schol. Dion. Thrax [p. 28.
θῆτα, *-ατος* *ibid.* [p. 28.
οὖς (*ὦς*, *οὖας*), *-ατος* Hom.+[p. 24.
κνέφας, *-ατος* Polyb. [p. 25.
ἄλειφα, *ἄλειφαρ*, *-ατος* Hom.+[pp. 22, 27.
τάψατι pap. Brit. Mus. 1. 102, 556 [p. 26.

[1] Intended to include all neuters from which forms in *-ατος*, etc. (or *-ᾱτος*), are quotable. Arranged, irrespective of the nominative, according to the letter preceding *-ατος*. The references also are to the first appearance of such *τ*-forms, not to that of the word as a whole. For example, *κρέας* is included in this list because of *κρέατος* and the reference applies to this; not to *κρέας*, which, with its compounds, will find its place in a full list of neuters in *-ας*.

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THE CAMPAIGN OF PLATAIAI

By R. T. Clark

I

The campaign of September, 479 B.C., presents so many interesting problems that no excuse need be made for this attempt to re-examine them. Our knowledge of events depends virtually on a single document, the ninth book of Herodotos. The narrative is in the Father of History's best style, detailed, animated, and adorned with piquant incidents. Collected from a variety of sources, the information in his possession has been worked into a coherent story whose very smoothness had caused it, until recently, to be accepted as a reliable account of one of the few battles in history which may fairly be called decisive.

The campaign begins with the secret departure of the Spartan forces from Lakonia for the Isthmos (c. 11).[1] At that moment the Persians, who, earlier in the year, had advanced south, were in possession of Athens. Almost as soon as Argive messengers had brought news of the starting of the Spartans the Persian army retired into Boiotia. The seizure of the city was a political move and strategically can only be considered a raid (*pace* Munro, *JHS*, 1898, p. 152). There is no record of any military activity during the occupation, and this immediate abandonment suggests that only an "expeditionary force" was employed. But the manner of the Persian retirement is somewhat mysterious. While retreating, says the historian (c. 14), Mardonios learned that *another* army of 1,000 Spartans had reached Megara, whereupon in the hope of taking them he wheeled his whole army round against Megara and his cavalry went on before into the Megarid. After this news came (c. 15) that the Greeks were concentrating at the Isthmos, and he therefore retired through Dekeleia. The "neighbours of the Asopians" were sent for and led him via Sphendale, Tanagra, and Skolos to Theban territory. This he "cleared" and took up a semi-fortified position.

[1] The references are throughout to Herodotos ix.

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It is possible to take out of the narrative more than the actual words imply, but it seems clear that we are intended to note (1) that Mardonios' final retirement was by a different route than that assigned to the first retirement, and (2) that the retirement was undertaken in some haste. The reason assigned for the retreat from Megara is that the Greeks were at the Isthmos, which is virtually no reason at all. The original retreat was changed into a sudden "dash" at *another* army. What army this was is uncertain. It may have been an advanced guard or it may have been the apparently permanent garrison at the Isthmos (c. 8) ordered to move the moment news arrived that Pausanias had left. As Megara was in no danger the move seemed to intimate that the Greek offensive had begun. It could have been no more than an intimation, yet it so excited Mardonios that he broke off his retirement, executed maneuvers involving his whole force (all to take Megara which had been at his mercy all summer), failed in his object, whatever it was, and had to retreat by a circuitous route in some haste. That he really intended to strike at Megara is scarcely possible. The town was a walled one, had just (*vide* Herodotos) received a reinforcement of 1,000 Spartans, and could have been taken only by regular assault. Yet stress is laid on Mardonios' use of his cavalry. It seems clear then that what he aimed at was to intercept this force. It was not going *to* Megara, because Herodotos explicitly states it was *at* Megara when Mardonios turned. Where then was it going? Apparently it eventually got to some point where it became an embarrassment to Mardonios' first line of retreat and necessitated the long détour. Now, when Mardonios finally got into Boiotia he took up a somewhat peculiar position. His lines ran from Erythrai, past Hysiai, right to the Asopos in Plataian territory, i.e., south of the river. The position was not uniformly held, but troops were massed at three points. The left wing (possibly composed mainly of cavalry) was at Erythrai, the center a little north of Hysiai on the hills above the Moloeis, while the right rested on the Asopos. The camp seems to have been somewhere north of the left wing on, or near, the Erythrai-Thebes road, probably south of the river (Grundy, *Great Persian War*, p. 449; Macan, *Herodotus*, chaps. vii–ix, II, 367). One is at once struck with the fact that of the three Kithairon passes one is abandoned—the

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Plataiai-Megara pass, through which runs the best road from the Isthmos to Thebes—and thereby the great strategic line of Kithairon. The explanation most in favor is that Mardonios laid an elaborate trap. The road to Thebes was left open as a bait. If the bait was swallowed, the Greeks would push up from Plataiai with Thebes as objective and deploy against the Persian right. Here the right would take them in semi-flank on the Plataiai-Thebes road, the center would take them on flank and rear, while the cavalry from Erythrai would complete the débacle. It is very doubtful, however, if such elaborate strategy can be ascribed to a fifth-century leader as is involved in this "trap." If Pausanias had an objective, it was that of all good generals, the enemy's main force. He thought it was at Erythrai, and off he went in search of it. To say his objective was Thebes and that Mardonios knew that, is to use terms which only befit a later age.

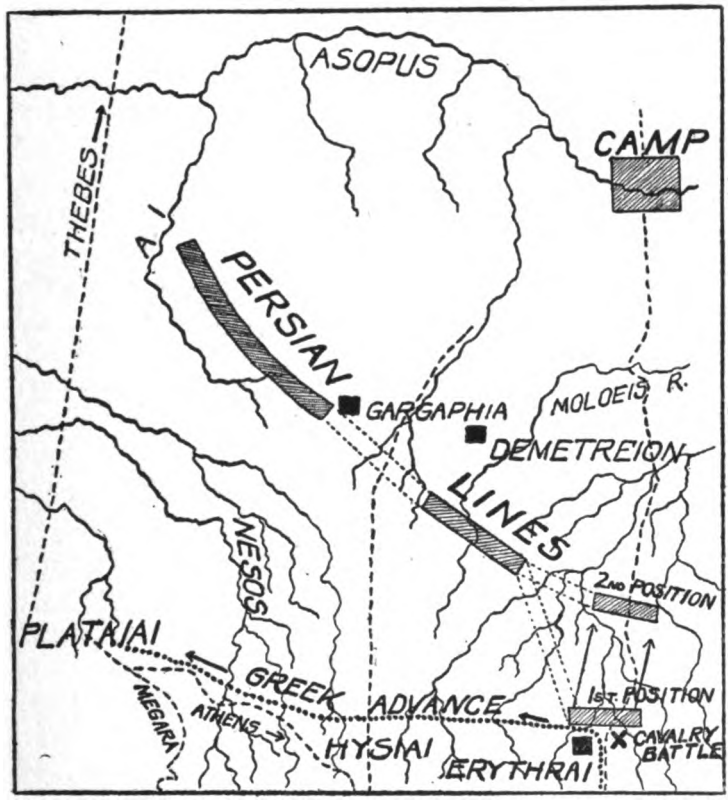
But on the other hand one does expect to find that attention will be paid to those fundamental principles of strategy which date back to prehistoric times. Mardonios breaks one in calmly leaving a superior line of defense (which could make an even better line of defense for his foe) while Pausanias breaks another in gaily severing—and that without any political object—his communications with his base. The key to the Kithairon position and to Pausanias' communications with the Isthmos is Plataiai, and Plataiai is therefore the key to the campaign. The point I wish to make is this: Mardonios chose a "next best" position because he had lost Plataiai, and Pausanias could go to Erythrai because he held it.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the organization of the great advance was considerably more business-like than Herodotos pretends—one has only to remember the fatuous anecdote of Khileus—and it is probable that troops had begun to concentrate long before Pausanias left. That general was, of course, committed to the offensive; he had to drive the barbarian out of Greece. But he had to prepare for that offensive, and it was no use collecting all Hellas at the Isthmos unless he gave them a road by which to leave it. Mardonios, who never intended to fight a battle in Attica, received the news of the advance and commenced a leisurely retreat. Suddenly he heard that Spartans were already at Megara and were

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advancing up the Megara-Plataiai road. He realized his danger. He could indeed retire as he had planned, but he would lose the Kithairon line if they reached Plataiai before him. Hence his sudden raid in

MAP I



the hope of catching them on the open road. The raid failed, and the result of the seizure of Plataiai was that if the main forces moved as quickly his whole retreat was endangered unless he took a new route. Hence the circuitous retreat. Let it be said, too, that Mardonios, who was on the defensive strategically (i.e., he was meeting an offensive) could only have neglected the Kithairon line by compulsion. It was an ideal line for a force such as the Persian acting against the hoplite, and Mardonios knew the latter both in his weakness and his strength.

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It will be asked why Mardonios failed to secure Plataiai. In point of fact there is little reason why he should have secured it. He had no foe to fear, and Boiotia was so entirely in his hands that isolated towns were negligible. In his invasion of Attica—an evacuated district—he had no need to trouble about communications if there was no foe to threaten them. It is possible Plataiai never was in Persian hands at all in 479.[1] It had been destroyed in 480 but was probably rebuilt, and there is no record of a second occupation or destruction, while the account of the Greek retreat from the river seems to indicate it was still standing. Besides, Mardonios was lulled to a false sense of security by his dreams of breaking up the confederation. When he heard of the force at Megara he had suddenly to face the possibility of attack. If this were the vanguard and Pausanias was advancing to join the Athenians at Eleusis he might be in considerable peril. The reconaissance indeed told him that the advance proper had not yet begun, but it failed to keep the Greeks from Plataiai. Only the fact that there was such a failure explains Mardonios' neglect of Plataiai *now*.[2] It also helps to explain his subsequent dispositions, for, if the Greeks were in Plataiai, he would naturally conclude Pausanias intended to advance into Boiotia by that route in the expectation that the Persian main force covered Thebes. Naturally he put it where it would not be expected, north of Hysiai and in the most convenient place for that decisive action which is the duty of the center force.

Pausanias did not hurry his advance. He concentrated his forces, effected a junction with the Athenians at Eleusis, and there received information that the Persians were at Erythrai. On Erythrai he therefore directed his march, a thing he was distinctly rash in doing unless he held Plataiai. Historians almost unanimously declare that the Greek advance used all three passes. Not only does that contradict Herodotos just where his broadly accurate but uncritical knowledge begins, but it is at variance with the Greek plan

[1] The little city was an Athenian ally and Mardonios was anxious to conciliate the Athenians.

[2] Granted that Plataiai was now in Greek hands, it may be asked why Mardonios did not attempt to storm it. Artabazos' failure at Poleidaia is explanation enough. No general expecting an immediate attack in force could afford to begin siege operations.

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of campaign. Pausanias was not advancing to a Kithairon position, but to an invasion of Boiotia via Erythrai. With the Isthmos for base, troops at Plataiai, and his lines of supply directed from his base to that village, he advanced through the pass and found Erythrai evacuated. This leads us to the first stage of the battle proper.

II

The advance of the Greeks into Boiotia is thus described:

When they reached Erythrai and learned that the Persians were encamped on the Asopos, the Greeks formed themselves opposite, along Kithairon (c. 19). When they remained on the hills Mardonios sent his cavalry against them (c. 20) with disastrous results to the Megarians, who sent a messenger to Pausanias. He called for volunteers: 300 Athenians responded (c. 21), beat back the enemy, killed Masistios, and were on the point of being overcome (c. 22) when the arrival of the main body defeated the final Persian attack (c. 23). Then the Greeks judged it better, both for other reasons and because that region was better supplied with water, to go down toward Plataiai, and especially to Gargaphia. They therefore marched past Hysiai, and, arriving in Plataian territory, formed their line on the plain (c. 25). The Persians, having mourned their loss, now marched to the Asopos (c. 31), and the two armies faced each other (c. 35).

Here we are already in difficulties. In c. 15 we find the Persians at the Asopos and at Erythrai; in c. 19 they have left Erythrai and are gone to the Asopos; while in c. 31 they go *now* to the Asopos. In c. 25 we have the Greek positions carefully described as "on slight elevations and the level plain," while in c. 31 we are told the Greeks are encamped *on* the Asopos. After beating back the cavalry the Greeks determined to go to Plataian territory and Gargaphia (c. 24), while in c. 19 they have already formed opposite (after learning that the Persians were at the Asopos!)—what or *whom?* Where does the Persian cavalry come from? In what position were the Greeks when their leader had to be informed by a herald (c. 21) of the imminent proximity of a division of his army which later (c. 23) only needed to shout to make its needs known? And why should Pausanias sacrifice 300 Athenians if he was coming up with his main army?

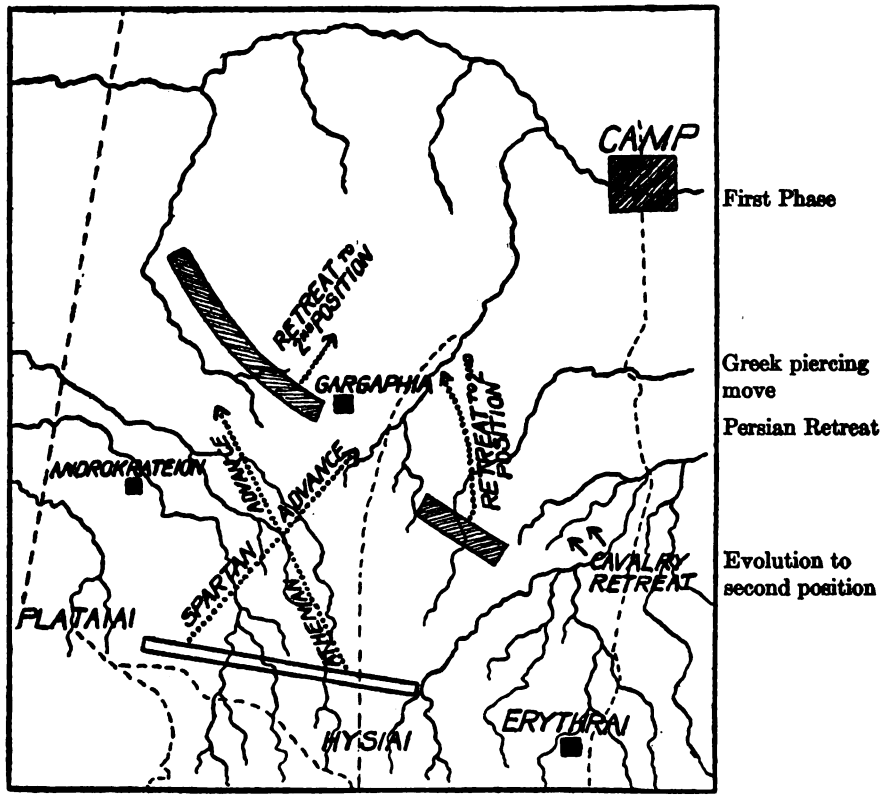
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Herodotos, I fancy, gained his fullest account of the battle from an actual combatant, probably an Athenian *sous-officier* of intelligence but not of sufficiently high grade to be in his leaders' confidence. No "official history" of the war was published, and the *sous-officier*, remembering a very complicated series of maneuvers which he did not understand, has only a confused narrative to give. Keeping this *sous-officier* in mind, let us examine the account. Mardonios' strategy had failed, and there was nothing for it but to make the best of it and evacuate Erythrai. He could do nothing but wait until he saw what Pausanias would do. The Greek leader on arriving at Erythrai found to his surprise that the Persian main force was on the river. He had therefore only one move possible—to go to Plataiai. Even if Plataiai was still unoccupied, he had to go there unless he desired to risk his whole line of communications. Persian troops still held the Hysiatan position, and keeping therefore on high ground he advanced along Kithairon in a westerly direction. At the head of this column would naturally be the Spartans and the Athenians and Megarians, i.e., what was later the left would bring up the rear. On this rear Mardonios suddenly launched a cavalry attack. The Greeks can hardly have been drawn up on the hills awaiting an attack, because they had no reason to expect one, while Mardonios would scarcely have sent cavalry uphill against hoplites in position. What happened was probably this: Mardonios, learning that his enemy was on the march, saw an excellent chance to disturb his line and prevent his reconcentration on Plataiai and his subsequent advance. If he was successful he might compel the whole army to fight on unfavorable ground. The rear was promptly thrown into confusion by the series of charges. (As no infantry was used there is no question of a regular battle.) The Megarians were on bad ground, probably caught off their guard, and had to send a herald to Pausanias for aid. This proves that the van was some distance away, at or past Hysiai. If the whole army was drawn up in battle array, presumably watching this little drama, Pausanias was betraying an incompetence that was not even graceful if he waited for a courier to tell him what he knew. A picked corps of Athenian archers went off, beat off the attack, and killed Masistios. Mardonios saw he had accomplished nothing and made a last endeavor

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to spoil the advance to Plataiai. In one mass the cavalry surged down on the extreme right of the Greeks, but the main body came up and after desperate fighting the cavalry sullenly withdrew. That

MAP II



the main army means the whole Hellenic army is unlikely, considering both their position and their numbers. One corps was sufficient. Could the phrase mean the Athenian main body in contradistinction to the 300 who were really its rearguard? The Athenian narrator would say "our main body," whence Herodotos interpreted this of the whole army. The result of the skirmish was the clearance of the Erythrai pass. Mardonios had attacked the Greek lines, had been defeated, and the Greek position was secure, with the hills held from Plataiai to beyond the Persian center at Hysiai.

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Grundy (p. 461) sees in the cavalry battle an attempt to cut the Greek line. But it is difficult to see what the Greek line was doing in such a position as to allow it to be pierced at Dryoskephalai, i.e., right and left of the pass. It could only have gone to the left. Besides, Mardonios only used his cavalry, and it was not the weapon for such a maneuver. Macan (p. 368), on the other hand, imagines that the Greek column was headed by the Megarians and was attacked as it emerged from the pass, that the Greeks came into the battle successively, and so beat off the attack. It was folly for Mardonios in that case to attack with cavalry. The ground would not permit such maneuvering of at least 20,000 men. It is only natural to suppose the Spartans led the van, and the account indicates that the attack took place *after* Pausanias had been at Erythrai and had given up his idea of fighting a battle there. Munro (p. 157) supposes the attack was delivered near Hysiai and that the main Greek body had gone off to attack the camp in the direction of Panakton and turn the left wing. With the Persian forces as they were, that was simply playing into the enemy's hands. Pausanias had to cover Plataiai, as I have said before. Both these views ignore the fact that the Persian center was at Hysiai (as Herodotos does, doubtless because it became the left wing before it was in action).

Encouraged by his success, Pausanias resumed his offensive, and leaving the hills advanced into the plain. Duncker (*History of Greece*, p. 340) regarded this movement as a mistake because of its abandonment of Dryoskephalai. It was certainly bold, so bold indeed that the position to which it led the Greeks became untenable, but it necessitated a withdrawal of the Persians and made it impossible for Mardonios to move south for nine days. Advancing rapidly then, Pausanias sought to pierce the Persian lines via Gargaphia, thus cutting off the Hysiatan division, a maneuver which if at all successful must have brought on an attack with the Greeks on favorable ground. To execute this the wings changed. The Spartans were still heading the advance, but the original rear was becoming the left to keep the Persian right from outflanking (origin of change of wings' story?). Mardonios, however, outstripped him. The Persian center evacuated Hysiai and joined the right on the ridge. Pausanias' plan was excellent, but either it was too slowly executed or Mardonios anticipated his design.

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To understand the position it is necessary to remember the position of the Persian right wing. It never moved during the battle except to advance south, so that its original position would be its most northerly one. Herodotos says it extended παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπόν, not "*across* the Asopos." He is obviously viewing it from the Greek point of view, so we may conclude that the right wing was south of the river. All accounts of the battle which I have seen make the Greek position before the retreat on the hills south of the Asopos (i.e., based on c. 31 *ad. fin.*), and therefore place the Persian lines north of that river. This is clearly seen, e.g., in the map of Grote's *History*. But to make the lines extend across Al to the main Asopos is to misunderstand Mardonios' strategy, for which it was essential that the Plataiai-Thebes' road should be left open in order that the Greek lines should get as far north as possible, and thus the right of the original Persian position must have been along the hills above Al. This raises the problem of the name Asopos. Grundy (p. 470) has already applied that name to Al to explain his difficulties about the so-called "second position." If in c. 31 Herodotos means by Asopos the main stream, then there must have been a retreat of the Persians. No such retreat is mentioned nor can it be deduced from the historian's narrative. The position of the Persian right wing is carefully described as being in Plataian territory, nor is there an indication of a retirement north into Theban territory. Again, the best authorities place the camp south of the river. If it was south, then a wing north of the river would be cut off from it and it was obviously intended as a refuge if they were driven back. I would suggest that Asopos in Herodotos means throughout the main river plus its tributary Al. To apply the same name to a tributary as to the main stream is very common in country districts everywhere, and even if the inhabitants had an individual name for Al (which is unlikely), Herodotos would almost inevitably call it Asopos. Thus this Asopos[1] in a sense is the frontier north and east of the battlefield. When Herodotos says "up to the Asopos" he means a point at the junction of Al with the main stream. His words in c. 31, τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα τὸν Ἀσωπόν, seem to imply that he speaks of one and the

[1] It is unnecessary to object that Al is a mere brook. Under conditions of war the merest brook may constitute a formidable obstacle. A ditch, e.g., would play havoc with hoplite formation in action.

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same stream (ταύτῃ = at that point, i.e., where the Greeks are), and not of a new tributary of the original stream.

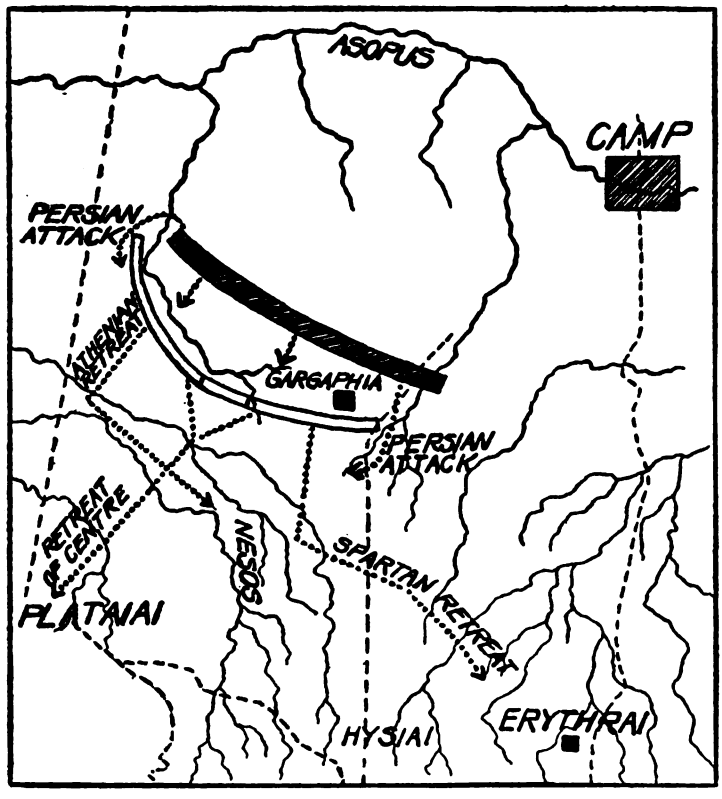
What had happened was that Mardonios' withdrawal from Hysiai (referred to in c. 31, as opposed to c. 19, which refers only to the withdrawal from an east-southeast position to a river position) was accomplished before Pausanias had completed his thrust via Gargaphia. The result was that Pausanias, instead of facing a gap not held in force, was brought up against the solid mass of the new Persian left wing (the original Hysiatan center, and was compelled to turn the rear of his advance more and more in a northwesterly direction in order to face the second enemy mass on his left. The conditions of the ground however allowed him to occupy a line parallel to and almost as strong as that of his foe. The position was stalemate.

Much difficulty has been caused by the assumption, e.g., by Delbrück (*Persirker Krieg*, p. 96), that Pausanias' strategy was a defensive one. Here he considers that Pausanias advanced to secure a better defensive position. This is absurd. If he had wished a "better defensive position" he had the Kithairon line. Pausanias was always on the strategic offensive; the retreat was only tactical, and then, if you will, to a "better defensive position." To interpret otherwise is to misunderstand the whole situation. The advance again is regarded by Grundy (p. 473), Woodhouse (*JHS*, 1898, p. 41), and Bury (*History of Greece*, p. 290) as an attempt to turn the Persian right. This is good so far as it realizes that Pausanias was taking the offensive. But it ignores the fact that the Persians moved *after* the Greeks did and a real outflanking movement was impossible as long as there were any Persian troops south of Al. By Gargaphia is, in any case, not the way to outflank a right wing which stretched away to the left of it and which was never really covered by the Greek left at any period of the battle. As Awdry (*Annals of the British School at Athens*, 1894, p. 97) and Wright (*Plataea*, p. 56) point out, any advance to Thebes must have taken place over excellent cavalry ground, and the Persian cavalry was not so shattered as to be as negligible as this would imply. As we have seen, too, Thebes never was Pausanias' objective. Munro (p. 159) likewise supports this view—apparently forgetting his Panakton theory—but with a different

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explanation. He supposes Pausanias delegated to the Athenians—the despised Athenians—the task of skirting the hills east of the road to Thebes and of turning the right by forcing the river. They

MAP III



Second Phase and Projected Greek Retreat

"funked" and took refuge on the Pyrgos hill, with the result that Pausanias had to move his center into the plain to fill the gap. But if his piercing movement was not to result in entire defeat, Pausanias had to keep his left in position against the Persian right until the enemy moved. This is the explanation of the left-flank movement. Nor is any account taken of the Persian center. If the gap had actually occurred, Mardonios had an easy task with his superior forces to pierce the line and roll the right up with his center. Any successful flanking movement was impossible for Pausanias, and an

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attack following an attempt at one was almost certainly doomed to fail. Macan's theory (p. 379), while this criticism does not apply to it, conceives of a double position, which depends largely on his view of the Erythrai combat but which takes account of the Persians at Hysiai. He considers the first Greek position was an immediate formation on emerging from the pass. From that they moved to a Hysiatan position facing the Persian center and separated by the valley from the Persian right. Here was spent the time till Mardonios raided Dryoskephalai, and then Pausanias moved forward to the main Asopos. Of all this there is no word in Herodotos. It is difficult to see why, if Pausanias was in straits at Hysiai, he should have considered that a tactical advance would help him unless he intended a general attack. The text shows that he clung to his position obstinately till badgered out of it, and that all the skirmishes took place on the river.

III

The narative thus goes on:

For eight days the sacrifices were unfavorable, i.e., the generals did not wish to move (cc. 36, 37). Then Mardonios sent a cavalry squadron to Dryoskephalai which cut off the baggage train (c. 39). Two more days elapsed. The Persians abandoned their lines and came down to the stream, but the Greeks did not move. Cavalry attacks were incessant, and there was continual general fighting (c. 40). By the eleventh day reinforcements had visibly increased the Greek army, and Mardonios could stand it no longer. Against Artabazos' advice in favor of a policy of bribery Mardonios decided to attack (cc. 41, 42). Alexander at night betrayed the plan to the Greeks (cc. 44, 45). The story of the change of wings follows (cc. 46, 47). Mardonios taunted the Spartans and finally challenged them (c. 48). No answer being forthcoming he sent his cavalry against the Greeks, and what was almost an attack in force ensued. On the left the Greeks were repulsed from the river and on the right from Gargaphia. As a result they became short of water and food (cc. 49, 50). It was resolved to retire to the Nesos if no general attack took place next day. Water there was plentiful and the ground was too rough for cavalry. From it half their forces would reopen the Erythrai pass (c. 51). All that day they suffered heavily, and at

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night there was a general stampede, many "never intending to go where they had been told, while others bolted to Plataiai" (c. 52) and drew up before the Heraion. Pausanias ordered the Spartans to follow, but Amompharetos refused to move. Pausanias stayed to reason with him (c. 53). The Athenians, suspecting Spartan treachery, kept still and sent to ask Pausanias what to do (c. 54). He answered by asking them to come to him and "act as they should" (c. 55). Morning came and found Amompharetos still obstinate. Pausanias therefore moved off along the hills, keeping to the rising ground and the base of Kithairon. The Athenians also moved, but in the valley (c. 56). Amompharetos yielded now and followed. Pausanias halted on the Moloeis to receive him. He appeared, pursued by the cavalry (c. 57). Mardonios now ordered a general attack on the Spartans (c. 59).

This account in the main is quite clear. The Greek line extended from Gargaphia round Al. On the rising ground the Persians were on the ridge, if anything in the stronger position. The position was the direct result of the check to the piercing move, with the result that inaction, though to the taste of neither, was a necessity for both. To force either position was dangerous; to retreat in the face of the enemy equally perilous. Much has been said to account for this failure to move, but necessity is a sufficient explanation (Meyer, *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 409). In vain did Mardonios bring his men down from the hills to induce the Greeks to engage with him; they saw their peril and remained in their lines. After a week of this maneuvering Mardonios tried to effect a diversion by cutting the Greek communication with Dryoskephalai. A squadron of cavalry occupied the pass. The actual effect of the movement was slight—a convoy was captured—but it was a plain threat to Pausanias' whole position by outflankment on the right. Provisions suddenly became scarcer, and the Greeks were in some difficulty. Mardonios, however, could not wait and resolved to take the offensive. He was now, at least, reinforced by Artabazos and was able to use his whole division as a reserve. His counsel was better than Artabazos', for he knew he had the advantage for the moment, while Artabazos' policy meant a long process and Persia, with the issue at sea still doubtful, could not afford long processes.

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The battle began by a series of cavalry charges followed by an attack in force designed to drive the Greeks from the river. On both wings the Persians were successful. On the left they crossed Al and drove off the Athenians. On the right they beat back the Spartans from Gargaphia. As a result the water supply failed. Pausanias was in grave peril. At the least, he was outflanked on both sides by swarms of enemies, though what Awdry says (p. 91)—that the Persian cavalry was riding at will round the Greek position—can hardly be true. The Greeks had to move. Here our *sous-officier* comes in again. He was not of the council and did not understand what he saw. Hence the incoherence of the account and the extraordinary tale of the stampede.

Pausanias, if he was going to retire, had to cover his original position, i.e., the Plataiai line. He could not see the result of a repetition next day of that day's happenings, and it was possible the Greeks would be so far weakened as to be forced to retire with the battle raging. He had therefore first to secure the key—Plataiai—and accordingly the center was to retire on the town the moment it was dark. The others would stay in their lines till dawn to cover the retreat and then would retire southeast on diverging lines, the right ultimately to Erythrai via the Nesos, the left to the Nesos and thence cover Hysiai. On the Kithairon line it would await Mardonios' development of his offensive.

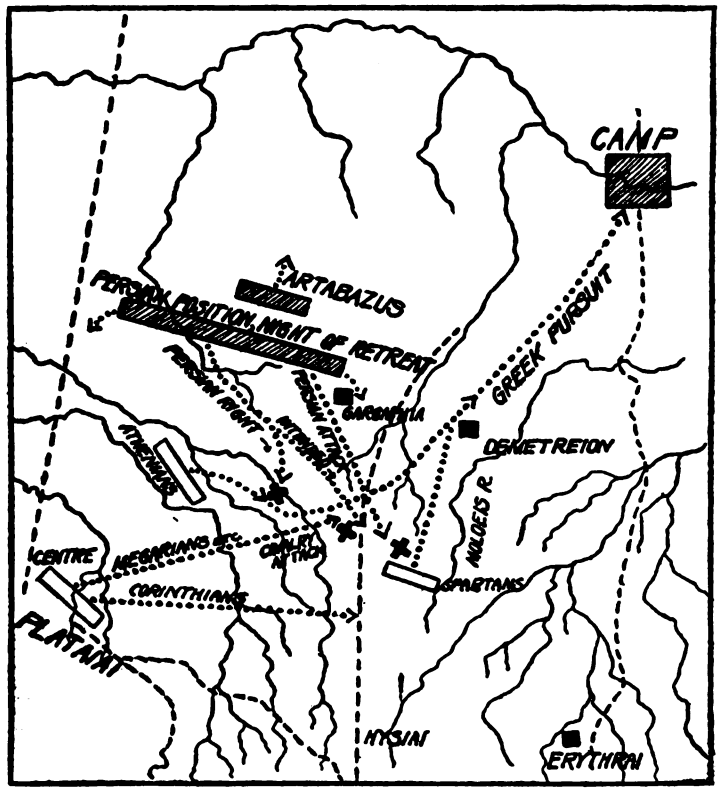
Another serious day passed with hard fighting and distress from want of water. At night in pursuance of the plan the center retired. Greek discipline off the battlefield was never very good. There was need for haste (seen by the fact that the center formed whenever it reached Plataiai), and so the retreat must have looked not unlike a stampede. Imagine the feelings of an Athenian, not in his leaders' confidence, ordered to stay in his lines to wait for the Spartans, suddenly seeing the whole center apparently bolt, leaving his division isolated! At dawn, or sometime before, the Athenians, crossing the stream in their rear, proceeded to the Nesos, while Pausanias retired back from Gargaphia on fairly level ground. Amompharetos was left behind at Gargaphia to conceal the retreat.[1] With daylight the Persian cavalry discovered the truth, but Pausanias had had time to

[1] It is surely unnecessary to comment further on the Amompharetos incident.

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get away and be on the rising ground that slopes to Kithairon. He halted to receive Amompharetos who came slowly, holding off the Persian cavalry.

MAP IV



NOTE.—These plans do not pretend to be other than the merest sketch maps

With Grundy (p. 487) this retreat must be considered necessary. The tradition given in Diodorus from Ephorus praises Pausanias for his brilliant choice of a second position. It is difficult to see why. The original motive was brilliant, but the position into which it led him was never tenable. Sooner or later he must retreat. Retreat being thus a tactical necessity, it will not do to lavish praise on Pausanias for the brilliant device of a "feigned retreat." Of this theory Wright (p. 63) is the most redoubtable champion. He

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considers that there was no need for the Greeks to retire for (*a*) it has been established by Woodhouse (p. 48) that there were other streams near (but water would then have to be carried some distance and there was severe fighting all the time); and (*b*) the Persian cavalry retired from Gargaphia at night and did not occupy it (but it had already succeeded in destroying the springs). Apart from this consideration altogether, Pausanias was practically surrounded, was actually outflanked and on bad ground. Wright, however, will have it that Gargaphia was deliberately sacrificed to entice the infantry to follow the cavalry to destruction. But the infantry was already engaged and had driven in the Greeks. If the retreat was "feigned," why did Pausanias delay so long, why did the center leave the battle, why did he allow the Athenians to escape taking part? The retirement of the center meant the occupation in force of Plataiai, which again indicates clearly that Pausanias meant to retire on Kithairon. As it turned out, the Spartans were very nearly defeated, might even have been defeated had the Athenians not engaged the Persian right. Pausanias of course must have foreseen a pursuit and an attack and took precautions accordingly; but to induce an attack cannot have been his aim. Admittedly the "feigned retreat" was a favorite device. Wright cites Thermopylai and Marathon. But in both these cases it was executed in action, in the former to make the enemy break rank, in the latter to let the wings close in. In neither case was there a complicated maneuver of an entire force over a wide tract of country involved. The feigned retreat of the *Laches* (c. 191*c*) which did win the battle was at the wicker fence and nowhere else. Delbrück's suggestion (p. 117) that the Persians attempted a diversion toward Phylai and that the center was sent back to meet this, Mardonios attacking while the line was being reformed, is unthinkable. Why should the center then form north of Plataiai, outside the town? What good, moreover, could such a move have done Mardonios?

The Greeks were, as Munro says (p. 160), demoralized, or at least within measurable distance of being so, and their victory was the result of Pausanias' quickness in taking advantage of Mardonios' fatal error. The Persian general thought the Spartans were beaten, he failed to see the Athenians in the depressions toward the Nesos, and so ordered a general charge. Pausanias saw his chance, halted his line, and sent a messenger to the Athenians to send him archers

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for use against the cavalry and to change their course so as to come to his help. Munro (p. 164) considers this message apocryphal. It is not easy to see why Pausanias did not know the Athenians would meet the right wing of the attack, and he needed them if only to make assurance doubly sure. The Persians came on confident of victory. Macan (p. 372) complains that the center took no part in the battle but it must have been the original center which had driven the Spartans from Gargaphia and now led the pursuit. They did not venture to attack hoplites hand to hand, but threw up a stockade of wicker shields from behind which they opened a galling fire of arrows. The pretext of an unfavorable sacrifice kept Pausanias' men steady and an invocation of Hera gave them heart. The left—the Tegeans—attacked, and shortly after the Spartans moved also. This indicates the Spartan lines were in a northwest direction, i.e., in that of an army making for Erythrai. Meantime the Athenians, hurrying over to help the Spartans, straggled into the pursuit and the medizing Greeks who had been the right wing faced about and engaged them. The Spartans, however, by themselves had forced the stockade, perhaps by the device of the feigned retreat for which Pausanias would then deserve all the credit Wright gives him. The rest was easy. Unable to withstand the Spartan charge, the line broke and fled to the camp, the Spartans in hot pursuit. A desperate rally took place near the Demetreion, where the Persians displayed wild heroism. In the *mêlée*, however, Mardonios, who was leading what promised to be a successful charge, fell, and at that the rally collapsed, Mardonios' chosen troops dying where they stood. Artabazos, left as a reserve (doubtless on the ridge), saw that the day was lost and drew off his squadron. It is difficult not to accuse him of cowardice, since the sudden accession of his fresh troops might have broken the Greeks. But his royal master seems to have had nothing but approval for the deed, and at that we may leave it. However, there was still some fight left in the Persians. At this point the cavalry re-entered the battle. Both Munro (p. 163) and Macan (p. 370) complain of its disappearance, but it had driven in Amompharetos and harrassed Pausanias till it was drawn off to make room for the infantry. With great gallantry it now fought a brilliant rear-guard action the whole way to the camp, thus enabling the broken infantry to man the walls. The Spartans, driving the enemy before

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them, failed to carry it, but the Athenians coming up later—which indicates that the battle on the left was more severe than Macan (p. 384) seems disposed to admit—effected a breach through which the Tegeans dashed. The victory was won. Both Wright (p. 70) and Macan (p. 372) doubt this division of labor, but one may ask, When did sappers ever form a storming party?

There remains the problem of the center, which during the struggle of the wings had remained inactive at Plataiai. When it saw the Greeks winning, contingents were detached to join the pursuit. It cannot be too strongly insisted that the center could not move until it was certain that victory was beyond doubt. If either Pausanias or the Athenians were broken, on it might depend the whole safety of Greece. The Corinthians went along the hills, while the Megarians and Phleiasians entered the plain. Here they were suddenly attacked by a squadron of Theban horse and, being in disorder, were hopelessly scattered. Macan (p. 385) supposes there was a division of duty, the Corinthians supporting the Spartans, the Megarians the Athenians, then *in extremis*. Possibly, but the point is that the Greek advance on the camp had begun before they moved. Consequently they were off their guard and careless. That the battle was won is seen by the fact that if the Athenians were still contesting the ground with the right wing, the Theban horse would, granted that they could have detached themselves from the *mêlée*, have had to ride round, or through, the Greeks. (They may, of course have been the Dryoskephalai squadron, but Herodotos seems to indicate [c. 39] that that was Persian.) In that case the Megarians would have seen it coming. It was a squadron that had got off from the rout of the right. The Athenians were already near the camp and, seeing the Megarians on level ground and unsuspecting, the squadron suddenly swept into them.

There is little evidence, it may be remarked, for the view that the Athenians were guilty of remarkable remissness, to use no stronger word, and failed conspicuously to attain their objective. The *whole* retreat except the center was caught ere it reached its objective, and no more blame attaches to the Athenians than to the Spartans. Tactically the retreat was a failure. Mardonios' error turned it into a victory.

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LATIN DIMINUTION OF ADJECTIVES. II

By Walter Petersen

V. DETERIORATIVE ADJECTIVES

36. The suffix of a deteriorative adjective, just as that of the hypocoristic adjectives (sec. 28), can express an emotion felt toward the modified substantive only or for the quality designated by the deteriorative adjective as well; the latter e.g. in *improbulus: improbus* 'wicked,' *lentulus: lentus* 'slow,' or *turpiculus: turpis* 'base'; the former e.g. in *albulus: albus* 'white,' *gemellus: geminus* 'twin-born,' or *eruditulus: eruditus* 'learned.' This distinction, however, will not be made the basis of classification, because, as with the corresponding hypocorisms, too often one cannot be certain to which class a deteriorative may belong. Thus in Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est?* is the subject despised *because* of his curled hair, or was that feature mentioned simply as a distinguishing mark?

37. Our examples will rather be divided, as were the hypocoristic adjectives, according to the more precise value of the suffix. As was seen in sec. 8, the 'diminutives' in *-lo-* and its conglutinates, far outnumbering those in *-culo-*, developed their deteriorative value from the diminutive and hypocoristic, and consequently a far larger number than e.g. of Greek substantival deterioratives in *-ιον*, which developed their meaning directly from that of similarity,[1] show a combination of the pejorative value with the diminutive on the one hand, and the hypocoristic on the other. Aside from these two groups the deterioratives can be divided into two others according to whether the emotion is contempt or rather hate or anger ("imprecatory diminutives").[2] As a matter of fact the emotion which is secondary to small size must needs be contempt, and similarly the one derived from hypocoristic use (see sec. 39). We thus get four classes: (1) diminutive-deteriorative adjectives, (2) hypocoristic-deteriorative adjectives, (3) adjectives expressing contempt without diminutive or hypocoristic notion, (4) adjectives expressing hate or anger.

[1] Cf. sec. 8. [2] Thus called by Edgerton *JAOS* 31. 138 f.

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1. *Diminutive-Deteriorative Adjectives*

38. The development from 'small' to 'of little value or strength' to 'contemptible' is so easy as to be found in practically all frequent diminutive suffixes.[1] As examples of the transition when both notions were present might be mentioned some examples quoted above as true diminutives, e.g. *tantulus* (second and third example, sec. 15), *tantillus* (second example, sec. 15), *tenuiculus* (sec. 17), *paullulus* (second example, sec. 17), *macellus* (sec. 18), *bimulus* (first example, sec. 19), *Graeculus* (sec. 26); cf. also sec. 20. Other examples follow:

acutulus: *acutus* 'acute, subtile': Gell. 17. 5. 3 *rhetoricus . . . . ex istis acutulis et minutis doctoribus, qui τεχνικοὶ appellantur.* ***barbatulus:*** *barbatus* 'bearded': Cic. *Att.* 1. 14. 5 *concursabant barbatuli*[2] *juvenes, totus ille grex Catalinae.* ***misellus:*** *miser* 'wretched': Plaut. *Rud.* 2. 6. 66 *Eheu! redactus sum usque ad unam hanc tuniculam Et ad hoc misellum*[3] *pallium.* ***parvulus:*** *parvus* 'small': Lucr. 4. 1162 *Nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetida acosmos, Caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas, Parvula, pumilio.* ***pauculi:*** *pauci* 'few': Vulg. 1. *Regg.* 17. 28 *Quare dereliquisti pauculos oves illas in deserto?* ***pauxillulus:*** *paullus* 'small': Gell. *N.A. praef.* 16 *an minutae istae admonitiones et pauxillulae*[4] *nequaquam tamen sint vel ad alendum studium vescae vel,* etc. ***pusillus:*** *pusus* (cf. sub sec. 18): Cic. *Fam.* 2. 17. 7 *Illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentis jejuni atque inanis;* Juv. 15. 70 *Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.* ***quantulus:*** *quantus* 'how much': App. *M.* 9. 35 *cladibus amici quantulum quantulum ferentes auxilium;* Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 1 *quantulum*[4] *judicare possemus.* ***scitulus:*** *scitus* 'handsome, elegant': Arn. 5. 31 *quis* (sc. *edidit*) *scitulos pusiones atque adultos venustissimis lineis adpetitos esse inceste?* ***vesculus:*** *vescus* 'little, trifling': Fest. p. 379 Müller *Vesculi male curati et graciles homines.*

Three words of the same kind end in *-culo-:* ***breviculus:*** *brevis* 'short': Plaut *Merc.* 3. 4. 54 *Canum* (sc. *esse aiebant*), *varum,*

[1] Cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1[2]. 681 f.

[2] The diminutive notion here is youth instead of small size.

[3] The diminutive notion here consists of the feeling that a *tunicula* and a *pallium* were a small as well as insignificant remnant of former wealth.

[4] In passages like these the cause of the diminutive-deteriorative is a desire to appear modest and to represent as small and insignificant something of one's self.

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ventriosum, bucculentum, breviculum, Subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum; App. *M.* 1. 12 *Grabatulus alioquin breviculus et uno pede mutilus ac putris.* ***leviculus:*** *levis* 'light': Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 36. 103 *Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculae . . . . insusurrantisque alteri: 'Hic est ille Demosthenes';* Gell. 13. 31. 15 *Quid significet prandium caninum, rem leviculam, diu et anxie quaesivimus.* ***mediocriculus:*** *mediocris* 'middling': Cato *ap. Fest.* p. 154 Müller *Ridibundum magistratum, pauculos homines, mediocriculum exercitum obviam duci.*

2. *Hypocoristic-Deteriorative Adjectives*

39. Contempt is derived from hypocoristic uses of a suffix when e.g. admiration for neatness, elegance, or luxuriousness changes to contempt because of changed circumstances or a changed point of view, as in the deterioratives *comatulus* 'with luxuriant hair' (: *comatus*), *crispulus* 'with crisp or curly hair' (: *crispus*), or *eruditulus* 'learned' (: *eruditus*). The qualities of having luxuriant or curly hair would naturally cause contempt among the less foppish, and the quality of being learned is often referred to ironically among the less learned, or may cause contempt when the kind of learning is a worthless one. Furthermore, hypocorisms of the kind mentioned as well as expressions of endearment become deteriorative when used ironically, as when *beatulus* 'a happy or sainted fellow' is applied to a rascal, or when *pulchellus: pulcher* 'beautiful' is applied to a deformed person, or when a term of endearment which is perfectly in place when given to women becomes transferred to men, as *tenellus* 'tender' and *molliculus* 'soft, delicate.' A most surprising turn is sometimes given a passage by the use of an ironical hypocoristic derivative from an adjective whose meaning seems to exclude such a possibility, e.g. *audaculus: audax* 'daring' in Petr. 63. 5 *Habebamus tunc hominem Cappadocem longum, valde audaculum, et qui valebat bovem iratum tollere* (as though 'a nice courageous little fellow,' in spite of his size and strength). Similarly *feroculus: ferox* 'fierce' Turp. *ap. Non.* 75. 30 *"Ne me attigat atque aufer manum!" "Heia! quam ferocula est!"*[1] Auct. B. Afr. 16. 1 *quid, tu, ... miles tiro, tam feroculus es?*

[1] The exclamation shows that *ferocula* is not 'somewhat fierce.'

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40. *Collection of examples.* ***astutulus:*** *astutus* 'astute': App. *M.* 9. 30 *Unde autem tu, astutule asine, ... quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint, scire potuisti?* ***audaculus*** (see sec. 39); cf. also Gell. 5. 21. 4 *Aderat, cum ille hoc dicit, reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a volgo protrita legerat habebatque nonnullas disciplinae grammaticae inauditiunculas;* Sulp. Apoll. *ap. Gell.* 15. 5. ***beatulus:*** *beatus* 'happy, sainted': Pers. 3. 103 *tandemque beatulus alto Compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis In portam rigidas calces extendit.* ***bellule*** (adverb): *bellus* 'beautiful': App. *M.* 10. 16 *At ego, quamquam jam bellule suffarcinatus . . . . esurienter exhibitas escas appetebam.* ***blandiloquentulus:*** *blandiloquens* 'speaking coaxingly': Plaut. *Trin.* 2. 1. 18 *subdole blanditur* (sc. *Amor*), *ab re consulit, Blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoliator.* ***cincinnatulus:*** *cincinnatus* 'with curled hair': Hier. *Ep.* 130 n. 19 *Quid fugiendum . . . . Cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos.* ***comatulus:*** *comatus* 'having long or luxurious hair': Hier. *Ep.* 54 n. 13 *Juvenum fuge consortia. Comatulos, comptos, atque lascivos domus tuae tectae non videant.* ***crispulus:*** *crispus* 'with curly hair': Sen. *Ep.* 66. 25 *Paulatim fastidium tuum illo usque procedet, ut ex duobus aeque justis ac prudentibus comatum et crispulum malis;* Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret Qui, Mariane, tuae? Crispulus iste quis est?* Figuratively Fronto *Or. Ep.* 3. p. 248 *Dicis fortasse, quid in orationibus meis novicium, quid crispulum, quid luscum, quid purpurisso litum, aut pollutum?* ***eruditulus:*** *eruditus:* Cat. 57. 7 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique, Uno in lectulo, erudituli ambo.* ***feroculus*** (see sec. 39). ***integellus:*** *integer* 'safe, uninjured': Cic. *Fam.* 9. 10. 2 *Sed tamen suavissimum συμβιωτὴν nostrum praestabo integellum, nec committam ut, si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas.* ***mollicellus:*** *mollis* 'soft, tender': Cat. 25. 10 *Ne laneum latusculum manusque mollicellas Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent.* ***mundulus:*** *mundus* 'neat, spruce': Plaut. *Truc.* 3. 1. 14 *Ne ego urbanos istos mundulos amasios Hoc ictu exponam.* ***perastutulus:*** *perastutus* 'very crafty': App. *M.* 9. 5 *Tunc mulier callida et ad huiusmodi flagitia perastutula.* ***pulchellus:*** *pulcher* 'beautiful': Crass. *ap. Cic. de Or.* 2. 65. 262 *Audiamus . . . . pulchellum puerum* (of one deformed). ***religiosulus:*** *religiosus* 'religious': Hier. *Adv. Ruf.* 3. 7 *Qaeris cur opponam clypeam pugioni tuo, et tibi*

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quasi religiosulus et sanctulus personam humilitatis imponis. ***sanctulus:*** *sanctus* 'holy': see sub *religiosulus.* ***subargutulus:*** *subargutus* 'somewhat subtle': Gell. 15. 30. 1 *Qui ab alio genere vitae detriti jam et retorridi ad literarum disciplinas serius adeunt, si forte idem sunt garruli natura et subargutuli, oppido quam fiunt in literarum ostentatione inepti et frivoli.* ***tenellus:*** tener 'tender': Domit. Mart. Poet. *ap. Suet. Gram.* 16 *Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum.*

Also one word in *-culo-:* ***molliculus:*** *mollis* 'soft, tender': Charisius 183 P *molliculus adulescentulus.*

3. *Deteriorative Adjectives without Recognizable Diminutive-Hypocoristic Elements*

41. As was indicated in sec. 37, the emotion prompting the use of a deteriorative suffix may be not only contempt of a more or less intense character, but also hatred or anger. The latter was no doubt a secondary use which may be explained by the scorn with which a contemptible object is frequently viewed, and from scorn to hatred without contempt is but a little step. Both emotions are present, e.g. in the use of ***albulus:*** *albus* 'white' in Cat. 29. 8 *Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens Perambulabit omnium cubilia Ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?* The cause of the use of the adjectival diminutive here is surely the scorn and hatred for the subject as well as the contempt for the dove with which he is compared. A similar combination occurs in ***ebriolus:*** *ebrius* 'intoxicated': Plaut. *Curc.* 1. 3. 35 *quid ais, propudium? . . . . Ebriola persolla, nugae.* On the other hand, contempt seems to be altogether absent or at least thoroughly subordinate in the following cases: ***acutulus:*** *acutus* 'sharp': App. *M.* 6. 27 *Nec tamen acutulae anus milvinos oculos effugere potui.* ***callidulus:*** *callidus* 'cunning': Arn. 2. 68 *hunc similiter morem non fraude callidula et nominum ambiguitate mutastis?* ***limulus:*** *limus* 'askance': Plaut. *Bacch.* 5. 2. 12 *Viden limulis, opsecro, ut intuentur?* ***litteratulus:*** *litteratus* 'learned': Hier. *Adv. Ruf.* 1. n. 30 *En tu, qui in me parvam criminaris scientiam, et videris tibi litteratulus atque Rabbi, responde.* ***vastulus:*** *vastus* 'huge': App. *M.* 2. 32 *ecce tres quidem vegentes et vastulis corporibus fores nostras ex summis viribus irruentes.*

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42. Aside from these few examples in which hatred or anger is certainly dominant, it will not be practicable to attempt to separate these emotions from contempt, since the latter *may* nearly always be present and dominant. All other examples of deteriorative adjectives will therefore now be given in alphabetical order:

argutulus: *argutus* 'verbose': Cic. *Att.* 13. 18 *Perfeci sane argutulos*[1] *libros ad Varronem.* ***aridulus:*** *aridus* 'dry': Cat. 64. 310 (of the Fates) *Laneaque aridulis*[2] *haerebant morsa labellis.* ***auritulus:*** *auritus* 'long-eared': *Phaedr.* 1. 11. 6 *Hic* (sc. *asinus*) *auritulus Clamorem subito . . . . tollit.* ***cerritulus:*** *cerritus* 'crazy, mad': Mart. Cap. 8 sec. 806 *velut cerritulum garrientem.* ***deliculus:*** *delicuus* 'wanting, blemished': Cato *R.R.* 2. 7 *boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas*[3] *. . . . vendat.* ***dicaculus:*** *dicax* 'talkative': Plaut. *As.* 3. 1. 8 (in an altercation) *Satis dicacula es amatrix.* ***ebriolus:*** *ebrius* 'intoxicated': *id. Curc.* 2. 3. 15 *Tristes atque ebrioli incedunt.* ***gemellus:*** *geminus* 'twin-born': Cat. 57. 6 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique;* Hor. *S.* 2. 3. 244 *pravorum et amore gemellum.* ***Graeculus:*** *Graecus* 'Greek': Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 35. 86 *Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum; id. Fl.* 10. 23 *motum quendam temerarium Graeculae contionis; id. De Or.* 1. 11. 47 *Verbi enim controversia jam diu torquet Graeculos homines, contentionis cupiditiores quam veritatis.* ***horridulus:*** *horridus* 'rough, rude': *id. Or.* 45. 152 *orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis;* Mart. 10. 98. 9 *Praesta de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes, pusillos, Hircosi mihi filios subulci.* ***ignitulus:*** *ignitus* 'fiery': Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1. 10 (fin.) *Mercurius, in calvitio pennatulus, in caduceo ignitulus.* ***improbulus:*** *improbus* 'wicked': Juv. 5. 73 *finge tamen te Improbulum.* ***languidulus:*** *languidus* 'faded, withered': Cic. *frag. ap. Quint.* 8. 3. 66 *Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium.* ***lentulus:*** *lentus* 'slow': *id. Att.* 10. 11. 2 *An existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum?* ***lippulus:*** *lippus* 'bleareyed': Arn. 7. 34 *quodsi possent adscribere valitudines, aegritudines et corporales diis morbos, non dubitarent eos lienosos, lippulos atque*

[1] The deteriorative element here also comes from a desire to appear modest. Cf. *pauxillulus* and *quantulus*, sec. 38.

[2] The lips of the Fates were dry with age.

[3] Here the emotion of contempt has faded and there is nothing left except a judgment of inferiority.

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enterocelicos dicere. ***lividulus:*** *lividus* 'envious': Juv. 11. 110 *Omnia tunc, quibus invideas, si lividulus*[1] *sis.* ***loquaculus:*** *loquax* 'talkative': Lucr. 4. 1165 *At flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit.* ***mendiculus:*** *mendicus* 'beggarly': Plaut. *Ep.* 2. 2. 42 *an regillam induculam an mendiculam?* ***paetulus:*** *paetus* 'blink-eyed': Cic. *N.D.* 1. 29. 80 *si non tam strabones, at paetulos esse* (sc. *deos*) *arbitramur?* ***pennatulus:*** *pennatus* 'winged': Tert. *Ad Nat.*, see sub *ignitulus.* ***peregrinulus:*** *peregrinus* 'estranged': Ven. Fort. *Vit. Germ.* 64.[2] ***putidulus:*** *putidus* 'disgusting': Mart. 4. 20. 4 *Altera ridicula est, altera putidula.* ***rabiosulus:*** *rabiosus* 'rabid': Cic. *Fam.* 7. 16. 1 *Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas* (sc. *litteras*) *dedisti.* ***rancidulus:*** *rancidus* 'rancid, disgusting': Juv. 11. 135 *non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt Rancidula;* Pers. 1. 33 *Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus;* Mart. 7. 34. 7 *rancidulo loquatur ore.* ***rapidulus:*** *rapidus* 'rapid': Mart. Capella 8 sec. 704 *ranae sonitum desorbentis increpuit. quo terrore et rapiduli sonitus raucitate concussi eodem se quam plures convertere.* ***raucidulus:*** *raucus* 'hoarse': Hier. *Ep.* 40. 2 *Volo corniculae detrahere garrienti, raucidulum*[3] *se intelligat cornix.* ***refractariolus:*** *refractarius* 'refractory': Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 3 *quod se ab hoc refractariolo judicali dicendi genere abjunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur.* ***rubellus:*** *ruber* 'red': Mart. 1. 103. 9 *Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli;* Pers. 5. 147 *Veientanumque rubellun Exhalet.* ***rubicundulus:*** *rubicundus* 'ruddy': Juv. 6. 425 *tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum Oenophorum sitiens.* ***rusticulus:*** *rusticus* 'rustic': Mart. 10. 19 *Nec doctum satis et parum severum, Sed non rusticulum nimis libellum;* Aus. *Idyll. Carm.* 7. 4. *Bissula, nomen tenerae rusticulum puellae.* ***Samiolus:*** *Samius* 'Samian': Plaut. *Stich.* 5. 4. 12 *quibus divitiae domi sunt, scaphio et cantharis, Batiocis bibunt, at nos nostro Samiolo poterio.* ***sciolus:*** *scius* 'knowing': Hier. *Ep.* 125. 16 *Qui vero pauperes sunt et tenui substantiola, videntur sibi scioli.* ***sordidulus:*** *sordidus* 'sordid': Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 63 *Servulorum sordidulorum*

[1] Often translated 'somewhat envious,' e.g. by W. E. Weber: "Alles geeignet sum Neid, wer halbweg neiget sur Misgunst." This is possible because *lividulus* may have been originally a color term meaning 'somewhat blue,' for which cf. the group of secs. 44 ff.

[2] The passage is not accessible to me.

[3] The text is uncertain. Others have *rancidulum.*

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scorta diobolaria; Juv. 3. 149 *Si toga sordidula est.* ***timidule*** (adverb): *timidus* 'timid': App. *M.* 4. 8 *timidule per balneas et aniles cellulas reptantes scrutariam facitis.* ***torosulus:*** *torosus* 'muscular': Hier. *Ep.* 117. 8 *Dolet sibi praelatum juvenem, non quidem comatum, non vestium sericarum, sed torosulum et in sordibus delicatum.* ***turbidulus:*** *turbidus* 'confused': Prud. *Apoth.* 208 *Turbidulos sensus et litigiosa fragosis Argumenta modis concludent numen in unum.* ***unctulus:*** *unctus* 'anointed': Varr. *ap. Non.* 179. 8 *alii ita sunt circumtonsi et terti atque unctuli, ut mangonis esse videantur servi.* ***vetulus:*** *vetus* 'old': Plaut. *Merc.* 2. 2. 43 *vetulus decrepitus senex;* Cic. *Lael.* 19. 67 *ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus;* Mart. 8. 79. 1 *Omnes aut vetulas habes amicas Aut turpes vetulisque foediores.*

The following words end in *-culo-:* ***acriculus:*** *acer* 'sharp, testy': Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 17. 38 *ille acriculus . . . . senex Zeno.* ***hilariculus:*** *hilaris* 'cheerful': Sen. *Ep.* 23. 4 *an tu existimas quemquam soluto voltu, et ut isti delicati loquuntur, hilariculo*[1] *mortem contemnere?* ***jactanticulus:*** *jactans* 'boasting': Aug. *Adv. Ac.* 3. 8 *ille Academicus jactanticulus.* ***montaniculus:*** *montanus* 'belonging to a mountain' occurs in Charis. 128 P without context, and is placed here only because contempt would seem to be the most probable use for such a diminutive. ***turpiculus:*** *turpis* 'homely, base': Cat. 41. 3 *Ista turpiculo puella naso;* Cic. *De Or.* 2. 61. 248 *jocus in turpiculis et quasi deformibus* (sc. *rebus*) *ponitur.* ***subturpiculus:*** *subturpis* 'somewhat disgraceful': *id. Att.* 4. 5. 1 *subturpicula mihi videbatur esse παλινῳδία.*

VI. DIMINUTIVES OF QUALITY

43. In the last three chapters many words have been classified as real diminutive, hypocoristic, and deteriorative adjectives which are translated in the lexicons as diminutives of quality: e.g. *floridulus*, classified above as hypocoristic, is rendered 'somewhat blooming.' Harpers' *Lexicon* e.g. seems to have rendered similarly every adjective that possibly could be so rendered, even when it was directly opposed to the spirit of the passage quoted. Thus of *tenellulus* (sec. 34) Platner, *A. J. of Phil.* 16. 190, remarks: "'somewhat tender' is manifestly wrong," because it is used in a passage in which the compliment to a maiden would be made frigid and altogether

[1] Instead of *hilariculo* some manuscripts have *hilari oculo.*

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spoilt by the statement that she is 'more delicate than a *somewhat* tender kid.' On the contrary, the hypocoristic interpretation of the suffix increases the compliment as intended by the poet. Similarly *ebriolus* (sec. 41) is translated 'somewhat intoxicated'—surely a very effective display of scorn to address one as '*somewhat* intoxicated person'! And aside from many other passages like the foregoing, the lexicon frequently translates in the same way adjectives used in exclamations, e.g. *quam ferocula est!* (sec. 39), or adjectives modified by an adverb meaning 'very,' e.g. *valde audaculum* (sec. 39). Such examples show that it is not worth while to recognize in every case the translation of the lexicons, but rather to interpret without reference to them. My assumption so far has been that whenever in a certain category of adjectives the translation as diminutives of quality is impossible in many instances and never necessary, that then all doubtful instances will also not belong to this group even when a single passage would admit such an interpretation.

44. Applying this principle, we find that with the exception of derivatives from adjectives designating a large size, in which the notion '*somewhat* large' is derived from the diminutive idea (secs. 21 f.), and adjectives like *sub-turpiculus* 'somewhat base' (sec. 42), in which the idea of approximation to the primitive is derived from the prefix instead of the suffix, diminutives of quality are so rare that one is almost led to doubt their existence altogether, and at the most they are confined to color terms and one or two others. But even diminutive color adjectives by no means always express an approximation to the primitive, but may be deteriorative (*rubicundulus* sec. 42) and frequently are hypocoristic, e.g. *candidulus* (sec. 31) or *mulleolus* (sec. 31). The question is, whether *all* such adjectives are not rather deteriorative or hypocoristic, whether the notion of approximation to the primitive is ever necessary.

45. The answer to this question is difficult because of the loose use of color terms in general. Whatever is reddish can also be designated as red, as when we speak of copper as the red metal. Consequently the use of a derivative in such cases proves nothing when the primitive itself may be used of the same thing, but, on the other hand, it disproves nothing. When, however, the derivative occurs only when there is a mere approximation to the color of the

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primitive, we have a right to conclude that that force is added by the suffix. Even when this is not true we have a right to surmise the same thing when those passages where the derivative designates the normal color are plainly hypocoristic or deteriorative. On the other hand, these emotional elements may be the real cause for the adding of the suffix even when the color happens to merely be an approximation to that of the primitive. Consequently passages from unemotional prose writers like Cato or Pliny are of the greatest value in establishing the existence of diminutives of quality.

46. The following color terms seem to me most probably to be diminutives of quality: ***albidulus*** 'whitish': *albidus*. It is used of the color of the juice from drying pears: Pall. 3. 25. 12 *post mensem tertium suspensae hae carnes* (sc. *pirorum*) *liquorem dimittunt saporis jucundi sed coloris albiduli.* ***albulus*** 'whitish': *albus:* of water, Mart. 12. 98. 4 *Albula navigerum per freta pandit iter;* of a species of fig, Macr. *Sat.* 3. 20. 1. ***flammeolus*** 'somewhat flame-colored': *flammeus:* of the yellow color of the *caltha* (marigold?), Col. 10. 307 *Pressaque flammeola rumpatur fiscina caltha.* The primitive designates a fiery red instead of yellow. Possibly the difference is accidental and the derivative is hypocoristic. ***fulgidulus*** (: *fulgidus*) possibly 'somewhat shining,' though it may be hypocoristic: Ter. Maur. v. 225 *Instar tituli fulgidula notabo milto.* ***helv(e)olus*** 'yellowish': *helvus* 'light bay': of the color of a certain kind of wine, Cato *R.R.* 6. 4, 24. 2; of the grapes, Col. 3. 2. 23 and Plin. 14. 2. 4 sec. 29 *inter purpureas nigrasque helvolae saepius variantes.* ***luteolus*** (: *luteus* 'golden-yellow') is certainly 'yellowish' in Col. 12. 47. 9, where it is used of the olive when first turning from white: *Oliva pausea vel orchita cum primum ex albo decoloratur, fitque luteola;* probably also 'yellowish' in Col. 9. 4. 4 *luteolaeque et Sarranae violae.* In Verg. *E.* 2. 50, where it is used of the golden-yellow *caltha*, it seems to be hypocoristic: *Mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha.* ***nigellus*** (: *niger*) means 'blackish' in Pall. 3. 25. 12, where it is used of the color of wine. We may surmise that ***nigriculus,*** occurring only in a grammatical note, Varro *L.L.* 8. 40 sec. 79, was also 'blackish.' ***pullulus*** 'grayish': *pullus* 'dark-gray': of the color of a kind of earth (*terra*), Col. 2. 2. 19. ***rubellus*** 'reddish': *ruber:* of the color of certain vines, Plin. 14. 2. 2 sec. 23 *Proxima dignitas Nomentanis*

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rubente materia, quapropter rubellas adpellavere vineas; of a bald spot, Mart. Cap. 8 sec. 804 *depile rubellumque calvitium.* ***rufulus*** 'reddish': *rufus:* of the roots of the mandragoras, Plin. 25. 13. 94 sec. 147 *radicibus binis ternisve rufulis, intus albis.* In Plaut. *As.* 2. 3. 20, where a certain *Saurea* is said to be *rufulus aliquantum,* there may be a deteriorative element. ***russeolus*** 'reddish': *russeus.* In Prud. *στεφ.* 11. 130 *russeolam saniem* refers to the blood of slain persons, so that it is not quite certain that this word differs from its primitive. Similarly ***russulus*** 'reddish': *russus,* which is used of a bandage: Capitol. *Albin.* 5 fin., and of a tunic: Val. Imp. *ap. Vop. Prob.* 4. ***suffusculus***[1] 'somewhat brown': *suffuscus:* of the color of Egyptians, Amm. 22. 16. 23; of a Chaldaean, App. *M.* 2. 13.

47. There seems to be one diminutive of quality in the realm of taste: ***acidulus*** 'sourish': *acidus.* It is used of the taste of apples: Plin. 15. 15. 16 sec. 54 *Aniciana postautumnalia acidulo sapore jucunda.* It might be possible to assume rather a hypocoristic use here, but hardly when used of the taste of certain mineral waters, e.g. Plin. 2. 113. 106 sec. 230 *Lyncestis aqua quae vocatur acidula vini modo temulentos facit.*

48. Of the words of sec. 46 three, namely *helv(e)olus, nigellus,* and *rubellus* (cf. also sec. 42), are used of wines or vines, and with this group we may also compare the hypocoristic *vetulus* of sec. 31. By congeneric attraction to this group, which is thus partially hypocoristic in origin, arose ***meraculus:*** *meracus* 'pure.' It occurs in Plaut. *Cas.* 3. 5. 17 *Nisi haec meraclo se uspiam percussit flora Liberi;* Cels. 3. 19; Plin. 20. 19. 80 sec. 209 *opium ex vino meraculo si protinus detur scorpionum ictibus resistit.* There seems to be no indication of either hypocoristic use or of mere approximation to the primitive, and probably it did not differ from its primitive.

49. Mueller, *op. cit.* pp. 58 f. (note), would put in the same category also certain adjectives of material like *corneolus: corneus* 'of horn, horny,' but such a meaning is both highly improbable and not supported by the passage quoted, for which see sec. 25. We may then conclude that diminutives of quality are found only in color terms and in one adjective from the realm of taste. As to the

[1] The notion of approximation to the primitive is in this word due no less to the prefix *sub-* than to the suffix.

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relation of this group to the preceding we cannot determine anything until after also examining the comparatively small group of adjectives in *-iusculus*.

VII. COMPARATIVE ADJECTIVES IN -(I)USCULUS

50. Since *-(i)usculus* is composed of the comparative *-ius* and the diminutive suffix *-culus*, it is to be expected that its meaning is sometimes merely a sum of the meaning of its two parts, i.e. comparative plus some 'diminutive' meaning, in which case we can hardly speak of a real conglutinate. We thus find a number of words in which the latter part of the suffix designates small size or is hypocoristic or deteriorative, and we will discuss these before the more characteristic cases in which the suffix designates an approximation to the primitive.

51. The suffix *-culo-* adds real diminutive meaning to the comparative degree in ***minusculus:*** *minus* 'smaller.' The emphasis on the small size already indicated by the latter is the cause of the larger suffix, and *minusculus* is not 'somewhat smaller,'[1] as is shown by passages in which it is contrasted with *maior* or *maximus*, not *maiusculus:* Cic. *Qu. Fr.* 3. 1. 4 *Rescripsi epistolae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula;* Varro *R.R.* 1. 58 *Cato ait uvam Aminneam minusculam et maiorem et apiciam in ollis commodissime condi; ib.* 3. 5. 5 *minusculum aviarium, quod est conjunctum cum maiore ostio.* These passages show what should be the interpretation in other places where 'somewhat small' might be read into them, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 2. 51 *Addice tuam mihi meretricem minusculam;* Cato *R.R.* 12 *cupas minusculas X.*

52. In one word *-culo-* is certainly hypocoristic: ***liquidiusculus:*** *liquidus* 'liquid, soft'; cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 1. 69 *leniorem dices quam mutum est mare Liquidiusculusque ero quam ventus est favonius.* The comparative suffix has its full force, and to translate 'somewhat more liquid or soft,' as does the lexicon, is out of harmony with the speaker's purpose, who wants to appear as tractable as possible. In ***lautiusculus*** 'somewhat splendid or magnificent' (App. *M.* 7. 9 *vestemque lautiusculam proferunt*): *lautus* we cannot tell whether the notion 'somewhat' is due altogether to the comparative suffix, while *-culo-* is

[1] Contrast with this *maiusculus* (secs. 34, 36, 38), which is 'a little larger' or 'somewhat large.'

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hypocoristic, or whether the latter merely emphasized the former, or whether it combined both functions. The same is true of the adverbs ***doctiuscule*** 'rather artfully' (Gell. 6. 16. 2 *Nam cum esset verbum deprecor doctiuscule positum in Catulli carmine, quia id ignorabat, frigidissimos versus esse dicebat*): *doctus* and ***altiuscule*** 'rather high' (App. *M.* 2. 7. *russea fasciola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas*): *altus*.

53. Deteriorative interpretation for *-culo-* is certain when the comparative suffix denotes an excessive degree of a quality, which would exclude another suffix with the exactly opposite notion of 'somewhat.' In this case, then, the comparative suffix itself has a deteriorative meaning[1] which is strengthened by the *-culo-*. Such a word is ***tardiusculus*** 'too late or too slow': *tardus;* cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 380 (frag. 8) *Pol ad cubituram, mater, magis sum exercita Fere quam ad cursuram. eo sum tardiuscula;* Ter. *Heaut.* 3. 2. 4 *Ille Cliniai servos tardiusculus est; Idcirco huic nostro traditast provincia.* Similarly the adverbs ***longiuscule*** 'too far' (Sid. *Ep.* 8. 11. 14 *longiuscule* [i.e. six pages] *me progredi amor impulit*): *longus*, ***plusculum*** 'too much' (Varro *R.R.* 2. 7. 10 *cum conceperunt equae, videndum ne . . . . laborent plusculum*): *plus*, ***tardiuscule*** 'too late' (Marc. Aur. *ap. Front. Epist. M. Caes.* 5. 7 *metuo ne Lorium tardiuscule venias*), and ***saepiuscule*** 'too often' (Plaut. *Cas.* 3. 5. 75 according to Priscian: *saepiuscule*[2] *peccas*): *saepe*. In the adjective ***putidiusculus*** 'somewhat disgusting or tedious' (Cic. *Fam.* 7. 5. 3 *Simus enim putidiusculi, quamquam per te vix licet*): *putidus* the suffix *-culo-* may either be deteriorative or it may emphasize the idea 'somewhat' which was already present in the comparative suffix.

54. The remaining adjectives in *-(i)usculus* probably all show the notion of an approximation to the primitive. Fully half of these, however, are derivatives of adjectives denoting a large size, quantity, number, or extent: *altiusculus, ampliusculus, auctiusculus, grandiusculus, graviusculus, largiusculus, longiusculus, maiusculus, plusculus*, and *complusculi*, to which may be added the adverb *diuscule*, derived from the primitive adverb *diu* 'long.' Here it is doubtful how far the notion of '*somewhat* large' is to be derived from the diminutive use of the suffix, inasmuch as e.g. *maiusculus* 'somewhat

[1] Cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1[2]. 685.

[2] The manuscripts of Plautus here have *saepicule*.

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large' or 'a little larger' could originally have been 'rather large' plus 'small' or 'larger' plus 'small'; cf. secs. 21 f. While the notion of small size may thus have played a part here also, it is not probable that the whole category arose in that way, since the prehistoric relationship of the suffix *-(i)usculus* (sec. 11) leads us to assume the presence of the idea of approximation to the primitive from the beginning, and because we have to assume that meaning anyway for derivatives from comparatives where this development is out of the question. All the remaining words will consequently be treated together, and will be rather classified according to the signification of the comparative part of the suffix.

1. *The Comparative Suffix Distinctly Compares with Other Things Possessing the Same Quality in an Inferior Degree*

55. The diminutive suffix *-culo-* then adds to the comparative suffix the notion of approximation, e.g. while *melius-* is 'better,' *meliusculus* is 'approximately or somewhat or a little better.' In this case there is no conglutination semantically, and comparative as well as diminutive suffix retains its own force.

56. *Collection of examples.*—***duriusculus*** 'rather more hard': *durus:* Plin. *N.H.* praef. sec. 2 *duriusculum se fecit* (sc. *Catullus*) *quam volebat existimari;* Plin. *Ep.* 1. 16. 5 *inserit . . . . mollibus levibusque duriusculos quosdam.* ***fortiusculus*** 'somewhat more brave': *fortis:* Sutrius *ap. Fulg. Myth.* 3. 8 *Murrinum mihi adfers quo virilibus armis occursem fortiuscula.* ***frigidiusculus*** 'rather more frigid': *frigidus:* Gell. 3. 10. 16 *Haec Varro . . . . scripsit admodum conquisite. Sed alia quoque ibidem congerit frigidiuscula.* ***graviusculus*** 'a little heavier': *gravis: id.* 1. 11. 13 *qui fistula brevi sensim graviusculum sonum inspiraret.* ***largiusculus*** 'rather more copious': *largus:* Sol. 7 sec. 4 *subnexus parvulis largiusculos haustus facit salivarum.* ***longiusculus*** 'a little longer': *longus:* Cic. *Arch.* 10. 25 *epigramma . . . . alternis versibus longiusculis.* ***maiusculus*** 'a little larger': *maior* (comp.): Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3. 21 *Thais quam ego sum maiusculast;* Plin. 26. 6. 16 sec. 30 *folia sunt maiuscula quam hederae.* ***meliusculus***[1] 'somewhat better, convalescent': *melior* (comp.):

[1] Mueller here declared the suffix to be hypocoristic, as indeed he did generally for the words in *-(i)usculus.* This mistake was due to his idea that the hypocoristic use was the earliest for all diminutives, and that other meanings could consequently be allowed only where there was no way of reading a hypocorism into a passage.

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Plaut. *Capt.* 5. 2. 6 *Si eris verax, tua ex re facies—ex mala meliusculam;* Ter. *Hec.* 3. 2. 19 *salvan Philumenast? PAM. meliusculast;* Sen. *Ben.* 1. 3 *aetate autem minore quam Horas sed meliuscula facie;* Col. 9. 3. 2 *alias infusci coloris, ... alias . . . . coloris meliusculae.* Similarly the adverb ***meliuscule*** e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 16. 5. 1 *cum meliuscule tibi esset.* ***nitidiusculus*** 'even a little more shining': *nitidus:* Plaut. *Ps.* 1. 2. 91 *Num quoipiam est hodie tua tuorum opera conservorum Nitidiusculum caput? aut num ipse pulmento utor magis Unctiusculo?* ***plusculus:*** 'somewhat more': *plus:* Col. 12. 49. 5 *deinde exiguum aceti piperati, et plusculum melli aut mulsi adiciunt;* App. *M.* 2. 17 *Ad cuius noctis exemplar astruximus alias plusculas;* Cic. *Fam.* 5. 12. 3 *plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas.* The neuter as an adverb e.g. Sid. *Ep.* 4. 16 *deque moribus amici plusculum recto secus credere.* ***unctiunculus*** 'even a little more unctuous': *unctus:* see sub *nitidiusculus.*

2. *The Comparative Suffix Itself Designates a Mere Approximation to the Primitive*

57. When the diminutive suffix *-culo-* is added to a comparative like *altius* in the meaning 'rather high,' it merely emphasizes this notion of approximation without adding anything new, and consequently the two suffixes were no doubt usually felt as one, i.e. real conglutination has taken place.

58. *Collection of examples.*—***altiusculus*** 'rather high': *altus:* Suet. *Aug.* 73 *calciamentis altiusculis* (sc. *usus est*), *ut procerior, quam erat, videretur.* ***ampliusculus*** 'rather large': *amplus:* App. *Mag.* 75 *Quid enim faciat homo miser ampliuscula fortuna devolutus?* ***auctiusculus*** 'rather lofty': *auctus:* Jul. Val. 2. 13 *eorum cornibus frondentes et auctiusculos ramos adnecti jubet.* ***celeriuscule*** 'rather (more) swiftly': *celer:* Auct. Her. 3. 14. 245 *Strenue quod volumus ostendere factum, celeriuscule dicemus.* ***diuscule*** 'rather long': *diu:* Aug. *Trinit.* 3 *cum diuscule attenderemus.* ***grandiusculus*** 'fairly well grown up': *grandis:* Ter. *And.* 4. 5. 19 *nam fere Grandiuscula*[1] *profectast illinc.* ***maiusculus*** 'rather large': *maior:* Cic. *Fam.* 9. 10. 3 *cum mihi sit incertum, tranquillone sis animo, an, ut in bello, in aliqua maiuscula cura negotiove versere.* ***mitiusculus*** 'comparatively

[1] Fleckeisen would here read *grandicula.*

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mild': *mitis:* Cael. Aur. *Acut. praef.* 18,[1] of fevers. ***pinguiusculus*** 'somewhat fat, fattish': *pinguis:* Sol. 11. 21 *plurimum se aquilonibus credunt* (sc. *coturnices aves*), *ut corpora pinguiuscula atque eo tarda facilius provehat . . . . spiritus.* ***plusculi*** and oftener ***compluscul*** 'rather many, quite a few, several': *plus:* the former, App. *M.* 3. 21 *arcula quadam reclusa pyxides plusculas inde depromit;* the latter, e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 1. 2. 43 *jam hos dies complusculos;* Gell. 7. 11. 6 *Sed ex eo loco M. Tullii verba compluscula libuit ponere* (i.e. 125 words). ***salsiusculus*** 'rather salty': *salsus:* Aug. *Conf.* 8. 3. 7 *Et ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula comedunt, quo fit molestus ardor.*

59. It is to be noticed that the large majority of these words are post-Augustan. Their occurrence in Plautus and Cicero shows indeed that some of them were as early as other uses of the suffix, as might be expected, since the use of the comparative to designate an approximation to the primitive is a pro-ethnic one,[2] but the comparative frequency of these words in very late writers shows that the conglutinate *-(i)usculus* had been abstracted as a single suffix, and now formed new words with the notion of an approximation to the primitive without reference to the meaning of the comparative degree.

VIII. CONCLUSION

60. We thus see that those diminutive adjectives which denote an approximation to the quality of the primitive adjective, i.e. diminutives of quality, fall into three distinct groups: (1) derivatives from adjectives meaning 'large,' 'old,' etc. (secs. 21 ff.), ending either in *-lo-* or *-culo-;* (2) color adjectives and *acidulus* (secs. 45 ff.), all certain ones ending in *-lo-*, possibly one in *-culo-;* (3) derivatives in *-culo-* from comparatives in *-ius.* In secs. 11 f. we saw that such adjectives in *-culo-* inherited the notion of an approximation to the primitive adjective from I.E. *-ko-*, while in secs. 21 f. it appeared that the first class was derived from the meaning of small size. This is certainly true for those in *-lo-*, and may have had its influence on those in *-culo-* also. There is left to explain the use of *-lo-* in color terms and *acidulus*, the question being whether (cf. sec. 12) there is a way by which the color terms could be derived from the derivatives

[1] The passage is not accessible to me.

[2] Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 658 f.

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of adjectives of large size, or whether we must appeal to prehistoric syncretism with *-culo-*. I for my part have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the correct alternative, since there seems to be no possible bridge by which the usage could be extended from adjectives of large size, in which the suffix would always still be felt as connected with the designation of small size, to color terms, for which such an interpretation is clearly impossible. Moreover, such a development seems to be altogether without analogy in other languages. The only objection to syncretism with *-culo-* is the fact that there is extant not a single certain color diminutive of quality in this suffix, but this may well be accidental and due to the fact that long before the beginning of the transmission *-lo-* and *-culo-* were redistributed according to formal principles (sec. 11). This early age of the development is just what we would expect also from the fact that in every other respect the development of Latin diminutives was complete in the time of Plautus,[1] who shows examples of every important variation of the use of substantival as well as adjectival diminutives.

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[1] Cf. Stols *op. cit.* 574.

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Ψυχρότης ἢ τὸ Ψυχρόν

By LaRue Van Hook

In this paper I wish to consider the meaning and history of an interesting metaphorical technical term of Greek rhetoric and literary criticism, namely, *ψυχρότης* or its equivalent *τὸ ψυχρόν* (Latin, *frigus* and *frigidum*).

Ψυχρότης is a comprehensive term referring to a certain vice, or rather to certain vices, of style (all too prevalent from Gorgias, perhaps the earliest great offender, to the present day), vices which received serious consideration from the literary critics and rhetoricians. "Frigidity," the literal and obvious English equivalent, is the most convenient rendering, although it needs explanation and qualification. "Fustian" translates the term more exactly.

The earliest formal treatment of *ψυχρότης*, which is also the *locus classicus* for its discussion, is to be found in the *Rhetoric*[1] of Aristotle, where *τὰ ψυχρά*, or frigidities in language or style, are said to arise from four causes, (1) compound words (*ἐν τοῖς διπλοῖς ὀνόμασιν*); (2) the use of obscure, foreign, or obsolete words (*τὸ χρῆσθαι γλώτταις*); (3) epithets, long, *mal-apropos*, or too numerous (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, μακροῖς, ἢ ἀκαίροις ἢ πυκνοῖς*); (4) metaphors (*ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς*), i.e., metaphors which are inappropriate (*ἀπρεπεῖς*) because they are ludicrous (*διὰ τὸ γελοῖον*), or too high-sounding and pompous (*διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ τραγικόν*), or obscure because far-fetched (*ἀσαφεῖς δέ, ἂν πόρρωθεν*).

To make his meaning clear Aristotle gives examples of these *ψυχρά* quoted from the sophist-rhetoricians, Lycophron, Gorgias, and Alcidamas, some of which we shall briefly consider.

1. Frigidities in compound words are exemplified by Lycophron's *τὸν πολυπρόσωπον οὐρανὸν τῆς μεγαλοκορύφου γῆς*, "*many-faced* heaven of the *mountain-topped* earth," and *ἀκτὴν στενοπόρον*, "*narrow-passaged* shore"; by Gorgias' *πτωχόμουσος κόλαξ*, "*beggar-witted* flatterer," and Alcidamas' *πυρίχρων*, "*flame-colored*," of the countenance, and *κυανόχρων*, "the *dark-blue-colored* bottom of the sea." All these, says

[1] iii. 3.

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Aristotle, are poetical in their nature because of the doubling, and, as he later affirms, "such compounds are serviceable for the composers of *dithyrambs*."

2. As examples of frigid γλῶτται Aristotle cites the following: Lycophron calls Xerxes a πέλωρον ἄνδρα (πέλωρος, "huge, mammoth," frequent in Homer, was obsolete in Aristotle's time), and Sciron a σίννις ("destroyer") ἀνήρ. Objection is also made to Alcidamas' use of the words ἄθυρμα, "toy," and τεθηγμένον, "whetted," (of ὀργή), both poetical words.

3. Frigid epithets in prose are λευκόν, "*white*," of γάλα; ὑγρὸν of ἱδρῶτα, "*moist* sweat." It is reprehensible of Alcidamas to speak of εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανήγυριν, "to the assembled concourse of the Isthmian Games," instead of simply εἰς Ἰσθμία; to refer to τοὺς τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς νόμους "the laws, *the potentates of cities*," for τοὺς νόμους, and he does not say simply, κλάδοις, "with branches," but τοῖς τῆς ὕλης κλάδοις, "with *the branches of the forest*," etc.

4. The fourth cause of frigidity is to be found in inappropriate metaphors. Two examples are taken from Gorgias, χλωρὰ καὶ ἔναιμα τὰ πράγματα, "things or events *green* and *full of blood*," and σὺ δὲ ταῦτα αἰσχρῶς μὲν ἔσπειρας κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας, "these things thou hast sown in disgrace and reaped in misery." We should agree with Aristotle that the first metaphor cited is overbold, but the graphic and admirable figure of sowing and reaping is of course common in all prose literature.[1]

Two supposedly frigid metaphors taken from Alcidamas are as follows: τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτείχισμα τῶν νόμων philosophy, "a fortress against the laws," and τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον, the Odyssey, "a fair mirror of human life."

Cope[2] affirms that Aristotle's objection to these last metaphors seems to show a change of taste from ancient to modern criticism. To a certain extent this is true. But Aristotle is objecting, not to the occasional use of such figures, but to the *constant* employment in *prose* of a diction and style appropriate to poetry. For such writers as Alcidamas, says Aristotle, use poetical diction, οὐ γὰρ ἡδύσματι ἀλλ' ὡς ἐδέσματι, "not as *sweets*, but as *meats*."[3]

[1] Plato, *Phaedr.* 260 C; Cic. *De orat.* ii. 65. 26; New Test. [2] Ed. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 46.

[3] It is amusing to see how in this comment Aristotle himself has employed ἀντίθεσις, παρονομασία, and ὁμοιοτέλευτον in a manner which Gorgias might well envy.

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In brief, then, according to Aristotle, frigidity in prose is caused by the use of poetical diction and the employment of extravagantly figurative language. As we shall see, Aristotle's treatment of τὰ ψυχρά forms the basis for subsequent discussions of the topic, but his definition, and the application thereof, is considerably enlarged by later writers.

In the treatise *On the Sublime*,[1] extant under the name of Longinus, we find a discussion of frigidity wherein τὸ ψυχρόν is said to be due to the craze for novelty, to the straining for the unusual, to the use of hyperboles, and to the employment of variations. τὸ ψυχρόν is caused by puerility (τὸ μειρακιῶδες), the tawdry (τὸ ῥωπικόν), and the affected (τὸ κακόζηλον). Tumidity (τὸ οἰδοῦν) goes beyond the limits of the sublime, but puerility is the direct opposite to elevation; it ends in frigidity. Writers slip into these vices while striving for the uncommon (τοῦ περιττοῦ), the elaborate (πεποιημένου), and especially for the charming (ἡδέος), but they run aground on the tawdry and the affected. Of this frigidity Timaeus[2] is often guilty; e.g., Timaeus describes Alexander the Great as the man who gained the whole of Asia in fewer years than it took Isocrates to write his *Panegyric* urging war upon the Persians. So also Plato (according to Longinus), usually divine in style, when he meant simply δέλτους, "tablets," said κυπαριττίνας μνήμας, "cypress memorials."[3] Another objectionable figure from Plato is cited: "As regards walls Megillus, I should agree with Sparta that they should be permitted to lie asleep in the earth and not summoned to arise."[4]

The general principles laid down by Longinus are to be commended; the examples which he chooses, however, are entirely unobjectionable. It must be confessed that in all the ancient critics and rhetoricians we find a bitter intolerance of many figurative expressions which are quite inoffensive according to our taste, and, in fact, often commendable. It is doubtless the novelty rather than

[1] Chaps. iii and iv.

[2] Sicilian historian, *flor.* 310 B.C. Another example of Timaeus' frigidity is cited by ancient writers (see Mayor, *Clas. Rev.*, XXIV). The burning of Artemis' temple at Ephesus on the day of the birth of Alexander is accounted for by the fact that the goddess was absent in Macedonia officiating in her capacity as Ilithyia at the *accouchement* of a new divinity. The frigidity of this conceit, says Plutarch (*Alex.* iii. 3) was enough to extinguish the conflagration!

[3] *Legg.* v. 741 C.

[4] *Ibid.*, vi. 778 D.

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the audacity of these figures which arouses distrust and provokes censure from the critics, who are prone to prescribe the limits of τὸ πρέπον with an academic narrowness which is sometimes painful. Would not much of Plato's poetical prose and many of Demosthenes' vivid periods be reduced almost to the commonplace if they were actually revised according to the drastic rules of the critics?

The extent to which Longinus is indebted to Caecilius[1] is impossible to determine, but it is certain that in this treatment of ψυχρότης he is following that writer. In the beginning of chap. iv Longinus says that Timaeus furnishes many examples of τὸ ψυχρόν, but adds rather naïvely that he will give one or two only, since Caecilius has anticipated him in quoting the greater number!

Let us consider next the treatise *On Style* (περὶ ἑρμηνείας) attributed to Demetrius,[2] wherein are to be found many references to τὸ ψυχρόν with illustrative comment. According to Demetrius frigidity is largely due to exaggeration, to hyperbole, to distortion, and to the pompous or bombastic (ὑπέρογκον). The chief types of style have their corresponding or kindred vices. Frigidity is that which is neighbor to the elevated (τὸ γειτνιοῦν τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ). Demetrius here gives us Theophrastus' definition of frigidity: τὸ ψυχρόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν, "frigidity is that which transcends the expression appropriate to the thought." This perhaps is the best, the most simple, and yet the most comprehensive definition to be found. A line from the *Triptolemus* of Sophocles is quoted as an illustration: ἀπυνδάκωτος οὐ τραπεζοῦται κύλιξ, "chalice unbased is not intabulated."[3] Here the meaning is: a cup without a bottom is not placed on the table. The subject is petty and does not admit of such grandiloquence.[4] Frigidity, according to Demetrius, may be in the thought itself; e.g., a writer (unknown) thus describes the hurling of the rock by the Cyclops at Odysseus' ship: "While the rock was traveling through the air, goats were grazing upon it"! Frigidity in a manner is analogous to imposture (ἡ ἀλαζονεία). An

[1] Cf. Caecilius Calac., ed. Ofenloch, p. 66.

[2] Cf. Roberts' ed. Demetrius, *On Style*, Index.

[3] Tr. by Roberts; so also the definition of Theophrastus.

[4] Roberts (*op. cit.*, p. 232) quotes as a burlesque on this style, *Rejected Addresses*, where Dr. Johnson's ghost is made to describe a door with a knocker and bell as a "ligneous barricado, decorated with frappant and tintinnabulant appendages."

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elevated style on a trivial subject is reprehensible unless intended as a jest. The appropriate must always be observed: *τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μικρῶς, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ μεγάλως.*[1] Hyperbole[2] is the most dangerous of all figures because it suggests the impossible. There are three kinds: (1) of likeness, e.g., like to the winds in speed; (2) superiority, e.g., whiter than snow; (3) impossibility, e.g., her head struck the heaven. It is a proof of the genius of the divine Sappho that she can use the dangerous figure, hyperbole, successfully, e.g., more golden than gold, *χρυσῶ χρυσοτέρα.*[3] Just why more golden than gold is an admirable figure while whiter than snow[4] is an impossible and objectionable hyperbole, Demetrius does not explain. Doubtless the magic name of Sappho has something to do with it.

Demetrius has still more advice to give on our subject. Antitheses and parallelisms should be avoided, for they cause the style often to be frigid. The same evil also results from the constant introduction of metrical phrases in prose; likewise from the use of prose in poetry. And yet that composition is frigid which lacks good rhythm or all rhythm: e.g., *ἥκων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, πάσης ἡμῶν ὀρθῆς οὔσης,*[5] "to this land of ours I now come, finding all of it aroused." This is not prose rhythm, says our critic, owing to the succession of long syllables.[6]

In § 6 Demetrius gives an illuminating illustration of a kind of frigidity. He quotes with admiration Xenophon's description of the river Teleboas: *οὗτος δὲ ἦν μέγας μὲν οὔ, καλὸς δέ,*[7] "it was not large; lovely it was, though." Thus the short *colon* is appropriate to the subject. A frigid writer would have rendered the thought thus: *οὗτος δὲ μεγέθει μὲν ἦν ἐλάττων τῶν πολλῶν, κάλλει δὲ ὑπερεβάλλετο πάντας,* "this river was, to be sure, smaller than many others, but in beauty it surpassed all."[8]

[1] One is reminded of Aeschylus' defense of his *ὄγκος*, Ar. *Ran.* 1058 ff.

[2] § 124. [3] *Frag.* 123, Bergk. [4] *Il.* x. 436. [5] *Scr. Inc.*

[6] Roberts (p. 233) quotes Pope, *Essay on Crit.*, "And ten low words oft creep in one dull line."

[7] *Anab.* iv. 4, 3.

[8] In § 121 Demetrius quotes this same example from Xenophon and cites a writer (unknown) who described a small stream as *ἀπὸ τῶν Λαυρικῶν ὀρέων ὁρμώμενος ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν,* "rushing forth from the mountains of Laurium it debouched into the sea." Such a description, says Demetrius, would be appropriate to the Cataracts of the Nile or the mouth of the Danube!

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Of all the ancient writers Demetrius treats most completely of τὸ ψυχρόν. He has made a careful study of the subject, as he regards this vice of style as particularly important. Although his discussion is based on Aristotle and Theophrastus, for he quotes from the former's chapter on τὰ ψυχρά[1] and gives us the excellent definition of the latter,[2] yet he handles the subject with considerable independence.

In the detailed textbook on Rhetoric of Hermogenes it is surprising not to find a chapter devoted to frigidity. However, the chapter "On Affectation"[3] (περὶ κακοζήλου[4]) really defines also τὸ ψυχρόν, for it treats of the faults of style arising from excessive use of figures, from exaggeration, and the employment of the impossible, the incredible, the unnatural, etc. Extravagant figures are condemned by Hermogenes,[5] as they make style harsh, heavy, and almost mean. Demosthenes is not guilty of this fault, but there are many examples in the wooden sophists (παρὰ τοῖς ὑποξύλοις σοφισταῖς). For they are guilty of very many frigidities (ψυχρεύονται), e.g. they speak of vultures as living tombs, etc.[6]

In Greek Comedy we find numerous references to stylistic frigidity. It will be recalled that Euripides and Theognis are the two great sinners according to Aristophanes. Thus in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (848) we find "He [Euripides] is not ashamed of his *frigid* play, Palamedes."

But the most scathing obloquy falls to the lot of the poetaster Theognis, who was nicknamed χιών, "Snow," thanks to his habitual frigidity, an example of which is cited by Aristotle.[7] It is likewise in the *Thesmophor.* (170) that we find the explanatory line: ὁ δ'αὖ Θέογνις ψυχρὸς ὢν ψυχρῶς ποιεῖ, "since Theognis is frigid, frigidly he writes." The unkindest cut, however, is to be found in the *Acharnians* (138). Synchronously with the production of a tragedy by

[1] § 116. [2] § 114.

[3] περὶ εὐρ. Spengel *Rh. Gr.*, II, 256.

[4] Demet., § 186, thus distinguishes between τὸ ψυχρόν and τὸ κακόζηλον; the former arises from the elevated, the latter from the smooth (γλαφυρός), style.

[5] περὶ ἰδ. ά, Spengel, *Rh. Gr.*, II, 292.

[6] Cf. also Longinus, chap. iii, for this same stock example quoted from Gorgias.

[7] *Rhet.* iii. 11. Theognis designates a bow as a φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος; quoted also by Demet. § 85.

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Theognis at Athens deep snow covered all Thrace and the rivers were solidly frozen.[1]

Theognis did not enjoy a monopoly in the production of frigid fustian. Alexis[2] speaks of a well of water actually ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος. Araros was his rival, it may be superfluous to add. Machon[3] reports a delightful gibe at the expense of Diphilus. It appears that the following conversation took place on the occasion of a call by that comic poet on the charming lady Gnathaena:

> Quoth Diphilus: Upon my word,
> Gnathaena's wine is cold as snow.
> Why, yes, Gnathaena says, we poured
> Your dramas in, to make it so.

But ψυχρότης is not peculiar to dramatists. In a fragment of Theophilus[4] we find this repartee: "What say you to a crab [κάραβος]"? "That's frigid; I don't like orators." Carabus was an orator.

Lucian[5] accuses the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus of much ψυχρολογία when he is assured by Homer in person that all the verses suspected by those scholars are genuine. That is, those Homeric critics were guilty of ineptitude which was equivalent to lack of veracity. And so Hesychius gives ψυχρολογία as equivalent to ψευδολογία, but Photius in the *Bibliotheca*[6] uses ψυχρολογία in the sense of ψυχρότης: the Sophist Choricius because of his extravagant predilection for figurative language εἰς ψυχρολογίαν ἐκπίπτει.

The last Greek writer, so far as I have been able to ascertain, who discusses frigidity is a certain Joseph Pinaros Rhakendytes, in his Σύνοψις ῥητορικῆς, in a chapter entitled περὶ ψυχρολογίας,[7] in which discussion the examples given, rather than the causes cited, are of interest. According to this Byzantine rhetorician, frigidity

[1] Cf. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* chap. xix, who, commenting on certain contemptible historians, says: τοσαύτη ψυχρότης ἐνῆν ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν χιόνα καὶ τὸν κρύσταλλον τὸν Κελτικόν.

[2] Kock, II, 364; cf. also Eupolis (Kock, 244): σκῶμμα . . . . σφόδρα ψυχρόν.

[3] *Athen.* xiii. chap. 43, tr. by Rogers; cf. Martial iii. 25, who ascribes to the frigidity of a rhetorician the chilling of a hot bath. It will be recalled that Catullus (xliv) caught an abominable cough (*mala tussis*) from listening to a speech by Sestius. Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 41 of Furius.

[4] Kock, II, 474.

[5] *True History*, 117.

[6] *Cod.* 160.

[7] Walz, *Rh. Gr.*, III, 540.

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is a vice or fault of discourse (πλημμέλεια λόγου) which generally results from one of four causes:

First, from overdaring figurative language; e.g., "the wild-beast of affliction buries in my heart the tips of his claws and the points of his teeth." It would be better, says Joseph, to express the thought by a simile or comparison, i.e., "Affliction, like a wild-beast," etc. Thus the objectionable harshness of the figure is softened.

Secondly, frigidity results when in a serious discussion one descends to the ridiculous to excite laughter; e.g., if one, speaking of fruits which were not indigenous but imported, should call them *captives* (αἰχμάλωτοι), and that figs growing *senile* in their basket-prisons became *wrinkled*, and that the *pancratiast-pears*, crowded in their baskets, inflicted wounds upon one another.

Thirdly, frigidity is caused by the employment of a trivial style and from the comparison of the noble with the commonplace; e.g., as if one were to compare the king who worthily bestows on each of the deserving the appropriate honor with the clever cobbler who can fit a shoe to any foot. The reverse is likewise true and is to be avoided, i.e., the comparison of the petty with the great; e.g., to call a man or private citizen a sun, or to designate the starry heaven as a sown field or a robe spangled with gold.

But the worst form of frigidity according to the pious Joseph—and now we meet a new definition and application of the term—is the profanation of sacred writings, as by comparisons of sacred personages of Scripture with contemporaries; e.g., Moses with the Patriarch. Further, it is incongruously and boorishly frigid to drag foreign and Greek stories into ecclesiastical literature on sacred subjects. Such references are appropriate only in *encomia* on mundane rulers. Theologus is a conspicuous sinner, for in speaking of Jesus and the miracles he introduced Greek references by way of negation and insolence.

What is the origin of this metaphorical term? Cope says that the origin appears in Quintilian (ii. 4. 29) *fastidium movere velut frigidi et repositi cibi*,[1] words and phrases like stale food that have lost all their savor and become cold and insipid. Now this comparison of Quintilian is excellent, but it is of very limited application.

[1] Introd. to Arist. *Rhet.*, p. 287.

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It is not intended to refer to all kinds of stylistic frigidity, but to the effect of the use of certain *trite* words and phrases only.[1] The true answer to the question as to the origin of the term is to be found in Aristophanes, who first uses the word metaphorically as applying both to compositions and to writers. The listener or reader who is keyed up in warm anticipation of the pleasure and the profit which are to result from an admirable literary production is chilled by disappointment; his interest is cooled by the forced, inartistic, exaggerated, or inappropriate style of the speaker or writer. Ennui and disgust ensue, which affect the victim in a manner comparable with the chagrin of Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, who, all agape in eager anticipation of seeing a play of Aeschylus, is chilled to the heart by the fatal announcement of the herald: "Theognis, bring in your chorus!"

It has been seen then, that the Greek critics are generally agreed that τὸ ψυχρόν is the result of excess or extravagance, τὸ ὑπερβάλλον, as Theophrastus states. It is due to literary faults of commission and not of omission. The Latin *frigidum*, on the other hand, seems in general to refer rather to negative sins and to correspond more closely to the English term *frigid*, i.e., tamelessness, flatness, dulness, insipidity of style. It characterizes deficiency in fire or spirit.[2] Thus it is that, generally speaking, "frigidity" translates *frigidum* but "fustian" best renders τὸ ψυχρόν.

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[1] Cf. Dem. *c. Mid.*, p. 551, 13: ξωλα καὶ ψυχρά, "*stale and cold*," of ancient crimes.

[2] Cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 48. 178; 67. 236; *Orator*, 26. 89. *De orat.* 64. 260; 63. 256; *Ad Quint. frat.* iii. 3. 3; Tac. *Dial.* 39. 22.

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HORACE AND VALERIUS CATO

By G. L. Hendrickson

II

THE ADVERSARIUS OF *Serm.* i. 10, AND OTHER PERSONAL ALLUSIONS

In a preceding paper, published in this journal (XI, 249), I defended the authenticity of the eight lines prefixed to this satire in the manuscript group FΛ′, as the opening of the poem in its original form. The essential reason for their deletion (when some years later the poet gathered up his scattered *sermones* into a first collection) was, I held, elimination of direct personal reference to Cato. In interpreting the fragment I pointed out that between this original opening and the initial verses as finally edited by the poet there is present a parallelism of thought, which starts from the paradoxical designation of Cato as a critic of Lucilius and proceeds to a judgment of universal validity. That is, *Catone defensore* (of the original opening), who by his "emendation" had made unintentional confession of the faultiness of Lucilius, reappears in a generalized form as *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte | ut hoc non fateatur*. With this expression—*fautor inepte*—the adversarius whom Horace combats in the satire as finally edited is defined. It remains to inquire, therefore, whether in the final form, which has removed specific allusion to Cato, there still survive evidences of the identity of this adversarius with Cato. The limits of proof should be clearly recognized. One or two more precise hints may appear, but in general all that can be hoped for in the suppression of the name is to ascertain the character of the criticism to which Horace replies, and to consider its appropriateness to the person and environment of Cato as known to us from other sources.

Cato, it appears, was editing Lucilius, and naturally his work would conform to the usage established by Hellenistic practice. His edition would contain prolegomena, in which the editor would set

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forth such information concerning the poet's life[1] as was available, and express judgments, either of his own, or derived from his predecessors, concerning his author's models, his originality and dependence, the characteristics of his nature and of his style. The general manner is pretty well known from the Greek introductions which have come down to us, and from similar matter prefaced to the commentaries of Servius and Donatus.

If now we examine the body of opinion concerning Lucilius to which Horace replies, its analogy to Greek prolegomena, especially to Aristophanes and the Old Comedy, will appear very plainly.[2] The

[1] With the loss of Suetonius' life biographical fact and gossip concerning Lucilius have disappeared. Some slight hints of the biographical material which Cato's prolegomena may have contained are still discernible in Horace. Such is, for example, the reference (in ii. 1) to the familiar relations between Lucilius and Scipio and Laelius (*discinti ludere, donec decoqueretur holus*), with characteristic biographical anecdote. The story reported in this connection in the pseudo-Acronian scholia (*obtorta mappa quasi feriturus*) has all the traits of biographical gossip. If drawn from Suetonius, as is most likely, it goes back to a much earlier source. Probably the story of Lucilius' great facility in extemporisation (*in hora saepe ducentos*) was also related, with some laudatory phrase (*ut magnum*), if not of the verses, at least of the technical fluency; just as Cicero holds up to praise the improvising skill of Archias (18), and as Cicero himself is reported by Plutarch τῆς νυκτὸς ἕκτη ποιεῖν πεντηκόσια (40). To judge by the general scantiness of biographical material for the second century (as may be seen even from Cicero's *Brutus*), it is not likely that Cato and his contemporaries were well provided with external data for the life of Lucilius. This defect they probably supplemented with material drawn from his own works. From this point of view the familiar lines, *quo fit ut omnis | votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella*, may be read in a new light. On this biographical method in general see Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*[2], pp. 65 ff. One of the pioneers of this slippery process of inference from the words of a writer to the events of his life was Aristoxenus, whom the pseudo-Acronian scholia *ad loc.* quote to adduce a parallel to Horace's phrase. But something more than the citation of a parallel passage underlies this allusion. It would seem to me that some early biographer of Lucilius had appealed to the practice of Aristoxenus in justifying the method of reconstructing the *vita senis* from his books.

[2] The argument of the satire, after the introductory affirmation of the faultiness of Lucilius, is constructed very simply and loosely (with the suggestion of extemporization) upon a series of objections which the adversarius advances, not in his own words, but reported by Horace with an introductory *at*.

3. at idem . . . . laudatur
20. at magnum fecit
23. at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
50. at dixi

The expression suffers slight modification in

64. fuerit Lucilius, inquam, etc.

From these as starting-points all the intervening matter grows. The adversarius does not participate as a speaker with direct objection, and it is wrong, I believe, to include any of his utterances within marks of quotation. In each case we could render the introductory *at* by "but, you say," etc. Cf. Ter. *Phor.* 1031 *at meo merito credo.*

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interpretation of lines 7–19 I have already presented (Gildersleeve volume, p. 152) and my conclusions may here be summarized briefly: Horace criticizes a characterization of Lucilius framed upon descriptions of the Old Comedy, which emphasized especially its cutting wit and personal attack. It represented him as aiming to provoke laughter (*risu diducere rictum*), as harsh and unsparing in attack (*tristis*), as possessing the qualities of a poèt and the vehemence of an orator (*modo rhetoris atque poetae*).[1] It would be easy to turn this into the vocabulary of the Greek treatises, ζηλώσας τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας χαρακτῆρα πικρὸς μὲν λίαν ἦν καὶ πάνυ γελοῖος, ποιητικὸς δὲ καὶ δεινός, and such a transcription yields most immediately the atmosphere and spirit of the characterization, which lies implicit in the words of Horace. With these traits are contrasted the qualities which Horace demands and which Lucilius lacks—*brevitate opus est, sermone iocoso, urbani parcentis viribus*, etc. The antithesis is then summarized in the words *acre*, corresponding to Lucilius (and one aspect of Old Comedy), and *ridiculum*, corresponding to Horace's demands (and another aspect of Old Comedy). Then follow the significant words:

> illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
> hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi;

but Hermogenes and that other (*simius iste*) have never read them, etc. The language can only mean that although they prate of Lucilius' dependence on the Old Comedy, they do not know that it possessed another quality than its harsh invective, namely humor, which Lucilius did not imitate. Now the description of Old Comedy which Horace gives at the beginning of i. 4 is a description exactly corresponding to the *acre*, which Horace here repudiates as an exclusive ideal of satire.[2] It contains no hint of that milder humor which Horace here assures us it possessed. It would seem to me, therefore, most probable that in connection with the characterization of Lucilius which Horace criticizes, there must have stood a description

[1] On the poetical and oratorical qualities of Old Comedy, and the transference of them to Lucilius, see Gildersleeve volume, p. 153. On the contrast between *tristi* and *iocoso*, *rhetor atque poeta* and *urbanus*, see *ibid.*, and Ullman in this journal, Vol. X (1915), 285.

[2] It is perhaps worthy of note that the definition of satire in Diomedes (Suetonius), *carmen maledicum . . . . archaeae comoediae charactere*, corresponds to the description at the beginning of *Serm.* i. 4, but not to the conception which Horace here entertains.

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of Old Comedy as an instrument of attack and invective, to which was attached the statement of Lucilius' dependence upon it, and a characterization such as we find here. In the reconstruction of this pre-Horatian comment on Lucilius, which I suspect is derived from the prolegomena of Cato, I should therefore venture to include, not only the characterization of Lucilius which is discernible here, but also the description of Old Comedy at the beginning of i. 4. If now we look at the situation more closely, we shall see that Horace was at pains to give conceded praise to Lucilius (*quod sale multo urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem*) as a background against which to express his vigorous dissent. That is, in i. 4 he takes from his opponent the praise of Lucilius (contained in the description of Old Comedy—to which *urbem defricuit* refers) down to the point of his emphatic dissent—*durus componere versus*, etc. But whether or not I be followed in including the material contained in the fourth satire, yet it will be plain that the characterization of Lucilius found in the tenth, which Horace opposes, is the work of a scholar familiar with the critical manner and the terminology of the grammarians who had edited the Greek comic poets, and it will not, therefore, seem alien to the character of Cato.

Proceeding in the same manner, let us take up the two following objections of the adversarius.

> at magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis
> miscuit.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
> suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.

In these words we have matter which might naturally have found a place in that section of a critical introduction which dealt with the author's λέξις. It was couched in terms of encomium which is common in such literature,[1] and ran somewhat as follows: *magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis miscuit.* (*nam*) *sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior*, etc. Wickham comments: "An argument imagined for a defender of Lucilius, but hardly a serious one," and some such judgment is apparently the prevailing one. But this is to accept too

[1] Cf. Servius, preface to *Aeneid*, extr. *Unde constat perite fecisse Vergilium.* Compare also the constant use of *mire*, *mirum*, in the scholia, and Horace's expression in vs. 22, *quine putetis difficile et mirum.*

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readily Horace's contemptuous dismissal of his opponents' praise of Lucilius. It would divert us too far from the present argument to consider fully at this point the important problem of stylistic theory which is here raised. In a subsequent paper, however, I shall hope to take up in larger connection the question of the employment of Greek words in Latin verse. It will appear that it was one of the mooted questions of the time: that the school of Cato, which is represented for us by the practice of Catullus, by poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and in some degree by early work of Virgil himself, did in fact cultivate Graecisms both of vocabulary and of style for effects of charm and novelty (*suavitas*), while, upon the other hand, a group of rigorous purists, led by Messala and represented by Varius and Horace, threw the influence of their doctrine and their practice into the opposite scale. The truth is that not a little of Horace's criticism of Lucilius looks past its ostensible object to questions of stylistic and poetical theory which were under discussion at the moment. Such are, for example, not only the stylistic doctrine of pure Latin as against Latin embellished with Greek, but considerations of the proper tone and spirit of satire, of repression versus exuberance, of popular versus esoteric appeal, of breadth in the choice of literary forms as against the narrowness of Alexandrine imitation.

The plain and obvious meaning of Horace's reply—*o seri studiorum*—has been somewhat obscured by undue insistence on the part of commentators upon its equivalence with the Greek ὀψιμαθεῖς. Here at all events it means only, "You are behind the times with your enthusiasms" (*studia*, which is explained then by *difficile et mirum*); "we have excluded all that sort of thing from oratory and prose as you must know (*te ipsum percontor*).[1] Who would do it in our day except a Pitholeon?" Horace thus sets on one side his adversarius, along with Pitholeon and the turgid Alpinus, with his "murdering of the king's English" (*dum iugulat Memnona*), while placing himself with Messala, the laboriously faultless orator (*exsudet*), Fundanius, Pollio, Varius, and Virgil. He fastens upon him thus the charge of praising impurity of style, while claiming for himself and his friends

[1] The mention of Hermogenes and *simius iste* has caused the address to the adversarius in *o seri studiorum* to pass over to the plural. With *te ipsum* it returns again to the singular.

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that *Latinitas* (*patrisque Latini*) which was their highest title of stylistic praise.[1]

Again at vs. 50 an objection of the adversarius is introduced—*at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum*, "but, you say, I called Lucilius muddy," etc.: to which the poet replies,

> age quaeso
> tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?

It may not be superfluous to indicate the perfect appropriateness of these words to Cato, as he is described for us by Furius in the lines which Suetonius has preserved—*summum grammaticum . . . . omnes solvere posse quaestiones*. The technical science of ancient grammar grew up about Homer, and to the grammarian by special right belonged those *ζητήματα* (*quaestiones*), *ἀθετήσεις*, *ἀπορίαι* with which the Homeric scholia bristle. Some examples of the *reprehensiones* of the Homeric critics are given below.[2]

In vss. 64–67—

> fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
> comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
> quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
> quamque poetarum seniorum turba—

reference again is made to a position of the adversarius, which might have been put in the form elsewhere employed, *at fuit Lucilius comis et urbanus, fuit limatior*, etc. I have interpreted this passage before and shown that the concession does not represent the poet's own conviction, but is made for the sake of the argument, and that in fact Horace does not concede either of these predicates. The words throughout must represent matter which Horace drew from an earlier characterization of Lucilius. *Comis et urbanus* indicate a characterization not different from Cicero's designation of Lucilius as *homo perurbanus*, and therefore entirely credible for the older standpoint of Lucilian criticism which Horace's opponent represents.

[1] Cf. *Serm.* i. 4. 13 *scribendi recte*, which is only a variant for *latine loqui* (*Latinitas*), just as *ὀρθογραφία* = *Ἑλληνισμός*.

[2] *Iliad* Θ 189, *γελοιώτατος ἐπὶ ἵπποιν ὁ στίχος· παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἀθετεῖται;* or A 129, *σολοικίζειν οἴονται τὸν ποιητήν*. From such observations and others of a similar character arose the *ζήτημα* or *ἀπορία:* K 252, *διὰ τὸ πολυθρύλλητον ζήτημα*, and K 372, *θέλοντες ζήτημα ποιεῖν*. See the indices of Lehrs, *Aristarchus*, and Ludwich, *Homerische Textkritik*.

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With regard to *limatior*, etc., the estimate seems certainly exaggerated, in comparison, for example, with Terence, who would appear to us to have vastly more finish. But Cato was not the only one of the earlier critics to attribute elegance and finish to Lucilius. It is discernible also in the judgment of Varro, who named Lucilius as an example of the χαρακτὴρ ἰσχνός, the *genus gracile*, which he defined by the words *venustas et subtilitas* (Gell. vi. 14). As for the rest of the passage, it is of peculiar interest and value to discern that the difficult and disputed line *quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor* has its origin in this earlier stratum of Lucilian criticism. I need not repeat with detailed argument (what I have urged in my earlier study) that it compares Lucilius, not with himself, but with any originator of a form of literature which had not the benefit of a Greek prototype. It recognizes him, as Horace does in vs. 48 and again in ii. 63, as the *inventor*—εὑρέτης—of satire. The passage is of great value, if I am right in recognizing Cato as Horace's opponent, in that it enables us to put our hand upon one at least of those pre-Horatian critics who recognized in the work of Lucilius the creation of a new type—a *carmen rude*—in form, if not in spirit and in matter, independent of the Greeks. It was an act of definition which it would appear had not yet been made in Cicero's day. For Cicero, Lucilius is merely an individual, with individual traits of a humorous or satirical tendency.[1]

But though Horace dissents from the predicates of praise which his opponent awards to Lucilius, he does not bother with refutation. For argument's sake he concedes the points, and proceeds to show that such praise, even if true for the standards of Lucilius' time, is not valid for the present:

> sed ille
> si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevom
> detereret sibi multa, etc.

It is the same type of criticism that we had above in the rejoinder, *o seri studiorum*.

[1] For a fuller exposition of the development from Lucilius to a *character Lucilianus*, and so to *satura* as a literary type, see the writer's paper "Satura—the Genesis of a Literary Form," in this journal, VI (1911), 140 ff. Since the matter is still one of some debate, I venture to record Leo's judgment (*Röm. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. I, p. 423): "Dass die Gattung zwischen Lucilius und Horaz nur der individuelle Lucilius ist, führt H. sehr gut aus."

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Finally we may note that the adversarius is a poet, open to the reproach of cultivating popular favor:

> neque te ut miretur turba labores,
> contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
> vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

There is, I suspect, in these words some satirical thrust that escapes us. At all events it is plain that the lines would have point and significance only in the case of some poet of contemporary prominence. The spirit underlying Horace's words is one that can be observed at almost any time: the complacency of the little-read and minor poet (especially if he is supported by a clique or school) before the popular favorite of the day. The event of time has of course turned things upside down, and major and minor poet of 40 B.C. have changed places. It is possible, therefore, that this may be Horace's ill-natured interpretation of the contemporary vogue of Cato's poetry, whose *Lydia* and *Diana* were heralded by his admirers as immortal. That they might thus early have found their way into the general auditoria of the grammarians is made credible by the report that Caecilius Epirota, the freedman of Atticus and friend of Gallus, *primus* (*dicitur*) *Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse.* It would, however, be more natural to think of Cato's poetry as affording the material of poetical study and musical composition to his disciples—to Demetrius and Tigellius and the rest, whose pupils are called girls (*discipularum*), not perhaps because there were no others, but to characterize thus by innuendo the effeminacy of the whole school of poetry which looked to Cato as head.

In the case of the names of Demetrius and Tigellius, Horace follows the principle, which I have noted above, of keeping from his pages satirical mention of more important personages. In purpose and intention the words are aimed at larger game; but either from motives of restraint, or from some principle of exclusion, the humble followers are made to take the place of the master.

We have now completed our survey of the characteristics revealed by the adversarius whom Horace combats in this satire. It will be seen that the pertinent passages have had to do for the most part with a *fautor Lucili* whose praise of the elder satirist Horace represents as false or ill directed; once the opponent is appealed to as the

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grammarian in the abstract who exercises his right of criticism upon Homer; at the end the vogue and popularity of the opponent's poetry is introduced for satirical treatment and contrast. It is needless to complete the chain of argument and add that these traits are in harmony with that which is known to us from other sources of the activities and position of Valerius Cato, grammarian, poet, and editor of Lucilius. At the same time it is obvious that they are too general to afford anything more than the possibility of such identification. More precise identification must come in another way. It has already been indicated, but may be repeated here: the adversarius of our poem as it stands is defined by the words *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte* in vs. 2. But, as we have already pointed out above, these words are the generalization of *Catone defensore tuo* in the initial eight lines. If, therefore, these lines be accepted as having formed the original beginning of our satire, it will appear that the adversarius of the remainder is a figure if not throughout identical with Cato, yet drawn from Cato and his school.

It is unfortunate that the names which Horace expressly mentions— Hermogenes (Tigellius), Fannius, Pantilius, and Demetrius— lead us nowhere in identifying the opposition. But the fact that they appear at all in Horace is an index of their obscurity and unimportance, so that it is not surprising that we can gather so little light from them. Some other allusions, however, are more significant. The mention of Varro Atacinus and Pitholeon Rhodius (both in the past tense) is doubtless to be explained by the fact that they are no longer living, though only recently dead. There is nothing to indicate that Varro of Atax is closely associated with the opposition which Horace attacks, since the mention of him is without satirical color. It is noteworthy, however, that he belongs in the general category of Alexandrinism, and is named by Propertius as a precursor in elegy, along with Catullus.

As for Pitholeon, it is a very brilliant and plausible conjecture of Bentley that he is identical with the M. Otacilius Pitholaus, whose *carmina maledicentissima*[1] directed against Julius Caesar are referred

[1] Concerning the character of these compositions, we have only the evidence of the scholia: *epigrammata effutivit magis quam scripsit.* There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition: his poems were probably abusive epigrams like the *carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum*, to which Tacitus alludes

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to by Suetonius (75), and from whom Macrobius 2, 2, 13 quotes a witticism. The change in the name to another and related form is accounted for, Bentley observes, by the fact that *Pitholaus* could not be used in the hexameter. To this may be added the further suggestion that slight modification of it afforded a decent cloak for rather sharp personal allusion, and yielded at the same time a more distinctively Greek form suitable to the argument.

At vs. 30 *Canusini more bilinguis* we have a personal allusion which doubtless was significant to Horace and his audience, but it escapes us, unless, as the scholiast surmises, it refers to Pitholeon. That is, however, only an ancient guess, as the alternative form of the scholium shows, though a very natural and plausible one in the context of the passage.

Another personal allusion, which for Horace's time and circle had the value of a name, is contained in *turgidus Alpinus* in vs. 36. The testimony of the pseudo-Acronian scholia in this case is more valuable, since they give information which cannot be deduced from the context: *Vivaculum quendam poetam Gallum tangit.* That this identification is correct, and that the person here referred to as the "murderer of Mennon" and the "polluter of the Rhine" (with satirical reference to his Latinity) is in fact Furius Bibaculus, is a conclusion which modern scholarship has for the most part accepted. The reasons may be found briefly stated by Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Furii 33 and 37.

There remains still one other personal allusion, noteworthy because of its abusiveness and of special value for our inquiry, since even without the initial eight lines it serves in a measure to define and classify the opponents of Horace—

simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.

It is obvious that no one can offer a conclusive answer to this riddle of identification, which at best can have been easy only for a limited

(*Ann.* 4. 34); and from Catullus too one could adduce some examples in this type of poetry of the same free use of Greek words which is criticized in Pitholeon.

The possible identification of this Pitholaus with the L. (V)oltacilius Pilutus (Plotus) of Suet. *De rhet.* 3 has been discussed by Hertz (*Rh. Mus.*, XLIII [1888], 312) and by Schanz (*Röm. Lit.*, I, 2², p. 119). There is undoubtedly much to be said for it, though the corruption of the names in the manuscripts makes a certain conclusion impossible. The main point for our consideration in such an identification is the fact that the

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audience in the poet's own day. But I venture to believe that the general environment to which I have assigned our satire gives us the material for a pretty good guess at the identity of the unknown ape. That he was a person of some distinction or consideration (and therefore not the Demetrius of vs. 79, as the scholia say) may be inferred from the use of an epithet of disguise. Now then, if Cato were the prime object of criticism throughout, it will appear that *simius iste* is most naturally *simius Catonis*. The rest then is plain sailing; for our record yields us such a faithful satellite of the master in the person of the same Furius, referred to above, whose devotion to Cato and whose imitations of Catullus may both be comprehended in the opprobrious *simius*. His loyalty to Cato as well as his mastery of the poetical manner of Catullus are revealed by the two poems in hendecasyllables which Suetonius has preserved (*De gram.* 11), the one beginning,

si quis forte mei domum Catonis,

the other playing upon the theme of the forced sale of Cato's Tusculan villa,

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum.

In the ancient literature of satire and invective there are many examples in which some sort of relation is present between the fictitious names or opprobrious epithets employed and the real names themselves. The most common form of such relationship consists of metrical equivalence, though often it goes further and parodies the sound or form of the real name. A notable example of the latter type is the parody of the name of Tiberius Claudius Nero, which Suetonius (*Tib.* 42) reports—*Biberius Caldius Mero*, "propter nimiam vini aviditatem." To the same class should probably be assigned Catullus' *Volusius* for the polygraph Tanusius Geminus, perhaps with play upon *volumen*. In other instances only metrical and syllabic equivalence, with some characterizing but satirical significance, is sought. Thus Quintilian (vi. 3. 57) reports that Iunius Bassus, was called *Asinus Albus*. Of similar character would

rhetorician referred to by Suetonius is represented as a client and retainer of Pompey, whom he is said to have taught, and whose father's life he is reported to have written. He might therefore be added to the number of those grammarians and students from the entourage of Pompey who devoted themselves to Lucilian studies and imitations (Marx, Prol. li).

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be our present example—*simius iste* for its metrical equivalent *Furius iste*, followed by words describing one aspect of his imitative nature.[1]

EXCURSUS: A POSSIBLE FRAGMENT OF VALERIUS CATO

The word *urbanus*, in the transferred sense which it bears in lines 13 and 63, arose late in Roman usage. Mommsen, in the third volume of his *Roman History* (p. 577 of the sixth edition), called attention to this fact in these words: "Dass Wort und Begriff der Urbanität in dieser Zeit [the end of the Republic] aufkamen, beweist nicht dass sie herrschte, sondern dass sie im Verschwinden war, und dass man die Abwesenheit dieser Urbanität schneidend empfand." The principal text upon which this observation is based is Cicero *Ad fam.* iii. 8. 3 to Appius Claudius Pulcher:

> Primum te hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam ut nunc loquimur urbanum, non arbitabar genere isto legationum delectari.

The letter of Cicero dates from the year 51. One or two earlier examples in Cicero's writings might be cited, but without invalidating the general accuracy of this temporal definition *ut nunc loquimur*.[2] We may compare again his words in the oration *Pro Caelio* 33:

> Sed tamen ex ipsa (Clodia) quaeram, utrum me secum severe et graviter et prisce agere malit, an remisse et leniter et urbane.

[1] Professor W. A. Heidel in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, XXXII (1901), p. xli (and more fully in *Class. Rev.*, XV (1901), 217 contends that the Furius addressed and referred to by Catullus in a number of his poems is Furius Bibaculus. To me the identification seems in every way most plausible and clarifying. The playful skit in which he is addressed about the location of his villa (26)—*Furi villula vostra non ad Austri*—will be recalled. A counterpart to this of a later time Heidel recognizes acutely in the hendecasyllables of Furius Bibaculus on the Tusculan villa of Cato, cited above. In similarity of conceit and of technique (especially the concluding line of each) the resemblance is striking, and whether we accept the identification proposed or not, it can scarcely be doubted that Furius Bibaculus was in fact influenced by the epigram of Catullus. Heidel's further suggestion that some of the Catullian imitations in the *Catalepta* are to be attributed to Furius is attractive and intrinsically plausible, but lacks evidence. One does not like to attribute the coarse but amusing parody of *Catal.* 8 (*Sabinus ille quem videtis hospites*) to Virgil, but, whoever the author, it would not be amiss to characterize him, with Horace, as *simius doctus cantare Catullum*.

[2] The meaning of *urbanus* in this passage is discussed by Lutsch ("Die Urbanitas nach Cicero," in *Festschrift für Crecelius*, Elberfeld, 1881). He holds that Cicero's expression *ut nunc loquimur* refers only to a new shade of meaning which Cicero had himself introduced, corresponding to a Stoic use of the Greek δστεῖος, comprehending "das Rechtsgefühl," or *iustitia*. This interpretation is derived doubtless from another letter to Claudius Pulcher (*Ad fam.* iii. 7. 5)—"addo urbanitatem, quae est virtus, ut

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Here, without pressing the antithesis too closely, it is apparent that *urbanitas* (*urbane*) represents a quality contrasted with the *prisca severitas* of an earlier time. Again, in the *Brutus* (171) Cicero causes Brutus to inquire *qui est iste tandem urbanitatis color?*—and he makes reply as one seeking to define and set forth a conception which had not yet become formulated. From the beginning the idea of wit and cleverness of speech seems to have been present in the word as well as elegance and refinement, and in fact it seems clear that in ordinary usage this was the prevailing notion. A witticism marked by grace or elegance is *urbanitas*.[1] In the next generation after Cicero, Domitius Marsus (*qui de urbanitate diligentissime scripsit*) was obliged to point out that there were *quaedam non ridicula sed eleganter dicta . . . . quae sunt quidem urbana, sed risum tamen non habent* (Quint. vi. 3. 102). It appears, in fact, that Marsus took a firm stand against the tendency to restrict the word to wit and humor. To that end he invoked the history of the word, calling attention to the lateness of its use in the transferred sense:

> Neque enim ei de risu sed de *urbanitate* est opus institutum, quam, proprium esse nostrae civitatis et *sero sic intellegi coeptam.*

That the word in these transferred meanings (of wit, elegance, etc.) is really of the Ciceronian period, as is implied by the language of Cicero, Domitius, and Quintilian, may be seen, furthermore, from the fact that it does not occur in the *Auctor ad Herennium* except

Stoici rectissime putant." But Lutsch has taken the phrase too seriously. What Cicero missed in Appius in both passages was a sense of proportion and humor, the traits of a cultivated gentleman, which should have kept him from the morose sensitiveness revealed by his letters to Cicero. This appears clearly from the following letter (*Ad fam.* iii. 9), which Cicero wrote after the return of Appius to Rome: "Vix tandem legi litteras dignas Appio Claudio, plenas humanitatis officii diligentiae. Aspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit," etc. Lutsch furthermore has failed to take account of the corroboration of Cicero's observation which Domitius Marsus (*v. infra*) affords ("sero sic intellegi coepit"), and in general he has neglected the history of the word. There are several other passages in the *Letters*, in which Cicero complains of the disappearance of the old Roman urbanity, just as in these two letters he missed this saving grace in Appius. In all cases he refers to one and the same quality—a cultivated sense of proportion and humor. Cf. *Ad fam.* vii. 31. 2; ix. 15. 2; *Ad. Q. Frat.* ii. 8. 2.

[1] Cic. *Pro Caelio* 7: "(maledictio) si petulantius iactatur convicium, si facetius *urbanitas* nominatur"; *De or.* ii. 231: "explicare totum genus hoc iocandi . . . . cum tantam vim et utilitatem *salis* et *urbanitatis* esse fateatur"; *De off.* i. 104: "alterum (iocandi genus) elegans, *urbanum*, ingeniosum facetum."

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in the literal sense (*praetor, quaestor urbanus*), although there are several places, especially in the discussion of wit and humor, where it might have been employed, and in which connection its use is frequent in Cicero and Quintilian. Not much could be argued from its absence from the fragments of Lucilius, but in neither Terence nor Plautus is it found, though one or two instances could be named which show the starting-point of the later development.[1]

In view, therefore, of these facts, what shall we say of the following passage from Quintilian (*loc. cit.*) derived from Domitius Marsus:

> ⟨Urbanum⟩ paulo post ita finit, Catonis ut ait opinionem secutus: urbanus homo erit, cuius multa bene dicta responsaque erunt, et qui in sermonibus, circulis, conviviis, item in contionibus, omni denique loco, ridicule commodeque dicet. Risus erit quicumque haec faciet [orator].

It is certain, I fancy, that with *Catonis opinionem* Quintilian means to ascribe this definition to Cato the Censor. In this he is followed by all modern scholars so far as I have examined. Jordan places the fragment among the *Apothegmata*, and Gessner (quoted by Spalding, *ad loc.*) cited passages from Cato to show that it is in his manner. But if there is any truth in the history of the word as outlined above, it would seem impossible to believe that Cato could be the author of such a definition. That Quintilian entertained some shadow of doubt about its authenticity may be suspected from his cautious (and unusual, *v.* Bonnell, *Lex.*) phrase *ut ait*—a doubt which he might very well have entertained, since in viii. 3. 35, in quite another connection, he cites the remark of Cicero from the letter to Claudius Pulcher, which was our starting-point—*te hominem ut nunc loquimur urbanum*—in illustration of the statement that some words and meanings have come into very recent usage.

In fact, the definition which Domitius quotes as the *opinio Catonis* cannot be much earlier than the time of Cicero's letter, and therefore does not belong to the elder Cato. But apart from the meaning attached to *urbanus*, it is manifest that we have here the language of a technical definition which aims to comprehend a variety of conditions (striving toward universality in the manner of

[1] Ter. *Adelphi* 42: "ego hanc clementem vitam urbanam secutus sum," with whole context and antithesis; Plautus *Most.* 15: "tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli, rus mihi tu obiectas?" *Trin.* 202: "urbani assidui cires, quos scurras vocant."

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scholastic definition): clever sayings spoken with or without the challenge of another[1] (*bene dicta responsaque*), under all circumstances of place and consequent style (*in sermonibus*, etc., ... *in contionibus*[2]), with due regard not only to wit, but also to suitability[3] (*ridicule commodeque*). Is this the sort of thing that we can credit to the elder Cato? Scarcely. It belongs to the period of the technical discussion of such questions, and betrays the hand of the professional theorist or grammarian.[4] I venture, therefore, to conclude that the definition was quoted by Domitius Marsus from his older contemporary, Valerius Cato, whom he referred to, in the same manner as is done by Catullus, Furius, and Horace, by the simple cognomen. The fact then that the elder Cato was a wit, and was quoted (as it would seem) by Domitius Marsus as affording examples of *urbanitas*, lead to Quintilian's hesitating attribution of the definition to the Censor.

Quintilian in his discussion does not make plain why Domitius quotes the definition of Cato, but the reason is obvious: it was to criticize it. *Risus erit quicumque haec faciet*—that is to say, Cato in his definition presents the point of view which Domitius was at pains to refute (*sunt urbana, quae risum tamen non habent*). To Domitius *urbanitas* was no longer merely a rubric under the heading *de risu*, but a quality by itself (*neque ei de risu sed de urbanitate est opus institutum, ibid.*).

[1] On this distinction cf. Cic. *De or.* ii. 230, and Quint. vi. 3. 14: "longe venustiora omnia in respondendo quam in provocando."

[2] Something could be said here with much plausibility, or even probability, for *contentionibus* instead of *contionibus;* for *contio* is only a specific and not a generic antithesis to *sermo*. The larger antithesis is *contentio* (*-ones*): cf. Cic. *De off.* ii. 48, "duplex ratio sit orationis . . . . sermo . . . . contentio," corresponding to the Greek διαλέγεσθαι and ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Cf. *De legg.* i. 11, and Quint. vi. 3. 14.

[3] This point is strongly insisted upon both by Cicero (*De or.* ii. 237, "quatenus autem," etc.) and by Quintilian (vi. 3. 28, "refert his ubi quis utatur," etc.).

[4] The expression *risus erit* is a colloquialism (for *risum movebit*) which need present no difficulty. It will be easily understood if we recognise this fragment as detached from a larger treatment of laughter (*de risu*), its use, and the means of provoking it. One section of this discussion was devoted to vocabulary or terminology. We may compare Quint. vi. 3. 17 ff. With regard to the final words—*risus erit quicumque haec faciet* [orator]—I have suggested, in view of the universality of the definition as well as of the unnatural use of a substantive with *quicumque*, that *orator* be bracketed as the addition of someone (scarcely Quintilian himself) who sought to limit the definition to oratory.

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Now it is a curious circumstance that Horace, like Domitius, was at variance with the current estimate of that which constituted *urbanitas*. It has been noted above that Cicero called Lucilius *perurbanus*, and it is plain that he means this in the sense of "very witty."[1] Again, Horace in vs. 65 accepts for the argument's sake without conceding its truth, this same earlier characterization of Lucilius—*fuerit comis et urbanus*. What these predicates connoted to Horace's opponent, and why Horace does not agree with them does not there appear, but a comparison with the fourth satire yields the desired explanation. At 4. 86 Horace draws the picture of the guest whose tongue does not spare his fellow-guests, nor even his host, in his desire to raise a laugh and gain the name of a wit—*qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis*. To Horace such a one is malicious (*hic niger est*): but to his opponent *hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur*. It is interesting testimony to the prevailing use of the word and to Horace's dissent from it. It was thus that Cicero had used the epithet *perurbanus* of Lucilius, it was thus that the judgment which Horace combats had called him *comis et urbanus*. The characteristic of Lucilius, like the guest of the fourth satire, in respect of wit was excess and lack of decent restraint (*risu diducere rictum*), which earlier criticism, including Cato, had called *urbanitas*. Horace's own conception of the nature of this quality doubtless embraced other things, but it is significant that he puts moderation in the foreground—*urbani parcentis viribus atque extenuantis eas consulto*.

Where or in what connection Cato had defined the *urbanus* it is impossible to say, but it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that his discussion took its origin from his Lucilian studies. In some such connection it would appear that Horace took cognizance of the same discussion which later provoked the dissent of Domitius Marsus.

NEW HAVEN

[1] See the passages quoted above, p. 89, note 1, and also *Ad fam.* ix. 15. 2, "veteres atque *urbani* sales." In *Brutus* 172, a passage drawn from a Lucilian scene, *nescio quo sapore vernaculo* is used to define *urbanitas*. Cf. also Porphyr. *Ad Hor. Serm.* i. 3. 40, "Luciliana *urbanitate* usus in transitu amaritudinem aspersit."

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CAESAR'S FIRST WIFE

We know that Julius Caesar was engaged to a rich woman of an equestrian family, named Cossutia, even before he had assumed the *toga virilis;* but opinions differ as to whether that engagement ever culminated in a marriage. Or rather it is more accurate to say that while at one time Caesar's marriage was often accepted as a fact,[1] today scholars are almost unanimous in declaring that he was only engaged to Cossutia and never married to her. Among those who state or imply that Caesar's relations with Cossutia never passed beyond an engagement are Baumgarten-Crusius,[2] Napoleon III,[3] Merivale,[4] Froude,[5] Dodge,[6] Warde Fowler,[7] Sihler,[8] von Mess,[9] and Rolfe.[10] This view is in fact found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,*[11] Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie,*[12] and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*[13]

The trend of opinion is clearly indicated by a comparison of the two editions of Drumann. In the first one[14] Cossutia is named as Caesar's "erste Gemahlin," while in the revision of 1906[15] appears the other view, accompanied by the statement: "Die Worte Suetons verbieten es, Cossutia als Caesars Gattin zu betrachten."[16]

The prevalence of this view and its appearance in works of such authority are the justification for a careful investigation of the scanty clues that can be discovered.

[1] Cf., e.g., the *Onomasticon* in Forcellini's *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon, s.v.* "Cossutia," and Liddell, *History of Rome,* 640, footnote.

[2] See *Index Nominum Propriorum, s.v.* "Cossutia."

[3] *Histoire de Jules César* (1867), I, 253, and n. 5.

[4] *History of the Romans under the Empire,* I, 85, n. 3, and *Roman Triumvirates,* 37.

[5] *Caesar: A Sketch,* 77–78. [7] *Julius Caesar,* 28.

[6] *Caesar,* 40. [8] *Annals of Caesar,* 6.

[9] *Caesar: Sein Leben, seine Zeit und seine Politik* (Leipsig, 1913), 10.

[10] *Suetonius* in Loeb Classical Library.

[11] IV, 938 (11th ed.); the article is by H. Stuart Jones.

[12] IV (1901), 1674.

[13] The *Thesaurus* (*Onomasticon,* Vol. II) *s.v.* "Cossutia" refers the reader to the article in Pauly-Wissowa.

[14] III[1], 762 (1837). [15] III[2], 684 (n. 3) and 694.

[16] Ferrero in his *Grandezza e Decadenza di Roma* (I, 126, n. 1) speaks only of an engagement, but describes Cossutia as Caesar's wife in his later work on *The Women of the Caesars* (p. 20).

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The only place in which Cossutia is actually named is Suet. *Iul.* 1: "dimissa Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum dives praetextato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem." The key to the passage lies, of course, in *dimissa*. What does *dimittere* mean in Latin and particularly in Suetonius? In the following passages in our author the word is used of *divorcing* a wife: *Augustus* 62. 1; 63. 2; 69. 1; *Tiberius* 7. 2; 10. 1; 35. 1; 49. 1; *Nero* 35. 2 and *Domitian* 8. 3. It is also used in *Cal.* 25. 1 of ending marriages by divorce. In the *Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon* of Carolus Lessing (1901–6) one finds *dimittere* used of divorce in *Hadrian* 11. 3 and *M. A.* 19. 8. Valerius Maximus vi. 3. 10 and Justin xi. 11. 5 show the same use. But of *dimittere* in the sense of "to break an engagement" I have observed no instances.[1]

On the other hand, on two occasions when Suetonius is clearly speaking of the breaking of an engagement, he uses *repudiare*, once of the dismissal of the intended bridegroom (*Iul.* 21) and once of the dismissal of the intended bride (*Cl.* 26. 1). This verb is, of course, used of divorce also, but its employment with reference to the breaking of an engagement is clearly attested both by these passages and by *Dig.* 50. 16. 191. Other expressions used of severing an engagement are *repudium mittere* (*Dig.* 24. 3. 38); *repudium remittere* (Plaut. *Aul.* 4. 10. 69 and *Dig.* 50. 16. 101, § 1); and *repudium renuntiare* (Plaut. *Aul.* 4. 10. 53 and Ter. *Phorm.* 4. 3. 72). Had then Suetonius intended to refer merely to a broken engagement, we have every reason to suppose that he would have used *repudium* with one of these verbs, or *repudiare* (as he actually does twice).

There is, however, one other passage bearing on the matter, and that is Plutarch *Caes.* 5: Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἠγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηΐαν. . . . . If Pompeia was his third wife, Cornelia must have been the second. Who was the first? The name of Cossutia is needed to fill the gap, for if Caesar did not marry her, Pompeia was Caesar's second wife. The prevalence, however, of the belief that Caesar did not marry Cossutia, is responsible for such statements as that of Hermann Schickinger:[2] "Πομπηΐα, zweite Gemahlin Cäsars. . . . . Plutarch nennt sie die dritte Frau Cäsars, da dieser vor seiner Ehe mit Cornelia mit Cossutia verlobt war." In other words, Plutarch must be declared wrong here in order to support the prevalent opinion. Napoleon III disposes of these words thus: "Plutarque dit que Cornélia fut la première femme de César, quoiqu'il prétende qu'il épousa Pompéia en troisièmes noces." The imperial author clearly used a mistranslation of Plutarch,[3] for that writer never speaks of Cornelia as Caesar's first wife.

[1] In Suet, *Tit.* 7. 2 *ab urbe* clearly indicates that *dimittere* is used of actual sending away.

[2] In the "Erklärendes Namenverzeichnis" in his *Auswahl aus Plutarch*.

[3] Cf. North's translation: "Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife, Cornelia."

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If, then, Caesar actually married Cossutia, when did the marriage occur? How old was he at the time? It must, of course, have taken place after his assumption of the *toga virilis;* the words of Suetonius would of themselves inply that, even aside from the fact that it was only after its assumption that the youth might legally contract a marriage.

When he assumed it, we cannot of course be certain, as the event is not mentioned in what is extant of the Life. We may, however, safely infer that it was referred to in the lost beginning, for Suetonius mentions its assumption by the various emperors in the following passages: *Aug.* 8. 1; *Tib.* 7. 1; *Cal.* 10. 1; *Claud.* 2. 2; *Nero* 7. 2; *Galba* 4. 3; *Vesp.* 2. 2; he fails to mention it in the Lives of Otho, Vitellius, Titus, and Domitian, all among the later Lives and (save Domitian) the shorter ones. Moreover, where he refers to the assumption of the *toga virilis*, the mention is made at the proper chronological place in the Life. This being the case, we may surmise that, as the mention of Caesar's assumption of it was probably in the lost opening, the event preceded the first one alluded to in the extant Life. The opening sentence clearly implies a transition to the account of a new year, the sixteenth of Caesar's life. He must accordingly have assumed the *toga virilis* in his fifteenth year at the very latest, i.e., when fourteen years old. The event would fall, therefore, late in 86 B.C.[1] or early in 85 B.C.[2]

It was, accordingly, after this, perhaps in the year 85, that Caesar married Cossutia; one would fancy that it must have occurred before his father's death (between July, 85, and July, 84). Under the following consuls (i. e., in 84 or 83) Caesar married Cornelia after a divorce had been secured from Cossutia.

That the marriage with Cossutia followed the assumption of the *toga virilis* is not merely suggested by Suetonius' words but necessitated by Roman law. Thus Rossbach (*Untersuchungen über die Römische Ehe*, 411) declares: "Der Eintritt in die Pubertät giebt das Recht eine legitime Ehe einzugehen. Hiermit ist aber die Annahme der Toga virilis vorausgesetzt. Der Jüngling kann im Knabenkleide nicht heirathen, da auch das Mädchen bei der Hochzeit mit der Toga pura und der Tunica recta angethan sein muss."[3]

Such youthful marriages, on the part of males, as that here postulated (i.e., at fourteen or fifteen years of age) were not impossible among the Romans, though not at all common. Caesar himself must have married Cornelia when he was either sixteen or seventeen years of age. The term Ovid (*Trist.* iv. 10. 69) applies to himself at the time of his first marriage, *paene puer*, would exactly fit the youthful Caesar on the occasion of his

[1] This assumes Caesar's birth in 100 B.C.

[2] Sihler (*Annals of Caesar*, 6) suggests "possibly in March, 84"; I agree entirely with his reasoning, but the result would then, it seems to me, have to be March, 85.

[3] Cf. also Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, I, 29.

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marriage to Cossutia. In one inscription[1] we read of a gladiator who died at the age of twenty-two, and had been married seven years. In another[2] we find the following verses: "Intra ter quinos infelix occidit annos, Sic illi coniunx, sic toga pura data est."

It seems, therefore, on the basis of the invariable meaning of *dimittere* in Suetonius (and indeed, as far as cited, elsewhere in Latin literature) and on the basis of the passage in Plutarch *Caes.* 5 that we can hardly escape the conclusion that Caesar married Cossutia. The objection of Groebe, who revised Drumann's work, that Suetonius' words forbid our regarding Cossutia as Caesar's wife, does not seem to me sound. If one were to say: "Cossutia was divorced by Caesar; he had become engaged to her while still a *praetextatus*," the reader would readily assume (1) that a marriage actually took place, (2) that the engagement had preceded the assumption of the *toga virilis*, but (3) that the marriage had followed it. And does not Suetonius in the passage under discussion really say what has just been presented hypothetically? Indeed, of the emperor Tiberius these very words of Suetonius might have been used, for he divorced Vipsania Agrippina (Suet. *Tib.* 7. 2), to whom he had been betrothed while he was still a *praetextatus* (Nepos *Att.* 19).

To claim, therefore, that Cossutia did not marry Caesar, demands that we believe *dimittere* to be used in an unparalleled sense, and that Plutarch *Caes.* 5 be calmly set aside as incorrect. In short, what little evidence we have on the matter, all forces us to conclude that Cossutia was actually Caesar's wife.

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MAY A HERO HAVE A TEMPLE?

As his initial argument against the identification of the famous temple at Athens with the Theseum, Mr. Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, 153) remarks: "Theseus was not a god but a hero; hence his sanctuary was not a temple but a *herōon*. The distinction between deities and worshipful heroes was a sharp one in Greek religion; only a deity had a temple (*naos*); a hero had a heroic shrine (*herōon*)." In this connection the following list of individuals to whom *naoi* are ascribed by Pausanias is significant: Amphiaraus, at the Amphiareum in Attica (1. 34. 2); Ajax, at Salamis (1. 35. 3); Cyamites, along the Sacred Way (1. 37. 4); Triptolemus, at Eleusis (1. 38. 6); Palaemon, at the Isthmus (2. 2. 1); Clymenus, at Hermion (2. 35. 9); Caesar, at Sparta (3. 11. 4); Augustus, at Sparta (*ibid.*); Lycurgus, at Sparta (3. 16. 6); Menelaus, at Therapne (3. 19. 9); Achilles, at

[1] *CIL*, V, 2, 5933.

[2] L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, I⁹, 469, n. 8.

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Therapne (3. 19. 11); Roman kings, at Asopus in Laconia (3. 22. 9); Cassandra, at Leuctra in Laconia (3. 26. 5); Messene, at Messene (4. 32. 11); Iphigenia, at Aegira (7. 26. 5); Heracles, at Hyettus in Boeotia (9. 24. 3); Heracles, near Boeotian Orchomenus (9. 38. 6); Hercyna, at Lebadea (9. 39. 3); Trophonius, at Lebadea (9. 29. 4). Several of the temples are said by Pausanias to have had statues of the heroes, presumably cult-statues. If it be objected that these persons had been deified and virtually were gods, the objection may be sustained. Surely, however, if a *naos* may be devoted to Lycurgus, one may be allowed, a fortiori, to Theseus. Not that the temple at Athens must for this reason be the Theseum; other arguments to the contrary are decisive, but the argument in question will not stand. I mentioned this relation briefly some time ago (*American Journal of Archaeology*, XIII [1909], 57) without publishing the evidence, which has recently come again to my attention.

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NOTE ON CHALCIDIUS' COMMENTARY ON THE *TIMAEUS* CCXXVIII

Wrobel's text reads: "Hoc loco calumniari solent homines, quibus veri indagandi cura nulla est. Dicunt enim Platonem in Phaedro quidem adserere animam esse sine ulla compositione proptereaque indissolubilem, in Timaeo tamen compositam rem confiteri," etc. Wrobel's index refers to *Phaedrus* 245C–246A. But neither there nor elsewhere in the *Phaedrus* does Plato affirm the soul to be "sine ulle compositione proptereaque indissolubilem." Chalcidius evidently had in mind *Phaedo* 78C, *ἀσύνθετον*, etc., and 80B, *καὶ ἀδιαλύτῳ*, etc. Chalcidius knew and elsewhere quotes the *Phaedo*. We must restore here *in Phaedone*.

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ὈΛΙΓΟΜΕΡΙΑ AND ΠΟΛΥΜΕΡΙΑ

These terms are used to describe "blemishes" (*κακίαι*) of the heroic verse in the two following passages:

A. Eustathius, 353. 39: *ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον πάθος ἔχοι ἂν λόγον κακίαν ἔπους εἶναι, καθὰ τ ὴ ν ὀ λ ι γ ο μ ε [τ] ρ ί α ν, ἣ θεωρεῖται ἐν στίχῳ ἐξ ὀλίγων μερῶν λόγου συγκειμένῳ, οἷον*

κολλητὸν βλήτροισι, δύω καὶ εἰκοσίπηχυ (O 678)·

εὐτελὲς γὰρ τὸ ἐκ δύο μερῶν λόγου, ἤγουν ὀνόματος καὶ συνδέσμου, ἡρῷον ἔπος συγκεκροτῆσθαι.

τὸ δὲ καὶ τ ὴ ν π ο λ υ μ ε [τ] ρ ί α ν τρίτην εἶναι κακίαν ἔπους, καθ' ἣν στίχος ἁπήρτισται ἐκ πολλῶν μερῶν λόγου συγκείμενος, οἷον

ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (Z 253=406, etc.),

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ἀπορίαν προβαλλεται. εἰ γάρ τὸ ἐκ πέντε μερῶν λόγου συντεθειμένον κακία ἔπους, διὰ τί μὴ πολλῷ πλέον τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἐκεῖνο τὸ σπουδαιότατον

πρὸς δέ με τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον (X 59) . . . .

B. Anonymus Ambrosianus, in Studemund, *Anec. Var.* I, p. 215 (περὶ τῶν κακομέτρων στίχων, § 2): ὁλιγομερία δέ ἐστιν, οἷον

αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου (B 706).

εἴρηται δὲ ὀλιγομερία ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν πάντα στίχον εἰς δύο μόνα διαιρεῖσθαι μέρη τοῦ λόγου.
πολυμερία δέ ἐστιν (οἷον),

ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (Z 253, etc.).

εἴρηται δὲ πολυμερία ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῖς τοῦ λόγου συνέχεσθαι μέρεσιν· εἰς δέκα γὰρ μέρη τοῦ λόγου διῄρηται.

Apparently both Eustathius (except in lines 10–12, on which see below) and the Anonymus derive their statements from the same source, although they give different examples of ὀλιγομερία (H. Grossmann, *De doctrinae metricae reliquis ab Eustathio servatis*, Argentorati [1887], p. 31). Both writers used their source without fully understanding it. In the first place, the verse cited by the Anonymus as an example of ὀλιγομερία (B 706) is said to contain but two "parts of speech" (Passage B, l. 3 f.). But inasmuch as ancient Greek grammar classed nouns and adjectives together as one part of speech (ὄνομα; cf. Kühner-Blass, I, 1, p. 355, 2; 356, Anm. 2), there is only one part of speech, instead of two, in B 706—unless αὐτό is to be regarded as a part of speech. Furthermore, Eustathius and the Anonymus do not agree on the number of μέρη λόγου in the verse which is used to illustrate πολυμερία (Z 253, etc.), the former counting five and the latter ten. Finally, Eustathius is perplexed (Passage A, 10–12) because the example of πολυμερία contains but five "parts of speech," whereas a famous verse of Homer contains all eight parts (X 59). This verse is the stock example of the τέλειον ἔπος, which is one of the seven "varieties" (διαφοραί) of the heroic hexameter, Helias Monachus in Studemund, *Anec. Var.* I, p. 173: τελειον δὲ τὸ ἔχον ὅλα τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου, (οἷον)

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον, ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον (X 59);

also Studemund, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 245; Schol. Hephaestion (A), p. 178, Gaisford. Eustathius himself refers to this doctrine in his comment on X 59 (1256, 60): τὸ δὲ "πρὸς δέ με, κτλ." ἐξ ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν συγκεκρότηται. With this passage Grossmann (p. 33) compares Schol. Dion. Thrax, 842, 5:

καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν Ὁμηρικὸς στίχος τὰ ὀκτὼ μέρη τοῦ λόγου ἔχων οὗτος
Πρὸς δέ με, κτλ.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ "πρός" ἐστι προθέσεως, τὸ "δέ" συνδέσμου, κτλ.

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In view of these passages it is not strange that Eustathius was perplexed when confronted with a verse which is used as an example of πολυμερία and which contains but five parts of speech.

The clue to the solution of the *aporia* and likewise to the real meaning of ὀλιγομερία and πολυμερία as used by the common source of Eustathius and the Anonymus Ambrosianus *de re metrica*, is to be found in the ambiguity of the phrase, τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου. As a grammatical term the phrase means "one of the eight parts of speech," and this is the sense in which Eustathius understands it. But the later Greek metrical writers used μέρος τοῦ λόγου regularly in the sense of "word" (λόγος, λέξις). The successive steps in the development of this use of the phrase are illustrated by four definitions of the caesura of the hexameter:

1. Aristides Quint. 52M: τομὴ δέ ἐστι μόριον μέτρου τὸ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῷ λ ό γ ο ν ἀπαρτίζον, ὑπὲρ δύο πόδας εἰς ἀνόμοια μέρη διαιροῦν τὸ μέτρον, i.e., a caesura is formed by a word ending within a foot, except the first and second feet.

2. Helias Monachus, περὶ τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ μέτρου, § 2 (Studemund, *op. cit.*, p. 172): γίνεται δ' αὕτη (sc. ἡ τομὴ) ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ . . . . ἐν τέλει λ έ ξ ε ω ς. Here λέξις takes the place of λόγος in 1.

3. Anonymus Ambrosianus Q, § 2 (Studemund, p. 159): πενθεμιμερής ἐστιν, ὅταν μετὰ δύο πόδας εὑρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς τέλειον μέρος λόγου; the phrase, ἀπαρτίζουσα . . . . λόγου is exactly equivalent to "ἐν τέλει λέξεως" in 2. τέλειον was doubtless added to guard against the possibility of making a τομή after a preposition in composition, or the like; μέρος λόγου is on the way toward meaning λέξις.

4. Anonymus Ambrosianus Q, § 1 (*ibid.*): ἑφθεμιμερὴς δὲ λέγεται, ὅταν μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς πόδας εὑρεθῇ συλλαβὴ ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγου. Here τέλειον is omitted, and ἀπαρτίζουσα εἰς μέρος λόγου is used in the sense of ἐν τέλει λέξεως, that is, μέρος λόγου (or τοῦ λόγου) is the equivalent of λέξις, "word," and does not mean "part of speech" (cf. also Schol. Hephaest. Ambros., Studemund, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Ps.-Hephaestion, *Appendix Lib. II*, cited below).

It is this meaning of μέρος τοῦ λόγου, i.e., "word" rather than "part of speech," which we must find in the second of the passages under discussion (B, line 7), for in the verse,

ἕν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν,

there are ten "words" (τε being twice repeated), but only five "parts of speech."

This interpretation throws new light upon the meaning of ὀλιγομερία and πολυμερία as used by the source of Eustathius and the Anonymus Ambrosianus. Both of the examples of ὀλιγομερία cited by the two writers (B 706, O 678) contain but three words, for δυωκαιεικοσίπηχυ is a single word.

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Verses of this kind are extremely rare in the Homeric poems, the only other occurrences being,

Λ 427, *αὐτοκασίγνητον ἐυγενέος Σώκοιο,*

and

κ 137, *αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο.*

In the later epic the verse which is composed of three words is almost as infrequent. The writer has noticed the following cases in about 60,000 verses:

Hom. Hymns,	V, 31,	*πατροκασίγνητος, πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων,*
	XXVII, 3,	*αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσαόρου Ἀπόλλωνος,*
Hesiod, *Works,*	383,	*Πληϊάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων,*
Manetho,	4, 227,	*δωδεκατημορίοισι, προφήτορας ἱερολάμπρους,*
	396,	*ἀκτινηβολίῃσι φαεσφόρου Οὐλύμποιο* (=1, 322),
	421,	*ἀκτινηβολίῃσι πυριβλήτοισι καταθρῇ,*
Quint. Smyrn.	X, 58,	*πατροκασιγνήτην κρατερόφρονα κυδαίνοντες,*
Orph., *Lithica,*	80,	*ἀμφιπεριπλασθεῖσα, βαδιζέμεν ἀνθεμόεντα,*
	758,	*αὐτοκασιγνήτην κεχολωμένος Ἀργυρότοξος,*
Orph., *Hymns,*	X, 23,	*πάνρυτε, κυκλοτερής, ἀλλοτριομορφοδίαιτε,*
Colluthus,	21,	*αὐτοκασιγνήτην λευκώλενον Ἀμφιτρίτης.*

Similarly, no verse in Homer or the later epic poetry, according to the observations of the writer, contains more than twelve words, the number which is found in the verse cited as an example of *πολυμερία* (Z, 253, etc.), if we count the repetitions of *τε*. Hence we may conclude that *ὀλιγομερία* and *πολυμερία* had no reference to the "parts of speech," but applied to verses containing a very small or very large number of words.

There are other indications that the metricians counted the number of words in the verse. Marius Victorinus (72, 7, K) mentions among the *versus insignes*, "*quattuor orationis partibus* decurrentes, ut

cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum (Verg. *Aen.* iii. 549)

(where there are only three 'parts of speech' at most); aut *ἀσύνδετοι* et *διὰ πέντε* (sc. *μερῶν τοῦ λόγου*), ut

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin. (Verg. *Ecl.* ii. 1)."

Marius Plotius, who admits his indebtedness to the *graeci nobiles metrici* (543, 16, K), apparently is following the same source as Victorinus in the following passage (505, 15, K):

Huius versus, id est heroici, virtutes sunt tres: si *ἀσύνδετος* versus fuerit . . . . si fuerit *tetracolos*, id est si *quattuor verbis vel quibuslibet partibus orationis* fuerit divisus (the ambiguity of *μέρος τοῦ λόγου* is again apparent) cuius exemplum . . . . graecum sic,

αἰδέομαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης (cf. Λ, 46),

sed *πολύ* fecit illum quasi *pentacolon*, nam *πολύχρυσος* compositum nomen est.

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Pseudo-Hephaestion, *Appendix Lib. II* (H. zur Jacobsmühlen, *Diss. Argentor.*, X, 248), in a Priscianic illustration of the proper method of describing a Homeric verse:

ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (A, 43 = 457 = Π, 527).

. . . . ὀκτάκωλος, ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη λόγου, i.e., contains eight words.

Whether the metrician who first noted the number of words in the verse is likewise responsible for the doctrine of ὀλιγομερία and πολυμερία is uncertain. If so, it is an interesting question why the Latin writers on metric regarded as "noteworthy" or an "excellence" a type of verse which to the Greeks seemed a "blemish." Elsewhere the writer will show that Homer and the other Greek epic poets by no means avoided using the *tetracolos*. For the present it is enough to conclude that the passages discussed above reveal a hitherto unnoticed method by which the ancient writers on metric classified the different types of the heroic verse.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Companion to Greek Studies. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by LEONARD WHIBLEY, M.A. 3d ed., revised and enlarged. Cambridge: University Press, 1916. Pp. 787.

When the first edition of this handbook appeared in 1905, it represented what were supposed to be the sound and safe conclusions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or, rather, what the sixth-form boy, for whose benefit so many texts are edited and handbooks compiled in England, and the undergraduate reading for honors could safely reproduce in examination papers set by conservative dons. Even ten years ago several of the articles were behind the times. Crete, for instance, and the speculations on the early civilization of the Aegean, which were inspired by the excavations in Crete, was ignored; the epithet "Minoan" did not occur; the name of Sir Arthur Evans was absent from the Index of modern scholars, though it was mentioned, cautiously, by Lady Evans in her article on "Dress." Ridgeway contributed the section on "Gems," but his Pelasgian theory was barely mentioned; now it is respectfully discussed in a whole page, and he appears in the Index. Obviously a book that practically ignored Ridgeway, Evans, and their followers might be safe as the grave, but would never do for the new generation at Oxford and Cambridge. In America, too, one would have thought it would languish on the shelves. But I find that the copy to which I have access is falling to pieces from hard wear at the hands of graduate students—of archaeology! Evidently, though in some respects out of date, it was a useful handbook, and since the second edition is practically the same as the first, a new edition was needed. The more important additions are ten carefully written pages on "Ethnology" by Mr. Wace of the British School at Athens; and new articles on "Bronzes" and "Jewellery" by Mr. H. B. Walters. Waldstein's chapter on "Sculpture" has been revised by Professor Bosanquet, who gives most of his extra space to the archaic period. Mr. Wace discusses the "Pre-Historic House." Lady Evans adds four pages on "Minoan Dress." But the most useful addition is the twenty-four new pages on "Pre-Historic Art" by Mr. Wace, fully illustrated from Cretan remains. In fact, more than one hundred pages have been added to the volume, and about fifty illustrations. One sees from this brief enumeration of additions and revisions that the editor now recognizes that the limits of our knowledge, or at least of our theories, are being pushed farther back into the prehistoric days of the civilization of the Aegean and of Greece. But I foresee yet another edition of this book which will

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contain a chapter on "Anthropology and the Classics." For the present the anthropological scholar, along with Professor Gilbert Murray, Cornford, and the rest, has not been given a chance. The section on Greek religion will then, perhaps, be rewritten by Miss Jane Harrison, whose three pages on "Ritual" have not been revised, and in their bald list of facts do not even hint at the well-known views of the author of *Themis*. Professor Murray might well rewrite Jebb's coldly correct summary of Greek literature, which was conceived in the eighties. Though naturally it is unimpeachable, as far as it goes, it ignores the modern trend of Homeric studies and the gradual change of attitude due to Rothe, Shewan, Scott, and others. How little has been done to bring this section up to date may be seen in the paragraph on "New Comedy." It was of course originally written before the discovery of the "Cairo" Menander, and only the following sentence has been added: "But his recently recovered plays have not enhanced his reputation." In a handbook of this sort we at least expect to be told what plays or, rather, portions of plays, were found, and where, and when. It is, however, the inevitable fate of a book like this that it should fail at almost every point to satisfy the special student who looks up his favorite subject. That does not mean that it is not a most useful work, whose reappearance will be welcome to English-speaking scholars. And the editor may well retort to his critics that he has room only for ascertained facts. I ask then only for more facts. For instance, the bibliographies are unnecessarily meager, and lack the dates of publication, an omission which makes a bibliography almost useless.

WILMER CAVE WRIGHT

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Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz: Ein Beitrag zur klassischen Philologie. By FRANZ FESSLER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. Pp. vi+56. M. 2.50.

The purpose of this work is not entirely clear. For a thorough study of the use by Lactantius of Cicero's philosophical writings there might perhaps be a place, even after the works on the subject cited by Fessler and by Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, III, 2d ed., p. 472), but such an intention the author in his preface and on pages 1 and 22 expressly disavows, on account of the shortness of time at his disposal. He further states that the collections of Brandt and Laubmann's edition (*CSEL*, XIX and XXVII) were not used as a basis but merely subsequently compared with his own, a method which might have been justifiable had he then made a thorough use of them, which he has not.

Three pages on the life of Lactantius, unnecessary in a treatise of this nature, add nothing new and contain one or two errors. The town in Picenum from which the name Firmianus may be derived is not Firmium,

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but Firmum, and the fact that in it Lucius was a not uncommon praenomen will hardly appeal to many readers as a strong proof that it was the home-town of the Lactantii. A catalogue of the writings of Lactantius (pp. 4–5) might also be considered a superfluity, but it seems strange that it should make no reference to the questionable authenticity of the work *De mortibus persecutorum*, and yet stranger that it should include without comment among the extant writings of Lactantius the *Symposium*. This work was by Heumann in his edition of 1736 identified with the riddle collection of the so-called Symphosius (cf. *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, I, 222, n.), and to our surprise we learn from p. 56 of Fessler's treatise that it is this antiquated edition, rather than the standard one of Brandt and Laubmann, which he has chosen for his citations, though with the assistance and comparison of others, some of them as ancient as 1570 and 1660!

On p. 7 we are told that Lactantius probably knew all the works of Cicero, and a partial list of these is given, including the *De finibus* (of which Brandt and Laubmann's *index locorum* gives no trace; the only parallel cited by Fessler [p. 53] seems to be between *Div. inst.* iii. 12. 9 and *De fin.* v. 7. 20 ff. where the reviewer must plead inability to discover any likeness), the *Ad Murenam* (*sic*), and the "*De providentia.*" If by this last title there perhaps be meant the *De Fato*, no trace of its use has appeared to me in Brandt and Laubmann's index or in Fessler's work, and the same may be said of the orations *Pro Caelio*, *Pro Fonteio*, and *Pro lege Manilia*.

This study of Lactantius is restricted by Fessler to the *Institutiones*, and pp. 8–42 are occupied with a synopsis of books i–ii with a running citation of Ciceronian parallels. Apparently tiring of this method, he compresses the information for book iii (which on p. 7 he stated should be grouped with i and ii as opposed to iv–vii) and for books iv–vii into the form of a table giving the references to Lactantius, the parallels in Cicero, and the subject-matter of the borrowing. By the sign (Br.) he indicates parallels which he has drawn from the collections in Brandt and Laubmann's edition, but the reader must not suppose that all others are Fessler's original contribution to the subject. Comparison reveals the fact that of the parallels not marked (Br.) at least one-half are noted by Brandt and Laubmann, and of the other half a considerable number are rather unconvincing philosophical commonplaces. Other good parallels noted by Brandt and Laubmann are not here included, to the manifest impoverishment of this work. Inequalities, such as the citing (p. 48) of the "*Cat. mai.*" and two lines below of the "*de senect.*," and misprints are all too common. These faults and others culminate in a carelessly prepared and in places inapposite bibliography at the end of the pamphlet. In short, there is little in the whole treatise which needed to be done at all which will not have to be reworked with better judgment and greater accuracy.

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The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus. By WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER and HOWARD VERNON CANTER. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IV, No. 2, June, 1915. Pp. 118. $0.75.

The writers of this monograph attempt two things: to show that the traditional view of the Germanic policy of Augustus is untenable, and to advocate a more natural and satisfactory theory. The attack on the old position leads them into a critical examination of the sources, and of the views of modern scholars. The verdict on the sources is that they are meager, unsatisfactory, and full of rhetorical influence. In the account of the battle of Teutoberg Forest the two best sources, Dio and Tacitus, are contradictory and incomplete. On the whole the criticism of the sources is well taken, but one could wish for a more searching examination of individual points, for at times statements that seem probable are rejected because they are found in authors whose reputation is somewhat tarnished. There are some generalizations that must be accepted with reservation, like the following: "Florus was concocting a melodrama; Dio arranging an explanation which would save the credit of Rome and the Roman soldier by putting all the blame on the dead who tell no tales; Velleius distorting everything in *maiorem gloriam* of Tiberius, for whom Varus must serve as a foil at every turn" (an account of the administration of Varus, p. 101).

The modern view has assumed that Augustus attempted the conquest of Germany, but abandoned the undertaking after the defeat of Varus. Various theories have been advanced to prove both of these assumptions. These are taken up in detail and subjected to criticism. It is shown that the population and resources of Germany were far less than most scholars have believed; so that if Germany remained free it was due to the fault of the Romans rather than to the might of the Germans and their leader Arminius. As proof of the weakness of Germany the completeness of Charlemagne's conquest is cited, but no account is taken of the fact that he was thirty-four years at the task. Our authors claim that there has been no satisfactory theory advanced to explain why Augustus desired the conquest of Germany. That of von Ranke, who believed that Augustus was trying to build a world-empire, is contrary to the express statement of Augustus and the spirit of his whole life. Kornemann's view that the influence of the adopted sons of Augustus forced him to abandon his peace policy in 2 B.C. rests on a hypercritical analysis of the *res gestae*, and has no real facts to support it. The theory of Gardthausen and others that the safety of Gaul demanded the conquest of Germany is found to be untenable, because such a policy—i.e., protecting a frontier by new conquests—leads to indefinite expansion until a natural barrier is reached, and no such barrier is found in the plains of Northern Europe. Nor is Meyer's view that

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Augustus was trying to find a shorter frontier found more satisfactory, because the few miles saved by the Elbe-Danube frontier do not compensate for the expense of a larger army. Certainly new forces would be needed, for if the legions were removed from the Rhine to the Elbe, additional forces must be raised to act as a police force in Gaul. That Germany was ever reduced to the form of a province is also open to suspicion. Strabo and Pliny do not mention such a fact, and there are few traces of any permanent occupation such as roads and towns. In face of such negative evidence the words of Florus and Velleius can hardly be believed. It is, however, not a serious argument against occupation to say that Roman legions did not winter in Germany, because they seldom did in campaigns in other countries. The importance of the battle of Teutoberg Forest, our authors think, has been magnified unduly. They find no reason for the usual assumption that this battle marks the turning-point of Rome's policy in the north. If there was ever a change of policy, it came in the reign of Tiberius, and for different reasons.

If, however, it is assumed that Augustus was not trying to conquer the Germans, but to force them to keep the peace by a series of raids, then most of the difficulties of the old view disappear. He was trying to create a series of friendly tribes along the frontier to act as a buffer state. This is the testimony of the sources, unless one reads them with a preconceived idea of conquest. It is also in harmony with the policy used by Augustus in other places. He made raids into Arabia, Ethiopia, and Dacia; and the buffer state was used in Armenia and Numidia. Such a theory, too, would account for the absence of all material evidences of occupation, and for the silence of Strabo and Pliny.

The theory has much to commend it, but there are still difficulties. The raids into Dacia and Arabia are not a parallel, because they were not repeated for a number of years, as was the case in Germany; later, when Dacia menaced Roman territory, as had Germany, Trajan's policy was one of conquest. The principle of the buffer state could hardly apply, for it would have to be a buffer against itself, since the region of danger was the district of the Elbe-Rhine. It seems doubtful, too, whether in the unsettled and half-civilized condition of the Germans such a state could have been maintained. Again, it seems more natural to include the German campaigns with the great advance made in the eastern Alps and along the Danube, where there was admitted conquest. At least the rebellions of 6 A.D. in the Danube region and that of 9 A.D. in Germany are due to an attempt to collect a tax, which seems to point to permanent occupation in both districts. It is true that the testimony of Florus and Velleius is not conclusive, but in view of the fact that Pannonia has much the same history as Germany, it seems that this essay is hardly justified in rejecting their testimony outright.

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The essay is interesting, and the claims of the new theory are well presented. Whether the theory has been proved or not, a determined assault has been made on the old position and some of its defenses damaged; in any new discussion of the question this work should be considered.

J. F. FERGUSON

BRYN MAWR

Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese. Von DR. KARL GRONAU. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1914. Pp. viii+313. M. 12.

In this treatise Dr. Gronau investigates the source of the *Hexaemeros* and προσέχε σεαυτῷ of Basil, the *Hexaemeros*, περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου and *De anima et resurrectione* of Gregory of Nyssa. He finds this source in Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*, amplified, perhaps, by the addition of material from other works of the same author, and handed down in the philosophical schools with little alteration.

Gronau takes as the basis of his argument the results of the voluminous literature on Posidonius written in the last forty years. His general method of procedure is this: To prove a Posidonian origin for a passage he cites parallels from authors supposed to depend upon Posidonius. Then by pointing out reminiscences of the *Timaeus* or by showing, often with the aid of Chalcidius, that the subject falls within the range of a commentary on the *Timaeus*, he attempts to prove that the source is Posidonius' commentary.

While Gronau is able to show the presence in Basil and Gregory of scientific ideas which are attested as Posidonius' or which may be plausibly attributed to him, and of commonplaces to which he may well have given expression, but of which he was clearly not the originator, he fails utterly, in my opinion, to prove the use of a single Posidonian source. We know very little about Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus;* there are but few references to it in antiquity. The earliest important attempt to determine its contents and influence was in Schmekel's *Die mittlere Stoa;* and later writers have used his conclusions as the basis of new investigations without stopping to verify them. Further, the presence of Stoic elements in an author of later antiquity does not justify us in assuming that whatever he has of a philosophic nature must come from a Stoic source. We find, indeed, in Basil and Gregory a considerable amount of material which demonstrably cannot go back to the Stoa.

Gronau begins with the investigation of Homily 6 of Basil's *Hexaemeros.* This without question contains scientific material taken ultimately from Posidonius. I see no proof, however, of the presence of anything Posidonian in Homily 1. Gronau tries to explain by reference to Posidonius a somewhat striking parallel between Basil 49C ff. and Johannes Lydus *De mensibus*

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iii. 3. Basil is answering the question why the first day was called *ἡμέρα μία*, not *πρώτη* (Gen. 1:5). Lydus does not refer to Genesis, but says that the Pythagoreans *τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χρόνου οὐχὶ πρώτην ἀλλὰ μίαν ὠνόμασαν*. Since this was a topic discussed in Genesis-commentaries (cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, I, 29), and since we find nothing at all like this attested for Pythagoreans, we are forced to the conclusion that Lydus has blundered and that both he and Basil are drawing from some commentary on Genesis, not from a philosophical source. In 16D in a discussion of *ἀρχή* in the sense of a beginning in time, Basil says it is absurd to imagine a beginning of a beginning. Gronau compares this with Cicero *Somnium Scipionis* xxv. 27, which Corssen regards as Posidonian. But in the latter passage, which is a paraphrase of *Phaedrus* 235, *principium* is not a beginning in time, but a metaphysical principle. The meanings of *ἀρχή* which Basil gives here are compared by Gronau to the four causes of Philo *De cherubim* § 125, a passage which Norden thinks is Posidonian; but a careful consideration will satisfy the reader that there is no resemblance whatsoever. In Homily 4 Gronau might be supposed to experience some difficulty, for the theory of the elements is exactly that set forth in Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*. He urges us, however, not to lay too much stress on differences between Aristotle and Posidonius, and then points to this passage as another proof of the use of Posidonius' commentary, since the *Timaeus* discusses the interchange of the elements. In the remaining homilies there is doxographical and scientific material, some of which may go back ultimately to Posidonius.

The first question discussed in Gregory's *Hexaemeros* is *εἰ ἄυλος ὁ Θεός, πόθεν ἡ ὕλη*. The answer is given that God *ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα δι' ὧν ἡ ὕλη συνίστατο τῷ σοφῷ τε καὶ δυνατῷ θελήματι κατεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄντων, τὸ κουφὸν τὸ βαρὺ τὸ ναστὸν . . . . τὸ χρῶμα τὸ σχῆμα τὴν περιγραφὴν τὸ διάστημα. ἃ πάντα μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔννοιαί ἐστι . . . . οὐ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντα πρὸς ἄλληλα ὕλη γίνεται*. Gronau admits that similar conceptions of matter are found in Plotinus and Philo, but maintains that Gregory goes back to a Stoic source, because of the presence of the definitely Stoic idea of the *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* (cf. Greg. 77D). Further, Gronau compares Gregory's discussion of matter to Chalcidius'. Now it is to be observed that though Gregory does not reject the idea of a substrate (cf. *δεκτικὴν δύναμιν*, p. 80), he puts extension in the list of *ἔννοιαι* which go to make up matter. But Plotinus was the first, so far as we know, to deny that extension belongs to *ὕλη* and to consider it a quality (cf. Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie*, 403; Plotinus ii. 4. 11–12). Again, the Stoic theory of *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* appears in Plotinus as clearly as in Gregory (cf. Zeller, II, 2, 609). Whatever parallels there are between Gregory and Chalcidius are commonplaces which may be found in any discussion of matter. In the remainder of Gregory's *Hexaemeros* Gronau establishes the influence of Stoic science, but it seems open to question how much of this is distinctively Posidonian.

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In Gregory's *De hominis opificio* there is material which is found in the Stoics, but much of this is by no means confined to them. It is hardly possible to argue that Gregory in his assertion of the unity of the soul is following a Stoic source from the fact that he says that the νοῦς acts through the senses. This idea was probably held by the Stoics, but it is found in *Phaedo* 79C and *Theaetetus* 184C. Stronger evidence of the influence of Posidonius Gronau finds in the thought that like is known by like. We know from Sextus Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 93 that this occurred in Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*. But if we remember that both Aristotle and Crantor employed this idea in the interpretation of the world-soul in the *Timaeus*, it becomes clear that it was a commonplace of Platonic exegesis. Further, in the passages which Gronau cites from Gregory for this thought, we find conceptions which are certainly non-Stoic, e.g., τὸ μετεχόμενον, τὸ ὀρεγόμενον, ἔφεσις. I see no reason for thinking that the passage on the seat of the soul is Stoic. As Gronau himself points out, Gregory's own opinion is that of Xenocrates. There are Stoic elements in the section on sleep, but Gregory's theory of divination from dreams is demonstrably not Posidonian. Gregory refers prophetic dreams to the lower soul, after *Timaeus* 71E, whereas Posidonius, if we may judge by Cicero *De divinatione*, refers them to the νοῦς. Gregory assumes the creation of an intelligible πλήρωμα of souls in the beginning but maintains that the individual soul comes into existence with the body. We can certainly not hold Posidonius responsible for this clumsy attempt to reconcile traducianism and a theory of pre-existence. If Posidonius taught pre-existence at all, we may be sure that he taught the pre-existence of the individual soul.

Gronau depends upon parallels with Cicero *Tusc.* i to prove that the section of Gregory's *De anima et resurrectione* which contains proofs of immortality comes from Posidonius. He thinks that all references to the immateriality of the soul were added by Gregory himself. While the parallels between Cicero and Gregory cannot be denied, I am not convinced by the arguments of Schmekel and Corssen that the Posidonian elements in the first book of the *Tusculans* are as great as they think. For example, it seems to me improbable that *Tusc.* i. 66 and 70, both of which passages Gronau cites as parallel to Gregory, are Posidonian. But even if all of Gronau's parallels in *Tusc.* i come from Posidonius, this fact proves very little for Gregory's source, since the ideas are such as would constantly occur in Platonists. When Gronau asserts on p. 244 that Plato affirms the unity of the soul only in *Republic* 611B, he forgets *Phaedo* 78B, where the immortality of the soul is deduced from its unity and simplicity. Gregory's theory of the relation of the ὁρμαί to the λογικόν bears a certain resemblance to Posidonius', but this is too indefinite to allow us to draw any definite conclusions concerning the source. Gronau finds definite traces of Posidonius' in the ideas of the kinship of the soul to God and of its consequent ability to know him. But *Phaedo* 80A contains the thought that the soul is akin to the divine; and

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we have already spoken of the wide currency of the idea that like is known by like.

Gronau lays the most stress, however, on parallels between the *De anima et resurrectione* and the myth of Plutarch's *De facie in orbe lunae*. Though he declines to decide between the theories of Heinze and Adler concerning the sources of this myth, in reality he follows Adler in giving Posidonius much that Heinze gives Xenocrates. Gronau thinks that the conception of Gregory that all souls after purification return to God is parallel to Plutarch's thought that the souls are absorbed in the heavenly bodies. On p. 272 he says: "Das Eingehen in den Mond selbst geschieht ohne Beihilfe der Leidenschaften. Die unvernünftige Seele ist vorher im Reinigungsprozesse vom Geiste getrennt. Diese Trennung vollzieht sich durch das Verlangen nach dem Bilde der Sonne, durch das das Anziehende, Schöne . . . . hervorglänzt." With this he compares Gregory 93C where it is said that the soul is drawn to God διὰ τῆς ἀγαπητικῆς κινήσεως, but that when it attains its goal, it loses all desire, since this arises only when we do not possess the object of our longing. Now it is clear enough that there is a parallel between the desire of the νοῦς for the sun and of the soul for God. But Gronau is in considerable confusion in regard to the detail of Plutarch's myth. In the first place, he does not carefully distinguish the return of the νοῦς εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, which is presumably the sun, from the absorption of the ψυχή into the moon. The ψυχή, further, is not separated from the νοῦς in the *Reinigungsprozess*, which takes place between the earth and the moon, but on the moon. Then there is no point in contrasting the absorption of the soul into the moon, which takes place without the aid of the affections, with the earlier separation of νοῦς and ψυχή, which is brought about by longing for the sun. For the absorption of the ψυχή into the moon is a symbolic representation of the disappearance of the passionate element, whereas the longing for the sun does not belong to the affective soul, but to the νοῦς. Gregory goes one degree farther than Plutarch. In the process of purification the soul loses all passions except the desire for τὸ καλόν. This process corresponds to the purification in the air and the separation of the νοῦς from the ψυχή in the moon. But when the soul is united to God, Gregory says that it loses every feeling of desire, since desire arises only because of the absence of the longed-for object. This latter thought, to which we have no parallel in Plutarch, is taken ultimately from *Symposium* 200 ff.

ROGER MILLER JONES

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Menander Studien. By SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS. Bonn, 1914. 8vo, pp. 94.

Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae, iterum ed. SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS. Bonn, 1914. Text, critical notes. 12mo, pp. 103.

The *Menander Studien* comprise a series of investigations of the four main plays and of the *Fabula incerta* contained in the Cairo MS. To the

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Epitrepontes, including an examination of the "St. Petersburg" fragments, are devoted thirty-three pages and to the *Periceiromene*, together with comments on the "Leipzig" fragments, thirty pages. General discussion and detailed examination of many lines and vexed passages make these studies an indispensable supplement to the second edition itself, in which the critical notes are brief.

The second edition is based in part upon Sudhaus' own collation of the Cairo MS, made subsequently to Jensen's two important collations. It is the most recent report of readings to date and, owing to the author's death[1] constitutes the last of his series of valuable contributions to the text of Menander. He had access also to the Leipzig fragments of the *Periceiromene*, and reports, or implies, many new readings which he supplements freely.

Future editions of Menander must reckon with this work. In it some doubtful lines and passages are settled; many ingenious or suggestive interpretations and supplements are offered; many previously made (including some of his own) are rendered untenable on the basis of Sudhaus' new report. That the Cairo MS was already fading when his collation was made adds perhaps an additional element of uncertainty in deciding here and there between his report and the second collation made previously by Jensen with more time at his disposal.

A typical illustration of this would be the small lacunae in *Epitrep.* 519 (L^2 = Capps 657). Here Sudhaus[2] reports Ϛ . . . . λε . . . . \' ΟΥϹϵ and supplies ἐ⌜γφ̣⌝δ', ἐ⌜γφ̣δ⌝δ'. ἀλλ⌜' οὔ σε etc., but Jensen[2] reports . . . . ⟦Νϵ (.) . . . . ˜ΟΥϹϵ, etc. Jensen makes no conjecture, but I would suggest (if the sixth letter can be read as ο), ⌜ἐκε⌝ῖνος ⌜αὐτός⌝. This suits sense, space, and letters exactly, except for the apostrophe. Körte's supplement, ἐστὶν ἐπίδηλον, is excluded by Jensen's denial of N or T in the last place. Scores of such contradictions resulting from the two reports might, if space permitted, be discussed.

In the *Epitrepontes* Sudhaus incorporates the St. Petersburg fragments at Act I–II, following Ida Kapp, Hutloff, and others. The including of the *recto*, as well as the *verso*, in this play is due to the insight of Professor Capps, who places the fragments, however, at Act III–IV.

In Act I Sudhaus prefixes to these fragments the hitherto unidentified Cairo fragments Z^{1-2} and makes a nearly consecutive text. He fills out ingeniously, if rather boldly, the large lacunae. The main proof for linking this additional fragment to the *Epitrepontes* rests on his restoration (Z^1,

[1] In a brief prefatory note to the edition Sudhaus states that he had completed only as far as *Periceiromene* 200 (= L^2 202) when he went to the war, leaving *die Superrevision* to his friend Ludwig Radermacher. His death was subsequently reported.

This second edition contains, besides the Cairo material, the text, with critical notes, of seven other fragmentary plays. Of these only two, the *Georgos* and the *Colax*, were included in his first edition (1909).

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l. 4), of .\MƆIΛH as Παμφίλη. The traces are not as clear on the facsimile as Sudhaus suggests and the isolated mention of *a* Pamphila is not final proof.

Sudhaus also adopted Robert's ingenious and much-discussed dovetailing of the fragments M^1+VX^1 and VX^2+M^2. Nothing conclusive, it may be said, has yet been adduced either for, or against, the combination. Incidentally, however, I may urge in its favor that it would materially shorten the disproportionately long third act. Sudhaus, with proper conservatism, leaves blank the long interstices between the (alleged) opposite verse-ends. Robert's completions of these lines are ingenious samples of Menandrean imitation, but are misleading to the reader and to himself when he actually draws conclusions, including the invention of hypothetical personages, affecting the make-up of the play from the "made ground" filled in by himself!

The fragments β^{1-4}, transferred with certainty from the *Periceiromene* to the *Epitrepontes* by the happy discovery of Oxyrhyncus 1236, he combines with Q^{2-1} at Act IV–V (not numbered by Sudhaus). The fragments U^{1-2} (before the discovery of Oxyr. 1236 combined with Q^{2-1}), he prints simply as an appendix to the play.[1]

It may be noted that Sudhaus in all the plays leaves the "Acts" without definite numbering. This enables him to dodge the identification of the end of Act III in *Epitrep.* and also a similar and very perplexing question in the *Samia.* In this latter play the parts preserved indicate pretty clearly that the end of the play is impending in the last lines of the text that remain. We seem to be near the close of Act V. But the text, as preserved, apparently begins early in Act II and the lacuna of *ca.* 140 verses (which seems to be irrevocably fixed by the argument from the quaternion leaves—see Körte, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesell.*, 1908, p. 114 and Capps, p. 233) brings us only to Act III for the "Chorus" introduced at line 271 (L^2). No satisfactory solution for this difficulty has yet, so far as I know, been suggested.

Sudhaus in this last edition (apparently from a preconceived interpretation of *Epitrep.* Q^1), still clung stubbornly to his notion that Sophrona is the mother of Pamphila, although Sophrona has long since been accepted (as, e.g., in Terence's usage) as a standing name for a nurse, the rôle, moreover, that best suits the character in the closing scenes of this play.

In the *Periceiromene* Sudhaus has plausibly restored many passages and added to the understanding of the play. In this particular play the temptations are great to fill out the lacunae and to build up the interpretation on the supplements. That some of his supplements are ingenious, without being convincing, would not evoke criticism if the editor (or editors) had been more uniformly careful (as, for example, on the text of the Leipzig fragment)

[1] Had he lived to complete the revision, probably U^{1-2} would have been differently placed. For argument to disprove Robert's combinations of U^{1-2}, Q^{2-1}, B^{1-4} see Allinson, *AJP*, No. 142, pp. 185–202.

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to give full data in the critical notes. His deviations from the readings of former editors sometimes seem arbitrary[1] to the reader, who is unable to control his conclusions by a first-hand examination of the text or photograph.

This edition has contributed much to the better understanding of the Menander text and will quicken our approach, necessarily gradual, to a reasonable certainty of what can, and of what cannot, be reconstructed.

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The Semantic Variability and Semantic Equivalents of -oso- and -lento-. By EDWARD W. NICHOLS. Yale Dissertation. Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Printing Co., 1914. Pp. 42.

The author begins by stating (p. 1): "The purpose of this dissertation is to show (1) that an adjectival termination in Latin may have a wide range of semantic variability, determined primarily by (*a*) the stem to which it is attached, (*b*) the noun which the adjective limits; and secondarily (*c*) by the more remote context; and (2) that there may be a large number of semantic equivalents for such a termination, determined in each instance by the factors (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) above." For this exposition he has selected adjectives with the suffixes named in the title.

His own typical example of the method employed may be cited (p. 5): "The word 'ventosus' as used by Tacitus, G., V. 3, means 'exposed to the winds.' The sentence is 'terra umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum aspicit.' The wind does not necessarily blow all the time; but when it does the land is swept by it. The meaning 'exposed to' is forced on *-oso-* by 'ventus' and 'terra.' In Ovid, Fasti, IV. 392, 'primaque ventosis palma petetur equis,' *-oso-* means 'swift as.' The word 'ventus' connotes several qualities, either (*sic!*) one of which may furnish the tertium quid comparationis between 'ventus' and another noun. Consequently the precise content of *-oso-* cannot be known until the noun limited is known."

Following the Introduction, chap. i details with examples the various meanings found for the two suffixes: causing, suffering, fraught with, mixed with, living in, growing in, clear as, round as, provided with, subject to, in need of, celebrated in, known to, composed of, fond of or addicted to, under the influence of, prone to, afflicted with, diseased in, as tough as, near, open or exposed to, tossed by, fickle as, swift as, susceptible to or injured by, fit for, clothed in, smelling of, colored like, full of—31 in all. A certain criticism is forestalled (p. 4 *infra*): "No emphasis should be laid on the exact English wording given in the various translations. Translation is merely the imperfect medium through which the fact that the termination has varying semantic content is indicated."

[1] Possibly this may be due in part to the fact that Sudhaus was prevented (see note above) from revising all his notes himself.

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The second feature of the investigation is presented in chap. ii, which cites passages in which adjectives with other suffixes occur with meanings already found for those ending in *-oso-* and *-lento-*. Such semantic equivalents are found among adjectives with the following terminations: *-bili-; -ri-; -li-; -eo-, -aceo-, uceo; -estro-; -undo-, -cundo-, -tundo-; -ario-; -do-; -eno-; -ico-; -io-; -fer; -ger; -biba; -ficus;* and the prefix *in-*. A striking example is quoted (p. 24) from Quint., iv. 2, 52: "Ut furti reum cupidum, adulterii libidinosum, homicidii temerarium," where *-do-*, *-oso-*, and *-ario-* all convey the idea of "prone to." Besides this, the same meanings may be conveyed by a perfect participle, a present participle, a genitive case, an ablative case, an adjective, a noun, a verb. By "adjective" in this last list, he presumably means an adjective without a suffix readily classifiable. The example of parallel between verb and *-oso-* adjective (pp. 33–34) seems to the reviewer rather forced.

Chap. iii was not a part of the original investigation, but was added to illustrate semantic reciprocity between adjectives of other suffixes than those compared with each other in the second chapter.

The material examined comprised (pp. 2–4) 3,587 passages with adjectives in *-oso-* and *-lento-*, including complete collections from the literature down to the end of the Augustan age, except for Nepos, Varro *LL*, Ovid, Manilius, and Seneca Rhetor; of later authors, Quintilian, Martial, Juvenal, and Tacitus were collated in full, and Pliny the Elder and Columella in part. In chaps. i and ii, numerous and valuable parallels are given from Sanskrit.

The following observations may be made: The numerous citations from Ovid in the body of the dissertation cause a suspicion that this name should be given on p. 2 in the list of authors examined, and that its omission there is an accident. The system of abbreviation is inconsistent: "Cato, R. R." and "Cato, A. C." are both found on p. 24, and "Plin," with and without "*N.R.*" on p. 33. Further, the abbreviations are often obscure, and yet no key is given: "A.," "F.," "T.," "O.," "P." are ambiguous even when preceded by "Cic." We should appreciate being told that the *Histories* of Tacitus are indicated by "Tac.," with a Roman numeral for the book, and the *Annals* with an Arabic numeral; but the printer is likely to confuse Roman and Arabic 1, as he does on p. 8, l. 17. The references to the Elder Pliny lack the last and most important subsection. A quotation from Accius in Cic. *N.D.* 2, 89, is credited to Cicero on p. 9. At the last line of p. 12, the page reference to "K. Z., 1912," should by all means have been added. There are some misprints, as *damnosir oagris*, p. 6, l. 18, for *damnosior agris; constant*, p. 9, l. 24, for *constent; infamen*, p. 28, l. 2, for *infamem*. The punctuation has been handled unsatisfactorily; witness the extracts at the beginning of this review, and the excessive use of quotation marks throughout the treatise.

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Nevertheless, this dissertation is a valuable addition to the literature of semantics, and, as might have been anticipated, confirms the propositions set forth at the outset and quoted above. These propositions are not original with Dr. Nichols, and he expressly disclaims any credit for them (p. 1), seeking merely to accumulate the convincing evidence for them. In this he has succeded. It is to be regretted that it lay outside the scope of his investigation to touch upon the etymology and primary meanings of these suffixes, if such be determinable; for his collections must be enormously superior to the material at the command of those who have hitherto dealt with these problems: cf., e.g., Fay, *KZ*, XLV, 111–33, and Skutsch, *Glotta*, II, 241–46. Possibly Dr. Nichols has in mind to deal with these matters at a later time.

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De Amoris et Psyches Fabella Apuleiana nova quadam ratione explicata. By J. A. SCHROEDER. Amsterdam, 1916.

Like the story of Cupid and Psyche itself in the *Metamorphoses*, the kernel of this thesis is imbedded in many pages of quite different material. Preceded by a long review of previous theories and followed by a reprint of the text of the Cupid and Psyche story, the "new method of interpretation" is an ingenious application of the psychology of Freud to the literary analysis of Friedländer. For Schroeder holds that the famous story is a primitive folk-tale, somewhat disguised by its Alexandrian dress and satiric embellishments, but still a folk-tale, and one that had its origin, not in any myth of the gods, but in the universal dreams that result from repressed desires of sex. This is hardly susceptible of proof, but the presentation is clear and convincing.

The reprinting of the text that follows is hardly justified by the few notes, or rather references to the argument, that accompany it. On the other hand, the review of Reitzenstein's *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius* in the introductory part of the thesis is valuable for its own sake. For the prestige which Reitzenstein so justly enjoys because of his unquestioned brilliancy might obscure the weaknesses of his highly speculative inaugural. Schroeder finds the weakest spot when he attacks the basic assumption of Reitzenstein that Apuleius took the whole story of his *Metamorphoses* straight from Sisenna who, in turn, merely translated Aristeides. But this is typical of many lesser assumptions and Schroeder clears the air even though his thesis as a whole presents little that is original.

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Military Annals of Greece. By WILLIAM L. SNYDER. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1915. 2 vols. Pp. ix+692. $3.00.

We are promised, in an advertisement on the cover of this work, not only a history of the Persian Wars, but also "sketches of eminent men of Hellas," an account of the "early inhabitants of prehistoric Greece," a discussion of the Homeric question, and a defense of the truthfulness of "Heroditus" (*sic*). The character of the book can be inferred from the following quotations. I give some of them in abbreviated form, but I have omitted nothing of importance: "The style of architecture [of the beehive tombs] demonstrates that the people who built these structures, were acquainted with the principle of the arch" (p. 9). "The Hebrew account of the dispersion of the races of mankind, is more authentic and satisfactory than anything which has come down to us" (p. 18). "His [Symoid's] views [of the Homeric question] are supported by modern scholars, who reject entirely the theory advanced by Professor Wolf" (p. 32). "There is one phase of the Homeric question which has not been discussed. The question is, was Homer ignorant of the sublime poetry contained in the sacred literature of the Israelites?" (p. 45). The author accepts Herodotus' estimate of the forces led by Xerxes into Greece, and says, "In view of the clear statements of Herodotus, and the source from which he must have derived his material, no good reason has yet been assigned to doubt his accuracy" (p. 300). "His [Theseus'] tomb is in the temple of Theseus, which still stands near the ancient *agora*, one of the most memorable monuments of antiquity" (p. 481). "In the solemn hush of a summer's evening the soul of the great admiral [Cimon] passed. His race was run, his career was finished" (p. 534).

These quotations require, I think, no comment. Mr. Snyder's book appears to be an uncritical compilation from the older handbooks; he seems to know no history of Greece more recent than that of Curtius. He quotes from the more familiar Greek authors, but there is no evidence that he has a critical acquaintance with sources or source problems. He never refers to the recently discovered archaeological material; apparently he has not even heard of the discoveries in Crete! There are in his book no notes of a really critical character, and few notes of any kind; and there is no bibliography. While the author sometimes speaks of "German scholars," there is nothing to show that he is acquainted with any but the older English literature. It cannot be denied that he has occasional flashes of insight, and that his pages sometimes afford rather interesting reading. His book may commend itself to Professor Ferguson's "hypothetical general reader." Students, however, will be convinced by a very cursory inspection that this work is without scientific value.

WILLIAM D. GRAY

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Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum. Vorlesungen am Collège de France gehalten von FRANZ CUMONT. Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe von GEORG GEHRICH. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914. Pp. xxviii+347. M. 5.

Franz Cumont's *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* was first published in 1906 (Paris: Leroux). The German translation of this edition, by Georg Gehrich, at present Pastor and Kreisschulinspektor in Goslar, appeared in 1909, with preface and index by the translator. The second French edition, in 1909, contained the eight chapters substantially unchanged, excepting that on Syria, but with index and very greatly amplified notes. Gehrich's translation of this second edition now appears, with preface dated September, 1914. An English version of the second edition, by a translator unnamed, was published in 1911 by the Open Court Publishing Company (Chicago). A review of the original edition, and an appreciation under the title of "The Significance of Franz Cumont's Work," both by the present reviewer, may be found respectively in *Classical Philology*, III, No. 4 (October, 1908), and as an introduction to the Open Court translation.

Franz Cumont, formerly professor in the University of Ghent, was at the outbreak of the war curator of the Musée Cinquantenaire at Brussels, and had completed arrangements for an extended period of investigation at Rome in his chosen field. His departure for Rome was accomplished only after five months of effort.

GRANT SHOWERMAN

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A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical research. By A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., LL.D. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1914. Pp. xl+1360. $5.00 net.

In 1908 Professor Robertson published *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament.* From its preface, it appears that he was led to begin his collection of material from a desire to transfer more of the method and results of comparative philology to the treatment of New Testament grammar. Later he became interested in the researches of Deissmann and Moulton, with the result that this earlier work was marked by its large use of comparative grammar and by the emphasis that it laid on the value of the study of the κοινή and modern Greek for a thorough understanding of the language of the New Testament. The present volume expands and supplements the earlier work and might almost be described as a historical Greek grammar in which special attention is given to the Greek of the New Testament. Its range extends from the hypothetical origins of the language in

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Indo-Germanic to its latest development in modern Greek. Naturally the author is not equally at home in all parts of so wide a field. Generally he is wise in his choice of authorities, though at times he seems to give too much weight to the opinions of earlier scholars whose work has in part been superseded by later investigations. Most scholars, for example, would hesitate to adopt the judgment of Clyde against that of Brugmann in the question of the pronominal origin of the personal endings of the verb, or to state on the same authority that λέγω was originally λέγομι.

In his introduction (pp. 3–139) he gives a résumé of the progress in the field of New Testament grammar with a full account of the new material now at the disposal of the grammarian, and discusses at length the relation of the language of the New Testament to the κοινή in general. His position is substantially that of Deissmann; viz., that the New Testament writings belong to the vernacular and not to the literary κοινή. The section on accidence (pp. 143–376) takes up the topics of word-formation, orthography, phonetics, declensions, and conjugations. Here, as in the following section on syntax, he makes large use of the work of Delbrück and Brugmann in comparative philology and that of Thumb and Hatzidakis in mediaeval and modern Greek, tracing the development of the language from its earliest beginnings down to the New Testament period and then on to its present state, in so far as the later Greek contains developments of New Testament phenomena.

The section on syntax (pp. 379–1298) contains, in addition to the usual topics based upon the parts of speech, chapters on the meaning of syntax, the sentence, and figures of speech. His syntactical doctrine may be described as strongly colored by a profound belief in the final perseverance of the root-meaning. Thus in his general discussion of the cases he says: "In the study of each case the method of this grammar is to begin with root-idea of the particular case in hand. Out of that, by means of context and grammatical history, the resultant meaning in the particular instance can be reached. Even in an instance like ἐν μαχαίρῃ (Luke 22:49) the locative case is not out of place. The smiting (πατάξομεν) is conceived as located in the sword." Doubtless Professor Robertson does feel the root-ideas when he reads such phrases. It may be questioned whether the same was true of Luke and Theophilus. The same attitude of mind appears in his treatment of the accusative with the infinitive. Because this accusative arose in connection with the verb on which the infinitive depends, and because the infinitive itself as a verbal noun was originally used without a designated subject, Professor Robertson cannot regard this accusative in its later uses as the subject of the infinitive, but must explain it as an "accusative of general reference." So, too, the confusion in the use of εἰς and ἐν in the New Testament is explained as due primarily to the fact that originally they were the same word. The possibility is suggested that this equivalence in usage might have persisted in some measure in the vernacular, but this is not

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urged as an essential part of the explanation. No intervening medium is thought necessary for such reversions to type. In thus calling attention to this phase of the author's point of view I should do injustice to the book if I did not add that Professor Robertson has made himself familiar with the investigations of modern scholarship and has brought together in his book an immense amount of valuable material, including much that is of interest to classical students. It is provided with three good indexes and contains copious references to the literature upon the various topics discussed.

RALPH HERMON TUKEY

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Prodikos von Keos und die Anfänge der Synonymik bei den Griechen. Von DR. HERMANN MAYER. (Rhetorische Studien herausgegeben von Dr. E. Drerup, Heft 1.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913. Pp. 159. M. 5.

Mayer concludes from the available evidence that Prodicus was the first to attempt a scientific study of the meaning of words but that he left no work on that subject. However, on the basis of the passages in the works of Plato, where Prodicus is mentioned or introduced as speaking, confirmed and supplemented by scattered references in other authors, he is able to deduce certain general principles that Prodicus followed in the discrimination of synonymous terms and also to point out certain characteristic methods in his use of synonyms in connected discourse. Mayer then applies this test to the works of the authors who might have come directly under his influence. Aside from its demonstration of the influence of the teachings of Prodicus upon his contemporaries, the book contains a number of interesting observations on the relation between synonymy and other elements of style.

RALPH HERMAN TUKEY

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Q. Orazio Flacco studiato in Italia dal Secolo XIII al XVIII. By GAETANO CURCIO. Vol. VII of Biblioteca di Filologia Classica, diretta da CARLO PASCAL. Catania: Fran. Battiato, 1913. Pp. viii+338. L. 5.

Curcio's work belongs among the remoter ramifications of classical philology. Strictly speaking, it is within the field of comparative literature. The author's aim is to trace the influence of Horace on the technique, contents, and spirit of Italian lyric poetry from Petrarch through the eighteenth century. His hope is that he may contribute materials indispensable for the study of Italian poetry.

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To the classicist, however, it is a welcome addition to the small number of books which deal exhaustively with the difficult theme of the influence of ancient authors on modern literature, although the field chosen by Curcio is of course more limited than that of Zielinski with Cicero, von Reinhardstöttner with Plautus, and Stemplinger with Horace.

The treatment is not piecemeal, ode by ode, like Stemplinger's, but historical. The work is systematically divided into periods as follows: A. Early Humanists: Petrarch (chap. i), Boccaccio and Salutati (chap. ii); B. First Half of Fifteenth Century: Horace neglected by humanists (chap. iii); C. Second Half of Fifteenth Century: University of Florence; Landino and Politian (chap. iv); University of Ferrara; Ariosto (chap. v); the Academies of Naples and Cosenza; Beccadelli, Sannazzaro, etc. (chap. vi); D. Sixteenth Century: critics, editors, and commentators (chap. vii); the Venetians; Pietro Bembo, etc. (chap. viii); translators and imitators (chap. ix)—and so on with the critics, editors, commentators, translators, and imitators of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.

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Classical Philology

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KROLL ON THE INDEPENDENT LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE

BY CHARLES E. BENNETT

In a recent issue of *Glotta* Wilhelm Kroll has a lengthy and significant article on the Latin subjunctive.[1] Kroll's entrance into the field of syntactical discussion is sudden and unexpected—doubtless to himself as well as to others. While well and favorably known in other fields, he had never before devoted attention—at least in his published work—to questions of Latin syntax. Even in the article to which I am inviting attention he confesses that his familiarity with certain standard syntactical works is recent. However, Kroll's general eminence as a Latinist and classical philologist, combined with the novelty and boldness of the opinions he enunciates, compels consideration of his views.

For forty-five years—ever since Delbrück published his *Konjunktiv und Optativ im Sanskrit und Griechischen*—opinion has gradually been crystallizing in favor of the views therein set forth. Delbrück's position is familiar and needs no restatement here. It has not passed without challenge—notably from Abel Bergaigne in France and from Morris in our own country. Morris denies "Grundbegriffe" for inflected forms; Bergaigne had not only done that, but had contested for Vedic the thoroughgoing application of the modal values set up for subjunctive and optative by Delbrück. There had been other dissenters. Most of these were not scholars whose names carried great weight, and their dissent, as a rule, was only partial.

[1] "Der potentiale Konjunktiv im Lateinischen," *Glotta*, VII, 117–52.

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On the whole, it is fair to assert that a decided unanimity of opinion —especially in the last quarter of a century—had come to exist as to the values and functions of the Greek subjunctive and optative and of the Latin subjunctive, so far as the employment of these moods in independent sentences was involved. When I speak of unanimity of opinion, I mean, naturally, on the part of those whose researches and published works entitled them to be heard. The names of Delbrück, Brugmann, Stahl, Schmalz, Blase, Landgraf, Stegmann, Riemann, Lindsay, Hale illustrate my meaning. All these scholars and hundreds of others who give adherence to their teachings have long recognized a pure future and a volitive function in the Greek subjunctive; a "wish" meaning and a "should-would" (or potential) function in the Greek optative. For the Latin, a volitive function, referred to the Indo-European subjunctive for its origin, has been recognized; likewise the "wish" and "potential" meanings, which have been regarded as lineal descendants of the Indo-European optative. Even those who have felt compelled to exercise reserve in connecting Greek or Latin syntactical phenomena with Indo-European forms have nevertheless as a rule recognized the actual usages of the Greek and Latin subjunctive and optative in substantially the terms I have stated.

As regards these views, Kroll is frankly iconoclastic. He enters into no discussion of the Greek moods, but as to the Latin subjunctive in independent sentences he denies the true optative or wish use as distinct from the volitive; he likewise denies an original potential use for the subjunctive in Latin, while in a considerable number of cases he interprets as pure futures, Latin subjunctives which no one hitherto has had the hardihood to take in this sense. He naturally attaches great importance to the evidence of Early Latin and bases his conclusions largely upon Plautine usage.

Barring certain individual observations of Kroll, I am unable to agree with any of his conclusions. He is unwilling to recognize in the Latin subjunctive any traces of the Indo-European optative. Optative forms, he frankly admits, appear in the Latin subjunctive, but optative functions, as recognized in Greek and Sanskrit, he refuses to accept. Evidently he starts out with the avowed intention of recognizing in the Latin subjunctive only the functions

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peculiar to the Indo-European subjunctive. As a general principle of philological method, this procedure cannot be too severely condemned. Our science has already suffered enough from such attempts to make the interpretation of the text square with some preconceived conception as to the nature of a modal or case form. This tendency was most extreme, of course, in Gottfried Hermann, but for over a century we have gradually been growing away from it, and its revival in present-day investigation is deeply to be deplored. I feel that Kroll has ignored or jauntily dismissed from consideration certain facts of prime importance for the settlement of the problems of the Latin subjunctive. This is especially true in his attitude toward the "wish" and the "should-would" optatives. The facts are plain. All perfect subjunctives in Latin are optatives; and several presents—particularly presents in very common use, viz., *sim* (including *possim*), *velim*, *nolim*, *malim*, and in Early Latin (on whose testimony Kroll lays great stress) *edim*, *duim perduim*. Now the testimony of Greek, Sanskrit, Iranian, and, to some slight extent, of other Indo-European languages shows that the optative had the "wish" function. Why not, therefore, recognize the "wish" use of the Latin subjunctive as an inheritance of the Indo-European optative? There are indeed special reasons for so doing in the Latin of Plautus, to which Kroll attaches such importance, for in Plautus it is a fact—first pointed out, I believe, by Morris[1]—that the majority of independent perfect subjunctives (true optative formations) are used to express a wish. I find it impossible to reject the great cogency of this evidence. Kroll fails to reckon with it or even to allude to it. These "wish" subjunctives, he declares, are nothing but volitives. To his mind *statim ad me redeas* and *utinam ad terram incolumis redeas* are logically identical. To me this is merely a "Machtspruch." If any two things are logically distinct, it seems to me that the jussive and optative uses of the Latin subjunctive are distinct. The one is, "Drop that gun!" the other is, "I hope you'll have a pleasant journey." The one implies authority and control on the part of the speaker; the other just as distinctly implies that the speaker's power does not exist and that he throws himself entirely on the outcome of fortune.

[1] *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XVIII, 166.

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To me, therefore, it is clear that Kroll has not suceeded in his attempt to eliminate the optative subjunctive from Latin. The purpose of such elimination was to pave the way for the denial of the other of the two uses of the Indo-European optative in Latin, viz., the so-called "potential" or "should-would" use. Kroll disputes this use also, his object being to disprove, for the Latin subjunctive, the presence of any functions inherited from the Indo-European optative. There have been various assaults in recent years on the Latin potential; but these have been on the "may" potential and the "can" potential. Elmer questioned the existence of these in an elaborate discussion contained in Vol. VI of *Cornell Studies*. He dealt with expressions of the type *aliquis dicat, quispiam dixerit* as illustrating the "may" potential; and *videas, cernas, credas; videres, cerneres, crederes* as types of the "can-could" potential. So far as I know, no one has accepted his conclusions. Kroll not only rejects the "may" and "can-could" potentials, but, what is entirely new, rejects the "should-would" potential as well. Let us undertake to follow his reasoning. It is best to proceed at once to the consideration of concrete examples. Kroll confines himself mainly to Plautus as representing most nearly the primitive state of things for Latin. The illustrations cited by me in my *Syntax of Early Latin* (and by everybody else from time immemorial) Kroll declares to be spurious. Among the passages he specifically cites are *Trin.* 994, *qui sis qui non sis, floccum non interduim.* This is traditionally interpreted as meaning, "I wouldn't give a straw to know who you are, or who you aren't." Kroll says it means, "Ich mag keinen Deut dafür geben, zu wissen wer du bist," etc. In other words, he rejects a natural and easily explained interpretation in favor of an unnatural and unaccountable one. How can *interduim* mean "Ich mag geben"? Can *amem* mean "Ich mag lieben"? Or *eam*, "Ich mag gehen"? The same applies to his interpretation of *quod tibi suadeam, suadeam meo patri* (*Capt.* 237). In *Bacch.* 149 we have *O barathrum, ubi nunc es? ut ego te usurpem lubens!* I interpret this as meaning, "O bottomless abyss, where are you now? How I would gladly use you!" Kroll contents himself with the observation that my interpretation is "unverständlich." I fancy he takes it as a purpose clause. This might be possible, were it not for *lubens.*

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With *lubens* it seems to me my interpretation is not only possible but necessary. *Aul.* 569 reads: *potare ego tecum volo*::*non potem ego quidem hercle.* Kroll says this means "I *will* not drink with you." In other instances hitherto ordinarily taken as potentials, Kroll finds a pure future meaning. No one hitherto has had the boldness to recognize the pure future meaning in the independent uses of the Latin subjunctive. Hale had recognized it in certain types of dependent clauses—his anticipatory subjunctive. But he has been followed by very few. Kroll, however, is ready to see it in independent sentences, e.g., *Truc.* 907, *numquam hoc uno die efficiatur opus*, which he takes as meaning "this job will not be finished in a single day"—precisely as though Plautus had written *efficietur.* So in *Amph.* 1060, *nec me miserior feminast neque ulla videatur magis. Asin.* 558 reads: *edepol virtutes tuas qui nunc possis conlaudare, sicut ego possim?* "How would *you* be able to commend your merits, as *I* would?" Kroll dismisses this with the remark that the "Möglichkeit" is in the meaning of *possim*, not in the subjunctive. If that is so, why doesn't Plautus use the indicative? Other examples that assert plainly their potential ("should-would") character, but are rejected by Kroll, are *Aul.* 489, *hoc quis non credat abs te esse ortum? Eun.* 460, *ex homine hunc natum dicas? Pseud.* 290, *egon patri subripere possim quicquam?* If these are future indicatives in sense, I fail to see why Latin employed the subjunctive.

A special class of cases is recognized by Kroll in *velim, nolim, malim.* In *velim adeas, velim progrediri*, etc., it is clearly impossible to take the *velim, nolim malim* as futures. Kroll therefore has recourse to the view advanced some twenty years ago by Morris, viz., that we have in *velim veniat* a species of attraction—not like what we ordinarily call attraction, where the subordinate verb is attracted to the main verb, but the reverse, where the main verb is attracted to the subordinate. Now the odd thing is that we have nothing else like this in Latin or—so far as I know—in any other language. Kroll, following Morris, would have us believe that *volo veniat* becomes *velim veniat* owing to the *veniat*, or, as he puts it, "Die ganze Vorstellung liegt in der Sphäre des Wunsches und das führt dazu dass man das den Wunsch ausdrückende Verbum in den Modus des Wunsches setzt." Very well. Why then in *edico abeas, praecipio*

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fatearis, moneo desinas, jubeo custodias, and literally hundreds of similar expressions in Plautus, do we never find an *edicam abeas, praecipiam fatearis, moneam desinas, jubeam custodias?* The situation is precisely similar.

There is also another serious objection to the Kroll-Morris view. In Plautus *velim* occurs with the simple subjunctive some 14 times. Against these 14 instances, we have 27 other instances of *velim* unaccompanied by the subjunctive, including 10 with the infinitive, 7 with participles and adjectives, 4 with a direct object, and 6 absolute uses. As for *malim,* that is found twice with the subjunctive. Against these 2 instances there are 21 others where there is no accompanying subjunctive, including 13 with the infinitive, 4 with participles and adjectives, 1 with a direct object, and 3 absolute uses. *Nolim* does not occur with the subjunctive, but is found twice with the infinitive and once with a participle. Out of 70 occurrences, therefore, of *velim, nolim, malim, pervelim,* 54 are not accompanied by the subjunctive. Granting now that attraction may account for the 16 cases of the subjunctive, how are we to account for the subjunctive in the 54 remaining cases? Kroll, following Morris, accounts for them by analogical extension, i.e., we are asked to believe that *aquam velim, lapidem velim, malim vincere, emortuom me malim* along with *ut velim, malim quidem, istuc mavelim,* all stand in the subjunctive by analogical extension. I can see no basis for such analogical extension; *aquam, lapidem, istuc* do not represent equivalents of dependent clauses. Moreover, the whole theory is based on the assumption that *velim* with a dependent subjunctive is historically earlier than *aquam velim, lapidem velim, ut velim, istuc mavelim,* etc. There is nothing to show that this is true. In fact, it seems intrinsically improbable. Kroll is satisfied when he declares "*velim* ist höchstens Höflichkeitsausdruck für *volo.*" But I can see no "Höflichkeit" in *lapidem velim;* or in *ut velim,* in *illam diruptam velim, me pervelim sepultam, malim amicos mersos,* or dozens of other similar expressions that might be cited from Plautus. I see a distinct potential force—a "should-would" meaning: "I should like some water," "I'd like to have a rock," "I should like to be dead and buried," "I should like to have her knocked into a cocked hat," "I should prefer that."

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At times, to be sure, some of these *velim*'s, *nolim*'s, *malim*'s do become "Höflichkeitsausdrücke," and it is simply because of the potential force that this "Höflichkeitston" arises, precisely as in English our "I should say," or "No one would believe this," is more courteous, because more qualified and guarded, than a bold "I say," "No one believes."

I pass to the examples of the imperfect subjunctive. Of this usage I have cited for Early Latin some 50 examples, all of which seem to me clear potentials. Some of these are of *vellem, mavellem*. In view of what he has already urged in connection with *velim, nolim, malim*, Kroll feels justified in dismissing these with a reference to his previous discussion, e.g., *Asin.* 589, *vellem habere; Poen.* 1107, *magis quam vellem; Amph.* 512, *experiri istuc mavellem.* Examples of potentials other than *vellem, mavellem* are more frequent, but these also are rejected by Kroll, e.g., *Bacch.* 313, *ibidem publicitus servarent: : : occidistis me; nimio hic privatim rectius servaretur.* Kroll says that this is a wish, despite the obvious absurdity of the interpretation and the well-known fact that *utinam* is always present with the imperfect subjunctive. Take again *Poen.* 1139, *hodie earum mutarentur nomina*, which Kroll translates "Heute sollten ihre Namen geändert werden," where German "sollten" is the equivalent of "were on the point of being." Kroll says the *mutarentur* is volitive, but I submit that "sollten" is not volitive in his German rendering. Take again *Men.* 160, *en edepol ne tu esses agitator probus.* "You'd make a good charioteer," which, Kroll declares, is equivalent to *si agitator esses, esses probus.* Suppose it is: we shall have to account for the subjunctive in apodosis. But of that later.

Kroll addresses himself also to the perfect subjunctive. Of this tense I have cited some 35 examples in independent potential uses for Early Latin. Kroll contests all of these, citing a few special examples, which he evidently feels are typical of all. He begins by declaring that formations like *faxim, ausim, empsim, negassim, prohibessim* are not perfect subjunctives, defending himself by reference to Lübbert's work of 1870. Lübbert did take this position, but he was no comparative philologist—not even in his own day—half a century ago. Today, I think, no person recognized as entitled to speak with authority denies that these formations are just as much

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perfect subjunctives as *fuerim, dixerim, ceperim.* So far as I can see, both types of formation are used in Plautus in precisely the same sense, and that sense is a true potential, e.g., *Poen.* 1091, *male faxim lubens,* I render this, "I would gladly injure him"; Kroll renders it, "Ich möchte ihm Übles tun," and adds that "es zeigt unverkennbare voluntative" value. He uses "voluntative" to cover both volitive and optative uses, just as he identifies the two uses themselves. But it isn't the *faxim* that means "Ich möchte tun," it is the *faxim lubens* together. If *faxim* is a voluntative use—using the word in the same sense in which Kroll employs it—then *faxim lubens* would mean "I should like to do him an injury gladly"—a patent absurdity. His interpretation of *Aul.* 494, *ego faxim muli sint viliores Gallicis cantheriis,* is either "Ich möchte bewirken" or "Ich werde bewirken." *Trin.* 221, *pauci sint faxim qui sciunt quod nesciunt,* he asserts, can mean only, "Ich werde bewirken." *M.G.* 316, *non ego tuam empsim vitam vitiosa nuce,* is, "Ich möchte nicht eine taube Nuss für dein Leben geben"; while *Asin.* 503, *haud negassim,* is, "Ich mag es nicht leugnen." Note here that "mag" is equivalent to "kann," so that Kroll here adds a new type of potential to those already recognized. For myself, I feel that in all these cases the "should-would" potential meets every demand of the sense and that nothing else does. All the *faxim*'s mean "I would bring it about," "I'd warrant that"; the *empsim* means "I wouldn't give (a rotten nut for your life)"; the *haud negassim,* "I should not deny"; and similarly with the 30 other instances recorded for the early period, including such examples as *And.* 203, *ubivis facilius passus sim quam in hac re me deludier; Ad.* 443, *haud cito mali quid ortum ex hoc sit; M.G.* 11, *haud ausit dicere.* To abandon the ordinary potential interpretation in these seems to me to reject the easy and natural in favor of the difficult and artificial.

Kroll does not discuss the eight instances of the pluperfect subjunctive in Early Latin. He seems to me disingenuous in ignoring them. Examples are *Stich.* 590, *haud maligne vos invitassem; Eun.* 667, *illum conclusissem neque commisissem ut,* etc.; *Ad.* 397, *non olfecissem?*

Kroll's last type of usages embraces conditional sentences. Here, if anywhere, one would say that Kroll's irresponsible methods would

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find the path closed. In a sentence like *si sciat, suscenseat,* or *si plus perdiderim, minus aegre habeam,* or *si id esset mihi, pollicerer,* the potential character is so clear that it seems impossible to deny it. Most persons go farther, of course. For most persons believe that the simple sentence is earlier than the compound, and hold that the potential use found in the apodosis of conditional sentences existed in independent uses unaccompanied by any protasis. It is interesting to note how Kroll meets the difficulty in dealing with these subjunctive apodoses. The apodosis, he says, is simply attracted to the mood of the protasis—another instance of the main verb being attracted to the subordinate. When once attracted to the subjunctive protasis, the subjunctive apodosis does, according to Kroll, become *potential,* and he expresses himself as content to allow the name "potential" to be given to subjunctive apodoses provided no claim is made that the subjunctive *naturally* had this value in apodoses. In other words, the Latin language, according to Kroll, did not naturally possess the mechanism for expressing the potential idea in the apodoses of conditional sentences. It evolved that mechanism by two steps: (1) by formal attraction of the mood of the apodosis to the mood of the protasis; (2) by *arbitrarily* attaching to this formally attracted subjunctive the meaning required.

In other words, the Romans had the idea, but not the means, of expressing it. This is a novel theory as to language, and especially would it be strange if the Romans lacked a means of indicating an idea so universally prevalent among civilized peoples as that represented by the "should-would" potential.

I repeat that no such attraction as is assumed by Kroll is known to us elsewhere in Latin or Greek. Nor do I know of its occurrence in any modern language. It seems unnatural. If we find the subjunctive in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, we naturally expect it to possess some function characteristic of the use of the subjunctive elsewhere in independent sentences. In other words, the function appearing in a subjunctive apodosis in Latin may fairly be taken as representing a normal and legitimate function of the subjunctive mood. Moreover, we have subjunctive apodoses from the earliest period combined with indicative protases, e.g., *Aul.* 747, *si istuc jus est, luci deripiamus; Rud.* 744, *tanta esset, si vivit;* and

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elsewhere. Kroll conveniently ignores these. But they are fatal obstacles to his views, unless they be explained as analogical extensions and historically posterior to the type *si venias, videas.*

Kroll's theory can hardly be called illuminating. He solves no problems. Nothing is made clearer; nothing is made easier. Instead he does violence to the language by the forced interpretation he puts on scores of passages—interpretations adopted for the sole purpose of maintaining his theory that the Latin subjunctive is solely "voluntative" and future. Besides this violence of interpretation—a violence which involves departure from the traditional interpretation of centuries—Kroll is guilty also of much arbitrariness, as exemplified by his identification of the "wish" use with the jussive, while his theory of attraction in his discussion of *velim, nolim, malim,* and, later, of the apodoses of conditional sentences, is positively fantastic, involving among other things highly improbable sequences of historical development. In the case of *velim, nolim, malim,* it involves the employment of these with the subjunctive before they were employed in any other way. In the case of the apodoses of conditional sentences it involves a use in compound sentences which Kroll denies for simple sentences.

Lastly, Kroll's whole theory is gratuitous. It is unnecessary. Why should we hesitate to recognize "wish" uses and potential uses in Latin and to recognize them as a legacy of the Indo-European optative? The optative is there, clearly manifest by its morphology. What possible reason there can be for refusing to believe that it brought with it functions vindicated for Indo-European by Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, and Germanic, is obscure to me. This reluctance is particularly strange in the case of the perfect subjunctive, where the Indo-European optative forms naturally exhibit the "wish" and potential meanings. Plautus and Terence show some 35 instances of the potential use of the perfect, and at least 50 of the "wish" use.

Kroll is also repeatedly guilty of a strange error in his understanding of what is meant by the optative use. It is bad enough for him to identify the true optative or "wish" use with the volitive or "will" use, as exemplified by the hortatory and jussive. But he goes farther and confuses the "wish" use with the function of

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desiderative verbs. He has no compunctions about interpreting *eam* as "Ich möchte gehen," and calling it voluntative (or optative). But that is not a voluntative or optative use; it is desiderative. If *eam* meant "Ich möchte gehen," *eas* would mean "Du möchtest gehen," and *eat*, "Er möchte gehen"; as a voluntative *eam* could mean only, "May I go"; *eas* only, "May you go," etc. Kroll's error is not new; it has often been pointed out.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

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BEATI POSSIDENTES ITHAKISTAE

By A. Shewan

The question here proposed is: On whom does the burden of proof lie in the Leukas-Ithaka dispute?

In attempting an answer I am forced to introduce what Professor Platt once described as that "accursed Homeric Question," for I go back to the *Catalogue of the Ships*, a document which is by some Ithakists and most Leukadists rejected as an addition to the *Iliad*. It is admitted by Dörpfeld himself and his supporters generally that in the *Catalogue* Ithaka is Thiaki, but then they say that the *Catalogue* is late. That has not been proved. Dr. Leaf's great attack on it, splendidly misdescribed, as it seems to me, in *JHS*, XXXVI, 103, as "an extraordinary masterpiece of destructive criticism," has not taken us any farther. I have given reasons for this belief and shall have more to urge. Briefly, his case, so far as it is new, is threefold, based on alleged malfeasance by the "Cataloguer" with regard to the dominions of Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Peleus.[1] For the first Dr. Leaf requires the Leukas-Ithaka hypothesis, and few will grant him that this has been established. For the second he requires that Mycenaean Corinth should disappear. This involves (1) the arbitrary and unconscionable excision of a passage from the *Iliad*, (2) that Mycenaean remains not only have not yet been, but never can be, found at Corinth,[2] and (3) that there was no intercourse between Greece and the West in Mycenaean days. None of these things can be conceded. As to the dominion of Peleus, see *CR*, XXX 184 ff. The attack is at this point extremely feeble. It would be difficult, in these better days for Homeric criticism, to find a parallel to the boldness of that repeated "of course" on p. 116 of *Homer and History*.

This being so, we may adhere to the position, established in supersession of the old Niesian doctrine by Mr. Allen in a series of

[1] I might add his rejection of the Assembly at Aulis. On that point see *CR*, XXX, 17 ff.

[2] As to this confident prophecy see, besides the reference in *CR*, XXX, 81, Mr. Allinson in *Am. Jour. Phil.*, 1916, p. 214.

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learned and exhaustive papers, and wonderfully confirmed by Mr. M. S. Thompson's demonstration of the correspondence of the contents of the *Catalogue* with the Mycenaean world, that the document is pre-Dorian. To that early world the island we know today as Thiaki was known as Ithaka, and this name[1] has clung to it ever since, except possibly during, and in spite of, short periods in the Middle Ages when the island was deserted. There is no ground in history or tradition for believing that it ever had any other name. It is confirmed by allusions in classical writers, *to whom Leukas was Leukas*, and coins and inscriptions are said to agree. And the island was believed by antiquity to be the Homeric Ithaka, and the home of its greatest hero. On that point also there is no trace in history or tradition of any other belief or of any doubt, and especially there is no hint of a Leukadian Odysseus. All this has been repeatedly affirmed in the course of the controversy, and I have not seen it questioned. If grounds for questioning it exist, let them be stated. Dörpfeld's own words on the point are, "For nearly three millennia Thiaki passed for the home of Odysseus and for the Ithaka of Homer. Neither in antiquity nor at the present day has this title of honour been seriously disputed."

The only doubt has been as to the extent of the poet's acquaintance with the island. The terms in which he describes its position in the sea and relatively to other land (though no worse,[2] it is said, than Caesar's in regard to Britain), and the positions of certain places in or near it, have given rise to different opinions. Some—as *le grand hérésiarque* Hercher, who spent one day in Thiaki, confining himself to the limited central portion; who was, as Menge has shown, a very inaccurate observer; and whose *Phantasieinsel* has been rejected even by the Leukadists[3]—have gone so far as to deny that the poet had any personal knowledge of the island, but these extremists are a small minority. Others have reconciled to their own satisfaction

[1] The only attempt, apparently, to explain the name makes it Semitic, = *ירתקה* = *Utica* = *colonia*. Compare Olshausen in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F., VIII, 329, note. The island would be a Phoenician settlement. In that connection one recalls Gladstone's paper on "The Phoenician Affinities of Ithaca" (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1889).

[2] I might now say, "not nearly so bad as." For since this paper was complete I have read what Professor Merrill says in *CJ*, XII, 88 ff.

[3] He treated Troy from the same standpoint, and who regards his views now?

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the discrepancies which have been discovered—here as everywhere else in the poems—and have found the whole account consistent. Others, again, are indifferent to the apparent discrepancies, and that for three reasons: first, there is a mass of agreement between the poet's account and actuality that far outweighs the *μικρὰς ἀνομοιότητας*, and, as Professor Jevons has remarked in another connection, the agreement has to be accounted for as well as the difference. Homer and the tradition are confirmed *inter alia* by such broad features as the mountains, the ports, the agricultural regions, and the names Thiaki, Polis, Asteria, Zanté, Samé, Leukas Petré, and even Koraka, Platythria, and Polyktorion. Secondly, they recognize, as even Hercher and some Leukadists do, the old epic poet's right to take some freedom with topography for the purposes of the action of the poem, and decline to demand from him the consistency and exactitude due from a modern historian or surveyor. They think that Cauer strikes the *via media* when he says that it is "as wrong to regard all as pure invention as to hold all real and historical." He who objects to such latitude and requires exact correspondence of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* must do so in the face of the extraordinary liberties and inaccuracies which have been discovered in poems and stories of all ages. Lilienstern asks if a good knowledge of the geography of the Scottish Highlands is to be obtained from Scott's romances. I cannot say, but I recall the fact that the novelist does on one occasion, though not certainly as a regular practice, make the sun set in the sea to the east of Scotland. Such an objector must, to confine ourselves to Homer, give up Hissarlik, for there are points in the description of Ilios in the *Iliad* which make the identification impossible. And, thirdly, the changes that three thousand years may have wrought in the terrain are not to be neglected. A mountainous island, forest-clad and with abundant rainfall, will of course be well watered, but it is absurd to expect it to be *wasserreich* and still *βουβότος*[1] when the slopes have been denuded of all means of water storage. Milk and honey will be scarce there as in many other parts of the earth that have suffered from human folly. In three thousand

[1] Bérard's (unmetrical?) amendment *συβότος* is not required. Anyone who has had experience of cattle in hill forests knows they can thrive there. For one thing, they do not live by grass alone.

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years Arethusa might degenerate into a "dirty pool" (though five hundred head of cattle are watered at it daily even now in summer), and bees might be allowed to change their quarters without severe remark. Hissarlik is Ilios though Scamander has changed his bed and a hot spring has vanished like the Ithakan bees.

But all this is beside the immediate point, which is that through and in spite of all the discussions and their different results, one thing has remained unaffected, the traditional belief that the island which has so long borne the name of Ithaka is the one that was to Homer the seat of Odysseus. Here, one would think, is a good basis in tradition; here we have surely *vox totius antiquitatis*, and here *historia loquitur*. These are the phrases used by Wolf to describe the tradition about Pisistratus and Homer, a tradition which cannot be taken beyond the age of Cicero. Yet, comparatively recent as it is, it has been accepted by many minds without hesitation in favor of a German theory. But when a vastly older and stronger tradition tells *against* another German theory, ah, *c'est différent*. And yet in these latter days the respect paid to tradition has greatly increased. Mere isolated stories or scraps of gossip have real value for inquirers. The story of the fountain Hypereia is about the only matter worth regarding in Dr. Leaf's reconstitution of the dominion of Peleus. An Odyssean theory is much helped by the tale in Pausanias about the outcast wanton, Penelope. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. *Das gute Recht der Tradition* is more generally recognized than formerly, though certainly it is still abused.

We are now to reject this ancient tradition and accept Leukas as Homer's Ithaka. It cannot be; the difficulties are too great. I am not going to write another account of the controversy, but merely to do for Leukas what Dr. Leaf has done on a very small scale for Thiaki. I shall confine myself to enumerating—it must be with inconvenient brevity—the chief points of objection to Dörpfeld's theory. They are, of course, nearly all collected from the literature of the subject. Some are fatal, some are not of great weight, but all point to one conclusion.

1. Leukas is too big to be the Homeric Ithaka, which supplies only twelve ships for Troy (and this, be it observed, not according to the unscrupulous "Cataloguer" only) and twelve wooers. Its whole

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population (*πάντες λαοί*) could hardly have been settled in "one city" by the accommodating Menelaos (δ 176).

2. Easy communication with the mainland is one of Dörpfeld's strong points. Yet no wooers are attracted thence.

3. The Homeric epithets do not suit. Leukas would be badly described as *ἀμφίαλος*.[1] It could not be said to be not *εὐρεῖα*. To say it is "above all the islands" not *ἱππήλατος* and without *δρόμος* or *λειμών* is absurd. Epithets of the *τρηχεῖα* type are not appropriate, while they admittedly fit Thiaki perfectly. Negatively, the absence of reference to the great white cliffs of Leukas is passing strange.

4. *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι κ.τ.λ.* does not apply, whichever meaning we give the adverb, for Leukas has no island to the north or the west.

5. *μετόπισθε* in *ν* 241 appears to mean "westwards" (Monro) or, more accurately perhaps, "to the northwest." Was Athené referring to Italy? There is no other land west or northwest of Leukas.

6. The *Λευκὰς Πέτρη* of *ω* 11, now held by most authorities, Dörpfeld included, to be Cape Dukato, in Leukas, cannot, as his supporter Reissinger admits, be in Homer's Ithaka.

7. The sun rises to Homer's Ithaka "from the streams of Ocean." The expression does not suit Leukas, which lies west of an inclosed bay.

8. If *χθαμαλή* in its ordinary sense be difficult of Thiaki, it is impossible of Leukas. Michael has shown that Dörpfeld's conclusion based on *κ* 194 ff. is absolutely untenable.

9. *πανυπερτάτη*, the Leukadists' claim, must be taken as = "farthest up in the sea *of all*." But that cannot be regarded as certain on an examination of the Homeric uses of *πᾶς*, simple and compounded. "Very far up in the sea" may be the meaning.[2] But let them translate as they desire. They are in no way advantaged. The sentence in which the word occurs runs:

> *αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται*
> *πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.*

[1] If the special meaning of the word, based by Michael and others on its application to Lemnos and Corinth, be accepted, the argument is much stronger.

[2] The only authority, so far as I can discover, who makes this point is Gandar in his excellent *De Ulyssis Ithaca* (Paris, 1854), pp. 11 f., and note. He notices there the *πολλαί* of *ι* 23. The Homeric uses of *πολύς* correspond in variety to those of *πᾶς*. There is nothing to be found about these in the books, I think.

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The "all" the Leukadists insist on is described by this sentence, and is Ithaka plus a number of islands east of it, and the sentence says Ithaka is farthest up of this group of islands *πρὸς ζόφον*, and that suits Thiaki as well as Leukas. So whether the whole passage describing Ithaka was badly written originally, or whether it has been doctored since, or whether only the line *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος* (which recurs three times) has been inserted by someone who thought the three islands named were those referred to by *πολλαί*, matters not a jot. *πανυπερτάτη* is defined by the sentence in which it occurs, and fits Thiaki admirably.

10. *ἄνευθε*, used of the "many islands," must mean "at a distance." It cannot mean merely "apart," "separate," for any island can be so described. The word thus does not apply to Leukas, while it suits Thiaki perfectly.

11. The distance from what is now known to be the Homeric Pylos to Leukas is nearly half as great again as the distance from Pylos to the *πρώτη ἀκτή* of Thiaki at S. Andrea, and is an impossible trip for a Homeric ship in one night. We know how fatal an hour or a mile is to the topography of Thiaki.

12. Dörpfeld argues that the ferrying of flocks and herds for pasture to the mainland from Thiaki is unthinkable. As a matter of fact they are regularly ferried over in large numbers at the present day, and the Archduke Ludwig Salvator asserts that such ferrying is extremely common in the Greek islands and in Dalmatia. It is nowhere stated in the *Odyssey*, as some assume, that supplies were ferried across *daily*.

13. Why should Noemon or anyone else take horses or cattle out of Leukas with its square miles of pasture, which at the present day support a thousand horses, not to mention cattle? But, if it was necessary, was there no pasture to be had inland from Leukas? Was the best resource a sixty-mile journey by sea to Elis?

14. Antinoos threatens to cast Iros "into a black ship and send him to the mainland." Is the contemplated voyage simply the short trip in the ferry?

15. Dörpfeld has to force the remark, *οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν ὀίομαι ἐνθάδ' ἱκέσθαι*, in a question to a newcomer, out of the meaning universally given to it. Paulatos quotes similar small jokes in exactly the

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same circumstances as current at the present day, and others give parallels in German. The acme of absurdity is surely reached when it is suggested by Goessler that a man who comes by a ferry can be said to come on foot, because "a ferry is the primitive substitute for a bridge!"

The first part of the question, as to the ship and sailors that brought the newcomer, shows that the alternative of a ferry was not present to the questioner's mind.

The remark itself should be interpreted with reference to λ 158 f., where Odysseus' mother tells him that the stream of Ocean is not to be crossed on foot; you must have a ship.

16. In δ 635 the word used for a trip to Elis is διαβήμεναι. The uses of this verb suggest that it is used more appropriately of the open stretch between Thiaki and Elis than of the partly island-strewn sea between Leukas and Elis.

17. In ν 274 ff. a ship making for Pylos or Elis is driven by a storm to a haven in Ithaka. Is Thiaki, or Leukas, much farther to the north, the more likely to be meant?

18. The soi-disant beggar tells that Odysseus is in Thesprotia, which adjoins Leukas. The reception of the news is hardly what one would expect if the long-lost hero were only a few miles away with no sea to speak of between.

19. The port of Ithaka is πολυβενθής, which has hitherto meant to commentators, "with very deep water." So for Chrysé (Leaf's *Troy*, pp. 223 ff.). The port selected in Leukas has shallow water, so λιμὴν πολυβενθής is to mean in future *ein tief sich ins Land erstreckender* (or *hineinspringender*, Rüter) *Hafen!*

20. Similarly ἐκὰς νήσων has been expanded into *Zwischen den Inseln durch, aber fern von ihnen.* This was when Telemachus' return by a route *west* of Cefalonia—as actually propounded at first by Dörpfeld and still maintained by his henchman Goessler—was seen to be absurd. The difficulty was cleared by excision in the early part of ο. Reproached with this, Dörpfeld replied that *he* did not make away with the passage, he only used the athetesis of others. No *animus furandi* there! For Dr. Leaf's entirely new interpretation of ἐκὰς νήσων, see *CR*, XXX, 82.

21. The Homeric Asteris is now said to be Arkoudi, an island northeast of the northern prong of Thiaki. Let anyone look at a

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good official map, such as that on p. 419 of Bérard's second volume or Murray's Handy Map, and say if Arkoudi can be said to be "*in* a strait" between Thiaki and Leukas. The description is quite impossible. The so-called strait is surely the only strait in existence that is actually broader than it is long!

22. This has led to strange wobbling—*Zikzakpolitik* the Germans call it—with regard to the meaning of πορθμός. See *JHS*, XXXIV, 231 f. It is more than wobbling; it is the wriggling of a worm impaled.

23. However we may render λιμένες ἀμφίδυμοι, Arkoudi cannot show them. Professor Manly settled that. The spit of land does not form "havens."

24. Dörpfeld would now bring Telemachus past Arkoudi to his certain destruction, and this whether the young man was making for Vasiliki (Dörpfeld's first choice, abandoned when it was seen that it could not be described as Ἰθάκης πρώτη ἀκτή), or Skydi (his second), or Syvota (his supporter Gallina's). Athené must have been tempting Telemachus to his undoing, as she once did Hector. But this will no doubt be explained as the result of the incorporation of a parallel version by a "faker" or "harmonizer."

25. A ship going to Thiaki from Thesprotia (ξ 339) would sail far from land; one bound for Leukas would sail down the coast.

26. There is admittedly no evidence that Leukas was ever known as Ithaka. Proof, it will be said, is impossible. That may be the misfortune and not the fault of the Leukadists, but all the same it is eternally fatal. Dörpfeld cannot, a Quarterly Reviewer says, "get over the difficulty that the name of Leukas was Leukas and the name of Ithaka was Ithaka." The Corinthians, when occupying Leukas, did not apparently recall the old name or the glorious connection with the most famous hero in the Greek tradition. Often as Thucydides mentions Leukas, there is no hint of a splendid heroic past.

27. And there is not, admittedly, any evidence of a Dorian thrust to account for the ejection of the people of Leukas (then Ithaka) into Thiaki (then Samé). It is a mere guess to provide an essential link. *Vielleicht von den Dorern vertrieben*, Dörpfeld says, and so the change of name *erklärt sich sehr einfach*. Very simply indeed, by arbitrarily adding to the tradition to help out a hypothesis, instead of basing

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one's hypothesis on the tradition we have. It does simplify matters to assume *Völker-*, *Namen-*, and *Sagenverschiebungen* as one requires them. Well may Engel ask, "Is such a method of proof permissible to a scientific authority?"

28. We are to suppose that the fugitives overpowered the folk of Thiaki (Samé) and gave their country's name (Ithaka) to it, and that its people in turn transferred themselves and their island's name (Samé) to the far larger island of Cefalonia (then Doulichion), which they, though certainly *παῦροι κεκακωμένοι*, were able to conquer. It is assumption on assumption. Was ever such a "General Post" assumed in order to complete a hypothesis?

29. And it involves real difficulty. The original Ithakans, dispossessed of the large and fertile Leukas, are content to settle in the far smaller and, by comparison, barren and unattractive Thiaki, and only a few miles from their Dorian enemies. Yet farther away was Zakynthus, which, as Mr. Hogarth tells us, "for native riches bears the palm." They could not have known of it, or it had not yet been upheaved from the depths.

30. The swampy ground of Nidri, where Dörpfeld places the capital of Ithaka, is said to be the worst site possible for a royal seat. The ancient burg—outside Crete—was usually on a height. The remains discovered suggest to Engel the establishment of a pre-Mycenaean horse breeder, who would be in his element there, like his confrères of the marshes of the Argolic Plain.

31. The capital of the Homeric Ithaka was evidently close to the sea, and not so far from it as Nidri is.

32. In the end of β and in δ 780 ff. a ship leaves the port of Ithaka. If that was Vlicho, we should expect to hear that she first went north up the two or three miles of the Vlicho inlet before turning south on what was certainly a nasty bit of navigation by night through a group of islands. There is nothing of the sort, and *στῆσε δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ λιμένος* (β 391) cannot be forced to serve as a substitute for it.

33. Rheithron is still sadly to seek in the Leukadist scheme.

34. It does not appear that Dörpfeld has ever tried to *prove* that the Homeric descriptions fit the localities in Leukas. He simply says, "I put the capital here and Eumaeus there," and so on, and is then

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functus officio. But his *Zikzakpolitik* here, as exhibited by Gustav Lang, is remarkable, and Engel, after visiting and traversing Leukas, declares that "not a single feature of the Homeric descriptions of Ithaka corresponds with Leukadian actuality."

35. And finally, the supporters of the new theory have to assume that parts of the poems, such as the *Catalogue*, the "Continuation" of the *Odyssey*, and the *Telemachy*, have been proved to be late and negligible, just as argument requires, and are far from agreeing among themselves. The procedure facilitates the elaboration of hypotheses, but also renders them abortive.

To Dörpfeld "Homer is a realist," and the poems display "descriptions of actuality in every sphere," descriptions depending on a "sure knowledge of localities." How then, in face of the difficulties enumerated above, can he say that Homer was describing Leukas? We cannot, for such a bundle of contradictions, impossibilities, and evasions, bound together only by his "I know and I can prove it"—the sophist's *διέσκεμμαι πάλαι*—give up the tradition of three thousand years. But for his pertinacity and the facts that the hypothesis pertains to the Homeric sphere, in which anyone may do all that does not become a man, it would have been laughed out of court long ago. It has obtained some support, but far greater reasoned opposition, and as Beloch says, *steht vollständig in der Luft*.

The Leukadist's reply is a *tu quoque*. The Ithakist, he says, admits difficulties in his own case, which he seeks to brush aside, as he cannot cure them, by deprecating a too rigid interpretation of the incidents in an epic narrative. The Ithakist must allow liberties with regard to Leukas, if they are to be claimed for Thiaki.

That is a fair reply. What then should be the next step? I venture to suggest one. The course which the Ithakan controversy has pursued during the last hundred years has for several reasons been unsatisfactory. I will not lengthen this paper by describing these reasons here. I will only say that in the literature of the subject there is now one serious need, and that is of a comprehensive up-to-date statement of the weaknesses of the Thiaki case. We want it in English. We have it in German in Hercher's treatise, but that was written just fifty years ago, and his arguments have been demolished over and over again by set replies in his own country. The

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thing requires to be done afresh. It has recently been said that not a single Ithakan site described in the *Odyssey* can be identified. A justification in detail of that assertion will help to a solution by giving us the desiderated statement of the infirmities of the Thiaki case. Those who are interested will then be in a better position to compare the opposing beliefs. Of the possible result of the comparison I will at this stage merely say this, that, if it leaves only an equality of difficulty, the tradition will stand, sufficient in itself, on the side of Thiaki. I adhere to Professor Manly's view that, "until some better claimant than either [Thiaki or Leukas] is produced, the traditional view, unbroken through recorded history, must be maintained." Till then, *beati possidentes Ithakistae*. They need no new hypothesis. The tradition is enough, and the burden is heavy on him who would subvert it.

ST. ANDREWS

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REFERENCES TO PAINTING IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

By Charles Knapp

As the starting-point of this paper I have selected the famous *cave canem* passage in *Mo.* 832–52, which I have already twice discussed in print,[1] though less fully than in the present article.

Theopropides has but lately returned from a long trading-voyage (431). He finds the front door of his house closed and locked in the daytime (444;[2] explained by 404, 425–26). Before he has time to wonder much at this, Tranio, his slave, appears (446) and tells Theopropides that, since ghosts had begun to walk in their one-time home, Philolaches, Theopropides' son, had been obliged to move and to buy a house elsewhere (454 ff., especially 479 ff.). Pressed to tell whose house had been bought, Tranio, using the first lie that comes to mind, declares that Philolaches has bought the house of Simo, neighbor of Theopropides (659 ff.). Theopropides then wishes to inspect the new house in detail, without and within (674 ff.). He sends Tranio to ask permission of Simo to make such inspection (683 ff.). Simo presently appears (690), and after a long soliloquy (690–710), and a talk with Tranio (711–74), meets Theopropides (805), and bids him go where he will in his (Simo's) house (809).

After Theopropides has carefully examined the *vestibulum*, the *ambulacrum*, and the *postes* (817–31), the following dialogue ensues (832 ff.):[3]

Tr. Viden *pictum* ubi ludificat una cornix volturios duos?
Th. Non edepol video. *Tr.* At ego video, nam inter volturios duos
cornix astat: ea volturios duo vicissim vellicat.
Quaeso huc ad me specta cornicem ut conspicere possies.
Iam vides? *Th.* Profecto nullam equidem illic cornicem intuor.

[1] See the *Classical Review*, XX, 395 ff.; the *Latin Leaflet*, No. 136, January 8, 1906.

[2] In a Princeton University dissertation, entitled *The House-Door on the Ancient Stage* (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 12–14, Mr. W. W. Mooney holds that the house-door on the Roman stage was kept closed during the day (as in actual life), and that in *Mo.* 444; *Am.* 1018; and *Stich.* 308, surprise is expressed, "not because the door is shut [in the daytime], but because it is locked" (p. 13).

[3] Unless otherwise stated, I give Lindsay's text; the punctuation and capitalisation are my own.

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Tr. At tu isto ad vos optuere, quoniam cornicem nequis
conspicari, si volturios forte possis contui.
Th. Omnino, ut te apsolvam, *nullam pictam* conspicio hic avem.

Here, plainly, we have reference to painting in somewhat elaborate form, a representation of a raven assailing two vultures. Where are we to locate this painting? If anywhere at all, on the *outside* of the house. In 817–28 Theopropides and Tranio were examining the *vestibulum*, the *ambulacrum*, and the *postes;* in 829–31 they were looking at *coagmenta in foribus*. They do not enter the house till 858. They then remain within till 904.

We need to remember, however, that the *Mostellaria* is in many respects a veritable extravaganza, a lively and energetic, but, at times, wholly improbable, farce, in places difficult, I should say, of representation in any age, unless no regard is paid to verisimilitude of illusion.[1]

The spirit of riotous burlesque is especially marked in the whole passage under review and in the description of the house in general. Cf. particularly 907–14, where Theopropides and Tranio, having come forth from Simo's house, talk enthusiastically of what they have seen

[1] For example, in 682 Tranio is sent to interview Simo, to get permission for Theopropides to inspect Simo's house. For 100 verses Theopropides stands about doing nothing; Tranio indeed seems to be out of his sight, for at 721*a* he calls out to Tranio to return, and at 784, when Tranio at last does return and address his master, the latter exclaims, "Hem, quis hic nominat me?" Again, in 785, he asks, "Unde is?" Tranio's question to Simo in 774, "Eon, voco huc hominem," though not in itself significant, seems in this context to indicate that Simo and Tranio had not been in sight of Theopropides. Professor Fay seems to think that at 687 Tranio stepped into the alley (*angiportum*) to call on Simo, by a side door (see his note on 785). But was it usual to call on gentlemen via the side door? Yet how else could Tranio have been out of his master's sight? In the *Trinummus*, to be sure, Lesbonicus adulescens lives in a *posticulum*, which *recepit, quom aedis vendidit* (*Trin.* 194) in his father's absence. To this he gained access, no doubt, through an *angiportum* (though no mention is made of an *angiportum* in the play). But the situation in the *Trinummus* is unique in Roman comedy. Professor Sonnenschein (2d ed., 1907) makes Tranio step into the *angiportum* at 687 and Simo "enter . . . . , from his house at the back of the stage" (see his notes on 687, 689), but he says nothing at all of the place of the actual conference between the two, or of the difficulties raised in the earlier part of this note. Professor Morris, in his edition (1886), p. 124, made the meeting take place in front of Simo's house. If the two really met before Simo's front door, to answer the difficulties raised above we shall have to fall back on the great breadth of the Roman stage, though this ever-ready crutch seems none too good a support here. Such questions as these, however, Plautus probably did not ask himself nor did his audience ask them of him.

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within. Note that the most extravagant idea of the whole passage (909)[1] is suggested by Theopropides senex himself.

In view of all this we need not trouble ourselves because decoration of the *exterior* walls of *private* houses representing definite and elaborate scenes appears not to have been common at any time, either at Athens or at Pompeii, or, we may infer, at Rome itself, particularly at the time of the production of the *Mostellaria*.[2]

[1] *Tr.* Quoiusmodi gynaeceum? quid porticum? *Th.* Insanum bonam. Non equidem ullam in publico esse maiorem hac existumo.

[2] Mr. Stevens, in Fowler-Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 189, is, by his silence, against such decoration of Greek private houses. Nor do I find evidence of it in the following discussions of the Greek and the Roman house: Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*[3], I, 659 B, 660 A, 664 B, 666–67; II, 345 B–347 A; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, p. 456; Baumeister, I, 627 B; Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*[2] (1913), II, 27; the article "Römisches Haus," by Fiechter, in Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite Reihe, Erste Halbband (1914); the article "Haus," in Fr. Lübker, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8] (1914). In Mau-Kelsey, p. 456, the following statement appears: "Previous to the time of Augustus the stucco coating of outer walls ordinarily remained uncolored. Afterwards color was employed, but only to a limited extent, as in the addition of a dark base to a wall the rest of which remained white." Bertha Carr Rider, *The Greek House: Its History and Development from the Neolithic Period to the Hellenistic Age* (1916), is not concerned at all with the decoration of houses. H. R. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology* (1915), pp. 178–98, throws no light on our problem.

External decoration of *public* buildings was of course not unknown; cf. e.g., the decorations in the Stoa, by Polygnotus. *Athenian* spectators, familiar with these decorations, would have no difficulty in catching the idea which the author in Plautus' original wished them to grasp at the point corresponding to *Mo.* 832 ff. The phrase "ullam in publico . . . . maiorem (porticum)" in *Mo.* 909, in view of the whole context since 832, inevitably makes one think of paintings like those in the Stoa at Athens; it should be carefully noted, however, that the porticus in Plautus' description (908) is within doors, and that nothing is said of paintings in that porticus.

Mr. J. J. Robinson, of the Hotchkiss School, has been kind enough to call my attention to a passage in the *Digest*, Pompon. *D.* I. 15. 1. Pomponius, speaking of *servitutes*, i.e., restricting rights or burdens which lie against property, says: "Servitutium non ea natura est ut aliquid faciat quis, veluti viridia tollat aut amoeniorem prospectum praestet, aut in hoc ut in suo pingat, sed ut aliquid patiatur aut non faciat," "the essence of *servitutes* does not lie in the necessity of doing something, for example removing bushes or furnishing a more pleasing view, or painting ["displaying pictures," says Mr. Robinson] on his own property for the purpose [= making a pleasanter view?], but rather in putting up with something or in refraining from doing something." Mr. Robinson's impression was that this passage bears testimony to the decoration of external walls. In his *Selections from the Public and Private Law of the Romans* (1905), p. 189, Mr. Robinson, in a note on the passage just cited, writes: "*In suo pingat* refers to the practice of decorating walls or other surfaces with paintings and frescoes for the purpose of beautifying the landscape. This practice is referred to by Juv. *Sat.* 8. 157. Cf. also *Dig.* 43. 17. 3, 9. Such 'coverings' of paint and fresco were called tectoria." Now Juvenal 8. 157 has nothing at all to do with paintings on the *outside*

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It might indeed be argued that the very use of this kind of joke by Tranio proves that paintings on the outside of buildings (houses) were not unknown at Rome in Plautus' time. But the argument is not convincing. The passages given below as referring to paintings (portraits) and frescoes (cf. *Men.* 141 ff.; *Merc.* 313 ff.; *Eun.* 584–90) show clearly that the idea of frescoes or paintings *within* houses was to the Roman audience not an impossible or a difficult conception, whether the actual thing was familiar in their experience or not. Given this point, we may say at once that it would be no great strain on the audience to grasp a joke turning on a reference to similar (imaginary) paintings *outside* a house. The joke is surely better if such paintings did not exist at all in actual experience.[1]

of buildings. There Juvenal, writing of Lateranus, the horse-loving consul, says (155–57):

> Interea, dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
> more Numae caedit, Iovis ante altaria iurat
> solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.

Here we are not dealing with a house at all. Several editors of Juvenal did not think it worth while to comment on the *facies;* others rightly make them pictures within the stables (so Lewis, Duff, Mayor, Hardy, Simcox, Pearson-Strong). Lewis reminds us that in Apuleius *Met.* 3. 27 (Helm, 1907), when Lucius, transformed into an ass, first goes into the stable, he finds "pilae mediae quae stabuli trabes sustinebat in ipso fere meditullo Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae." In reality, in the passage cited above from the *Digest* there is nothing to show whether the paintings referred to were to be on an exterior wall or on an interior wall of a house. In any case, the testimony of the *Digest* would be to a time much later than that of Plautus and Terence.

On a priori grounds, however, we may argue that to a Roman of Plautus' day paintings on the outside of a *house* were not unthinkable. We may recall, as possibly helpful here, the *graffiti* of various sorts, the caricatures, election notices, etc., that appear so often on walls at Pompeii (see Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 486). In Mau-Kelsey, p. 234, we have reference to a painting of "the Lares, with their offerings," on an exterior street wall above a shrine. It must be confessed, however, that all these things combined fall far short of a definite composition on the exterior of a private house such as our *Mostellaria* passage seems to imply. We come closer to that in the account given in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, XVII (1913), 115, of four blocks of stone found at Pompeii, which formed the architrave of a passageway. The blocks were ornamented with paintings of Sol, Jupiter, Mercury, and Luna. See *Notizie degli Scavi*, IX (1912), 102–20. At the sides of the passageway were pilasters, decorated with paintings: one represents a sacred procession, the other a large female figure identified as Venus Pompeiana. See further *Notizie*, IX, 174–92, 216–24, 246–59, 281–89. In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, XVII (1913), 114–15, is an account of a shrine at Pompeii, with a painted frieze representing the Dei Consentes or Penates Publici of Pompeii; the frieze is figured on p. 115. In 1914, again, on external pilasters at Pompeii were found fine paintings, one of which represents Aeneas with Ascanius and Anchises, the other a Roman warrior. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVIII (1914), 398.

[1] One more argument is possible, that, had paintings on exteriors been unknown, Theopropides would have exhibited far more mystification and surprise at 833 than

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But let us return to the passage from which we started. After the verses already quoted there is further by-play, till at last in 849 ff. we have this dialogue:

Th. Ibo intro igitur. *Tr.* Mane sis, videam ne canes— *Th.* Agedum vide.
Tr. St! abi, canes! St! abin dierecta? abin hinc in malam crucem?
At etiam restas? St! Abi istinc! *Si.* Nil pericli est, age* *
Tam placidast quam feta quaevis. Eire intro audacter licet.
Eo ego hinc ad forum. *Th.* Fecisti commode: bene ambula.
Tranio, | age, canem | istanc a foribus abducant face,
etsi non metuenda est. *Tr.* Quin tu illam aspice ut placide accubat!
nisi molestum vis videri te atque ignavom. *Th.* Iam,[1] ut lubet.
Sequere me hac igitur.

I am convinced that Plautus meant his audience to think of the dog in our passage as a *painted* dog, somewhere within the house, let us say on a side wall of the entrance-passage. Of course when the play was acted there need not have been a dog of any kind, painted, mosaic, or stuffed (see below), within the house. Decidedly in favor of the suggestion that Plautus meant his audience to think of a *painted* dog is the elaborate reference made in 832 ff. to painting. One who can imagine the speed with which 832–56 would be acted on the Roman stage will appreciate how impossible it would have been for the spectators to lose the suggestion of paintings conveyed by 832 ff.

If I am right in my theory that Plautus meant his audience to think of a painted dog, then the *cave canem* incident in Petronius 29 is an illuminating parallel.

In his note on *Mo.* 850 (1st ed., 1884) Professor Sonnenschein said: "But perhaps the fun of this passage consisted in having not a real dog, but the figure of a dog represented on the threshold, like that in the house of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii." I have shown above that I had in part reached the same conclusions as Professor

he does. See below, p. 148, the quotation from Mr. Thompson's paper in the *Classical Review* and the comments made thereon. But Theopropides may well enough have shown his surprise by gesture and bearing rather than by words; there is abundant evidence of the vigorous stage-business of the Roman theater, e.g., in the Terentian miniatures and in Quintilian, to go no farther afield. Theopropides is impatient enough even in words at 836, 839. So at 851 Simo's amusement is to be depicted by his acting.

[1] Plautus has got all possible fun out of the situation and at last (*iam*) lets Theopropides wake up.

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Sonnenschein—in so far, I mean, as I had concluded that there was no need to think of a real dog. But, in view of *pictum* (832), and *pictam* (839), his suggestion that we are to think of a *mosaic* dog seems to me in itself far less natural and effective than the view I have already urged. Further, there is no (other) passage in Plautus or Terence in which there is reference to mosaic work, and for good reasons. Mosaic work seems not to have been introduced into Greece till the close of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century B.C.: it was not known at Rome till the time of Sulla.[1]

The editor of the *Classical Review*, in a note to my paper (XX, 397), pointed out that in the *Classical Review*, IV, 381, Mr. E. S. Thompson had argued for a stuffed dog. He wrote thus: "That Theopropides should be frightened at the mosaic figure of a dog on the threshold . . . . seems rather far-fetched, and it seems strange that no allusion to so absurd a mistake should be made by the other actors." On this argument see above, p. 146, n. 1. Further, for the purposes of this scene a mosaic or a painted dog[2] is no more absurd than a stuffed dog and about equally fear-inspiring. Indeed, absurdity, riotous burlesque, is exactly what we want here, as in 829. Finally, the surprise and amusement of the other actors are clearly enough, if rather subtly, indicated by Plautus (p. 146, n. 1).[3]

One passes with pleasure from these rather minute speculations to consider other passages which refer beyond question to painting—frescoes within a house, and portraits done by the encaustic process.

In *As.* 127 ff. Argyrippus adulescens,[4] standing outside the house of Cleareta lena, from which he has just been ejected, voices his

[1] See Mr. Cecil Smith in Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*[2], II, 397; Professor J. R. Wheeler in Fowler-Wheeler, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 538; A. S. Murray in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[9], II, 367 A; the article "Mosaik," in Lübker, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8], II, 681 (1914).

[2] Encolpius, in Petronius 28, was frightened severely enough by a painted dog!

[3] There is no room here to discuss Professor G. D. Kellogg's intricate explanation of our passage in his paper, "The Painting of the Crow and Two Vultures in Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 832 ff.," in *PAPA*, XLI (1910), xlii–xlv, especially since I cannot accept his view.

[4] I give commonly the rôle played by the speaker, that the reader may see what kinds of personages speak the passages that fall within the scope of this paper. This sort of information may well be important. Long after the present paper had taken form, I noted Professor Abbott's very brief discussion, in his *Society and Politics in*

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feelings against the lena. The latter appears at 153; the ensuing dialogue culminates, for our purposes, at 173 ff.:

Arg. Male agis mecum. *Cl.* Quid me accusas, si facio officium meum?
nam neque fictum[1] usquamst neque pictum neque scriptum in poematis[2]
ubi lena bene agat cum quiquam amante, quae frugi esse volt.

Ancient Rome, pp. 178–79, in which he sought to infer the intellectual interests and capacities of Plautus' audiences by noting what Greek myths appear in his plays. So Professor J. S. Reid, in his edition of the *Academica*, p. 20, uses the allusions to philosophy and philosophical reflections in the fragments of the Roman drama, tragic and comic, as a means of determining the measure of Roman acquaintance with philosophic matters. Strange to say, however, he makes no reference at all in this connection to Plautus.

[1] For another reference to statuary in our poets compare *Cap.* 950–52: "*He.* Interibi ego ex hac *statua verberea* volo erogitare meo minore quid sit factum filio." For literal, less figurative expressions see *Ru.* 560, 648, 673, 689 (all four passages refer to a *signum Veneris* which forms part of the stage-setting: the speakers are a senex, a servus, a young mulier, an ancilla); *Ba.* 954; *Ps.* 1064 (in one of the last two passages a servus, in the other a senex refers to the Palladium, a bookish reference entirely). Similar to *Cap.* 950–52 is *Ru.* 821 ff., where, after Daemones senex has stationed two slaves with clubs to prevent Labrax leno from molesting the girls, Labrax cries: "Heu hercle! ne istic fana mutantur cito: iam hoc Herculi fit Veneris fanum quod fuit; ita duo destituit signa hic cum clavis senex." See finally *Fragg.* 31–33.

[2] Here, since *poematis* is set in contrast to *pictum* and *fictum*, it must mean "poems," "literary creations," as opposed to the two forms of the plastic art. In *AJP*, XXVI, 4–5, however, Professor Sihler seeks to show that, in *As.* 746 ff.; *Cas.* 860 f.; *Ps.* 401–5, *poeta* does not mean "poet," but rather *scriba*, "a writer in the widest sense." Yet in *As.* and *Cas. loc. cit.*, he also inclines to interpret *poeta* as a kind of shyster lawyer, "a notary or composer of current forms of civil law." He does not allow, however, for the burlesque tone in all these passages. Nor had he any conception of the rôle played in Plautus by literature. In this connection see my paper, "References to Painting and Literature in Plautus and Terence," *PAPA*, XLI (1911), xlvii–liii.

I feel sure, then, that in *Cas.* 857–61 and *As.* 746–47 *poeta* means "poet," with burlesque or mock-heroic effect ("maker," the Old English word for "poet," or "composer" would serve very well as a rendering; "creator" would even better give the mock-heroic effect). In *Cas.* 860–61, "nec fallaciam astutiorem ullu' fecit poeta atque haec est fabre facta ab nobis," we may note the repetition of the *facio* root. Thinking of *regum rex regalior*, applied by Ergasilus parasitus to himself in *Cap.* 825, we may say that, in the *Casina*, to the mind of Myrrina ancilla the deviser of the scheme that so pleases her is *poeta poetarum* (to borrow a form of expression from Petronius), "maker of makers," "constructor of constructors," "composer of composers." Even clearer is *Ps.* 394 ff. There Pseudolus servus knows not yet how he is to trick his master, yet he is confident that he will succeed in his purpose (401 ff.). There to some extent the etymological force of *poeta* is again in Plautus' mind. Clearer still are *Cur.* 592–93 and *Cap.* 1033.

It is really impossible to divorce Plautus' use of *poeta* from Naevius' proud application of the term to himself. May there be in the Plautine passages parody of that application? According to the well-known tradition, the Metelli had shown clearly enough in the famous "Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae" the way to effective

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Akin to *As.* 173 ff. is *Cap.* 998–1000. The *ἀναγνώρισις* has been accomplished; Tyndarus, sent to the quarries by Hegio at 721 ff., has been recalled, and now, re-entering, speaks thus:

> Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Accherunti fierent[1]
> cruciamenta, verum enim vero nulla adaeque est Accheruns
> atque ubi ego fui, in lapicidinis.

For the kind of pictures Tyndarus had in mind see Lindsay's excellent note on 998, in his editio maior (London, 1900), p. 347.

I pass now to *Merc.* 313 ff. Demipho senex has told his crony Lysimachus how desperately in love he is. This causes Lysimachus to exclaim:

> Si umquam vidistis *pictum amatorem*, em illic est.
> Nam meo quidem animo vetulus, decrepitus senex
> tantidemst quasi sit *signum*[2] *pictum*[3] *in pariete.*

With this passage we may compare one in the Epidicus. Stratippocles adulescens, accompanied by his slave Epidicus, is waiting for a danista to bring him a girl he has bought. Note 620 ff.:

use of such parody. For Plautus' interest in contemporary life see *Classical Philology*, II, 13, n. 1; II, 14, n. 1 (last paragraph). Terence, in his *Prologues*, uses *poeta* of the literary artist, seriously of himself, derisively of Luscius Lanuvinus, though the derision is in part in the epithet *vetus*, "antediluvian," "fossilized," in part in the context (cf., e.g., *Haut.* 31 ff.). Other parodic references by Plautus to contemporary Latin writers I shall discuss in a forthcoming paper.

[1] In passing I note that the subjunctive seems to be due to oratio obliqua: "torments which, so they said, were being inflicted." Similar is *raperet* in *Men.* 143, cited below, p. 152. Lindsay's note on the mood here seems to me futile. The note consists merely of references, without comment, to *Men.* 143; *Truc.* 81; Cic. *C.M.* 7, "quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur"; *Or.* 171, "Legi enim audivique nonnullos, quorum propemodum absolute concluderetur oratio." Here is sad confusion, for in *Men.* 143 the subjunctive is in oratio obliqua; in Cic. *C.M.* 7, Reid, no mean authority, makes the subjunctive one of "characteristic": at any rate it is hard to find oratio obliqua here; in *Truc.* 81 the clause may well be final, in spite of Lindsay's note on *Cap.* 1034, perhaps better "characteristic" (potential, some would say, adapted to the past tense of the main verb, "one who would give her more," but it is not oratio obliqua, at least of the sort we have in *Cap.* 998); Cic. *Or.* 171 is like Cic. *C.M.* 7.

[2] For *signum* alone of works of art see Lewis and Short, *s.v.*, C., p. 1698 A, Georges *s.v.*, E.

[3] The epithet *pictum*, in the light of the use of this verb elsewhere in Plautus, shows that in *Epid.* 624 *signum* means "figure," "likeness" in general, not a statue. So, too, do verses 625–26 of the *Epidicus*. Of course, if we must take *signum* as "statue," we may say that the phrase *pictum signum* looked to the practice of painting statues, referred to not for its own sake, but to pave the way for the joke in 625–26; in that case the slave thinks of himself as a *statua* (*verberea;* cf. *Cap.* 951). In *Merc.* 315 *signum pictum* plainly refers to a painting.

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Ep. Sed quis haec est muliercula et ille gravastellus qui venit?
St. Hic est danista, haec illa est autem quam emi de praeda. *Ep.* Haecinest?
St. Haec est. Estne ita ut tibi dixi? aspecta et contempla, Epidice: usque ab unguiculo ad capillum summumst festivissima. Estne consimilis quasi quom *signum pictum*[1] *pulchrum* aspexeris?
Ep. E tuis verbis meum futurum corium pulchrum praedicas, quem *Apella atque Zeuxis duo pingent pigmentis ulmeis.*[2]

In the *Poenulus* the *ἀναγνώρισις* has been accomplished: Hanno of Carthage has recovered his long-lost daughters. At 1269 all three embrace one another again. At sight of this Agorastocles adulescens, lover of one of the girls, exclaims (1271 ff.):

O Apella, O Zeuxis pictor,
cur numero estis mortui, hoc exemplo ut pingeretis?
nam alios pictores nil moror huius modi tractare exempla.

"Why, Apelles, why, Zeuxis, prince of painters, why are ye dead before the time? would that you were alive now that ye might paint with this model before you," etc. We may remember with profit that Alexander the Great would have none but Apelles paint his portrait.

In *Stich.* 247 ff. Crocotium, ancilla of Panegyris, bids Gelasimus parasitus come to her mistress at once. In comic fashion, however, they waste much time (250–65). In 266–69 Gelasimus, recalled to the business in hand, wonders why Panegyris matrona desires his presence. At 270 he cries:

Sed eccum Pinacium eiius puerum. Hoc vide,
satin ut facete atque ex pictura adstitit.
Ne iste edepol vinum poculo pauxillulo
saepe exanclavit submerum scitissume.

[1] See footnote 3, p. 150.

[2] Cf. *As.* 548 ff.: "We are sturdy fellows, we slaves; we play our parts manfully," "adversum stimulos . . . . inductoresque acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi." Lewis and Short interpret *inductor* here as "one who stirs up," "a scourger," Georges by "der Aufsieher von Schlägen," "der Durchprägler." Entirely apart from the difficulty of getting this sense for the word at all, I regard it as far better (and easier) to interpret by "painter," *pictor* (in the derisive spirit in which this word was applied to Fabius Pictor: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 4), especially if, as has been recently suggested, the epithet meant "tattooer." Pliny *H.N.* 35. 102 has "huic picturae quater colorem induxit"; again, in 33. 122, he writes "pariete siccato cera Punica cum oleo liquefacta candens saetis inducatur"; finally, in 24. 49 he has "umor . . . . cuti nitorem inducit faciemque gratiorem praestat." See also *inducibilis* in Lewis and Short. Naudet had something of my view in mind when he wrote: "inductores metaphorice, qui inducunt tergum plagis, ut artifices parietem tectorio."

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We may render this as follows: "But there's Pinacium ('Picture'), her slave. See that! how comic, how picture-like his posture is. Verily he has been draining the wine—in littlish cups (*sic!*)—many a time—wine nearly neat, too—most cleverly." As Fennell remarks, *ad loc.*, this is sarcastic: "so far from standing like a picture (an allusion to his name) Pinacium is more than half tipsy . . . . so that he cannot stand steady. . . . . "[1]

In *Men.* 110 Menaechmus I, Epidamniensis, comes out of his house, intending to carry to Erotium meretrix a palla which he has stolen from his wife (130) and to dine with Erotium. As he commends himself for the shrewdness with which he has overreached his wife, Peniculus parasitus overhears him and applies for a share of the plunder (135). At 141 ff. the following dialogue occurs:

Men. Vin tu facinus luculentum inspicere? *Pe.* Quis id coxit coquos? iam sciam, si quid titubatumst, ubi reliquias videro.
Men. Dic mi, enumquam tu vidisti *tabulam pictam in pariete* ubi aquila Catameitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum?
Pe. Saepe. Sed quid *istae picturae* ad me attinent?

Menaechmus' allusion is, to be sure, rather far-fetched; we have to suppose that he thinks of himself as the eagle or as Venus, of the cloak as Ganymede or Adonis. But just in this, as in the perversion of the name Ganymedes (deliberate, to my mind), lies part of the fun of this grandiloquent utterance.

In the fourth edition of Brix's commentary to the *Menaechmi* (by Max Niemeyer, 1891), there was a very interesting note, to the effect that *tabula in pariete* meant "nicht eigentlich Wandbild, sondern Nachahmung des Tafelbildes in der Freskomalerei." Reference was made to Helbig's view (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXV, 218) that the replacing of true Tafelbilder by the far less costly frescoes was an

[1] With the name Pinacium cf. πινάκιον, which sometimes, according to Liddell and Scott, denotes "a small or bad picture."

The name is thus a "redende Namen." In this very play Plautus shows how alive he was to the value of such names, for at 174 ff. he makes Gelasimus explain his own name, and at 242 Gelasimus again says "Nunc Miccotrogus nomine e vero vocor." Other places of similar character, noted by me years ago, are as follows: *Ba.* 240, 283–85, 362, 687–88, 704; *Cap.* 724–26; *Cur.* 414 ff.; *Cis.* 466; *Mi.* 289, 330, 494; *Per.* 120, 506, 624–25; *Poen.* 886; *Ps.* 229, 585 (see Morris' note), 653–55, 712, 736; *Ru.* 657 (if Sonnenschein's note is right); *St.* 630–31; *Truc.* 77–78*a*. For a discussion of these passages I may now refer to Dr. C. J. Mendelsohn's *Studies in the Word-Play in Plautus*, pp. 8 ff. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Philology and Literature, Vol. XII, No. 2, Philadelphia, 1907).

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Alexandrian innovation, which, by Plautus' time, "nach der Antwort des Peniculus zu schliessen [145], welche die genannten Stoffe als geläufige bezeichnet, eine auf italischem Bode weit verbreitete Decorationsweise war."[1] Brix-Niemeyer then knew of but one representation of the story of Ganymede, on a Praenestine Spiegelkapsel, "während die Entführung des Adonis durch Venus bis jetzt auf erhaltenen Kunstwerken noch nicht nachgewiesen ist." Dümmler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* "Adonis," I (1894), 391 ff., gave no hint of any picture representing the rape of Adonis by Venus. Nor do I see in his account any hint of a confusion of Adonis and Ganymede.[2] In the fifth edition of Brix's commentary (1912), Niemeyer reduces the direct comment on *Men.* 143 to four short lines, as follows: "einfach 'Gemälde an der Wand.' Das etwa, wie Helbig (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXV, 218) glaubt, ein Freskogemälde gemeint ist, liegt nicht in Ausdruck." Now, in point of fact, how can anyone decide whether such an expression as *tabulam pictam in pariete* refers to "Gemälde an der Wand" or to frescoes? So far as language goes, either could be meant. Fortunately, for the purposes of our discussion, it matters not which Plautus had in mind. I note, finally, that in the last edition Niemeyer completes his note by citing, without discussion, Terence *Eun.* 584 ff., and Plautus *Merc.* 315, as giving references to paintings—a rather inadequate list of references!

Plautus seems, then, here merely to have blundered, whether by accident or design. A deliberate perversion or confusion would be sufficiently humorous.

In the *Eunuchus* we have an exceptionally good passage. Chaerea adulescens, the supposed eunuchus, is describing to Antipho what happened while he was in the house of Thaïs meretrix. Thaïs had gone out to dine, taking with her some ancillae (580). Note now 581–89:

> abducit secum ancillas; paucae, quae circum illam essent, manent
> noviciae puellae. Continuo haec adornant ut lavet.
> Adhortor properent. Dum adparatur, virgo in conclavi sedet
> suspectans *tabulam quandam pictam:* ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem
> quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum.

[1] On wall-paintings and easel-pictures see Mr. Cecil Smith in Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*[3], II, 391.

[2] For Venus' love of Adonis see especially Dümmler, in Pauly-Wissowa, I, 391–92.

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Egomet quoque id spectare coepi, et quia consimilem luserat
iam olin 'lle ludum, inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi,
deum sese in hominem convortisse atque in alienas tegulas
venisse clanculum per inpluvium fucum factum mulieri.

Here the poet himself gives the motive for his reference to the painting.

I come now to a particularly interesting passage, *As.* 746 ff., especially 761 ff.[1] Diabolus adulescens has contracted with Cleareta lena for her daughter Philaenium for a year. He has dictated to his parasitus a formal contract, in which, among other things, he has put down *leges* to govern the girl's conduct. Cf. 756–67:

Pa. Alienum | hominem | intro mittat neminem.
Quod illa aut amicum | aut patronum nominet,
aut quod illa amicai <eum> amatorem praedicet,
fores occlusae | omnibus sint nisi tibi.
In foribus scribat occupatam | esse se.
Aut quod illa dicat peregre allatam epistulam,
ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus
nec cerata adeo tabula; et si qua inutilis
pictura sit, eam vendat: ni in quadriduo
abalienarit, quo aps te argentum acceperit,
tuos arbitratus sit, comburas, si velis,
ne illi sit cera ubi facere possit litteras.

Cerata . . . . tabula in 763 need mean only a wax tablet for letter-writing; *ne epistula . . . . tabula* would then mean "let her not have any letter (received from anyone else) at all in the house or any wax tablet on which to write to another." With this cf. vs. 6 of Naevius' account of the flirt: "cum alio cantat, at tamen alii suo dat digito litteras." But in "et si qua inutilis . . . . litteras," 763–67, we clearly have reference to a picture on which there is wax. The reference may be to wax laid over a picture to preserve it or to encaustic painting.

For the protection of frescoes from damage by sun or air through the laying on of a mixture of olive-oil and "Punic wax," see Mr. Cecil Smith, in Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*[3], I, 393 A (second full paragraph). Pertinent, too, is the statement in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[9], VIII, 186, and that by W. Cave Thomas, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[11], IX (1910), 367, that the Greeks used wax to protect their sculptures. See also A. P. Laurie, *Greek and Roman Methods of Painting* (1910), pp. 105–7.

[1] For a discussion of part of this passage, with reference to the word *poeta*, 748, see above, p. 149, n. 2.

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For encaustic painting see Mr. Smith again in Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*[3], II, 392 ff., *s.v.* "pictura," especially the following:

> The Egyptians made use of preparations of wax at least as early as the 18th dynasty for preserving paintings. . . . . We find a mention of the encaustic process in Greece in the Ode, of doubtful date, falsely ascribed to Anacreon (6th century B.C.): "Paint me my mistress with her soft black tresses and, if the wax can do it, breathing myrrh!" Otherwise encaustic painting does not seem to have been mentioned in literature till the conquests of Alexander had opened closer communication between the East and the West.

The time indicated in these closing words is precisely the time of the New Attic Comedy, the time, in a word, of the plays of Plautus and Terence, except where those plays reflect Roman rather than Greek ideas and conditions.[1] Mr. G. B. Brown, in the article "Painting," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[11], XX, 483, also dates encaustic (in true paintings) from the time of Alexander. On p. 490 he reminds us that "it is known from the evidence of the Erechtheum inscription that the encaustic process was employed for the painting of ornamental patterns on architectural features of marble buildings. . . . ." For further discussion of encaustic painting, see A. P. Laurie, *Greek and Roman Methods of Painting*, pp. 54–68.

In neither case, whether Diabolus adulescens had reference to a protective coating of wax or to encaustic painting, could Philaenium have had access to much wax: therein lies the joke.[2]

We are now ready to sum up. The passages cited show that to the Romans of Plautus' day references to fresco-painting and portrait-painting were intelligible. We may remember that before Plautus' time Q. Fabius had been called Pictor, though in a spirit different from that which animates some of the passages cited in this paper (see Cic. *Tusc.* i. 4). See above p. 151, n. 2.

One other point may be noted. We see that, aside from the references to portrait-painting and to Apelles and Zeuxis, the themes of the paintings, in so far as we have definite themes at

[1] For striking evidence of the extent to which the plays of Plautus and Terence do reflect, in some fields at least, the times of Menander, see my paper on "Travel in Ancient Times as seen in Plautus and Terence," *Classical Philology*, II, 304.

[2] Two other passages, less clear than those already treated, may be cited from Plautus—*Vid.* 30–36 and *Fragg.* 31 ff. (an incomplete passage). In the latter place painting and sculpture are mentioned together (see above p. 149, n. 1).

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all, come from mythology; we have Venus and Adonis, Jupiter and Danae, Ganymede and the eagle, and scenes from the underworld. The themes are, in a word, exactly what we should associate with Greece, particularly from the time of Alexander. The themes recur in the frescoes of Pompeii, which have been traced back in large part to Alexandria; see Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 474, and the fine discussion, based on Helbig, in Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii*, as translated by Fisher, pp. 370–419. The themes, once more, are those of certain departments of literature, as represented, e.g., by Ovid; see Boissier, *loc. cit.*[1]

We note further that there is but one passage in Terence bearing directly and unmistakably upon our theme; that passage is, however, one of the best of all those cited in this paper. Here again[2] Terence is true to his art; he will not allow extraneous matter or matter not very clearly connected with his play to work itself into what he writes. The passage in the *Eunuchus* helps the play wonderfully; it is a sophistical extenuation, by an appeal to the example set by Jupiter himself, of the wrong done by Chaerea adulescens to the girl, a civis Attica.[3]

In Plautus, again, the specific allusions to painting come from a few plays: from the *Asinaria* (two passages: 174 ff., 762 ff.), *Captivi*, *Epidicus*, *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*, *Poenulus*, and *Stichus*. The original of the *Asinaria* was written by Demophilus (*As. Prol.* 10–12); that of the *Mercator* by Philemon (*Merc.* 9–10); that of the *Stichus* by Menander (see the *Didascalia*).

Some confirmatory evidence can be got from a study of certain words, e.g. (*describo*), *pingo*, *depingo*, *pictor*, *pictura*. In some passages given above, notably *Poen.* 1271, *pictor* means "painter" in the highest sense of the term; so, *ibid.*, *pingo* is used literally of painting as a fine art. So again in *As.* 174; *Ep.* 624, 626 (sarcastic);

[1] For one important meaning of these facts see my paper, "The Originality of Latin Literature," the *Classical Journal*, III, 306–7.

[2] In writing "again" I have in mind my comment in *Classical Philology*, II, 5, note, on the scrupulousness of Terence's geography.

[3] As I remarked, in *Classical Philology*, II, 286, n. 1, end, since in the ἀναγνώρισις the girl in the play usually proves to be *ingenua*, in fact a *civis*, the playwrights take pains to assure us that she has remained *casta*.

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Men. 143; *Merc.* 313 (sarcastic), 315 (sarcastic); *Vid.* 36. Cf. *As.* 399–402:

Me. Qua facie voster Saurea est? si is est, iam scire potero.
Li. Macilentis malis, rufulus aliquantum, ventriosus,
truculentis oculis, commoda statura, tristi fronte.
Me. Non potuit *pictor* rectius *describere* eiius formam.

Compare *Poen.* 1111–14 (by itself a less distinctive passage):

Ha. Sed earum nutrix qua sit facie mi expedi.
Mi. Statura hau magna, corpore aquilo. *Ha.* Ipsa east.
Mi. Specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris.
Ha. Formam quidem hercle verbis *depinxti* probe.[1]

Other examples of these words show them in more distinctly figurative senses, so that they have no more significance for our purposes than figurative uses of "paint," "portray" would have in such a discussion in connection with any English author.

In *Mi.* 1175 ff. Palaestrio servus is instructing Pleusicles adulescens to pose as a *nauclericus* and to come after Philocomasium. Cf. now 1183 ff.:

Pl. Quid? ubi ero exornatus quin tu dicis quid facturu' sim?
Pa. Huc venito et matris verbis Philocomasium arcessito,
ut, si itura siet Athenas, eat tecum ad portum cito,
atque ut iubeat ferri in navem si quid imponi velit:
nisi eat, te soluturum esse navim: ventum operam dare.
Pl. Sati' placet *pictura.*

Mo. 261–62 (the speakers are Philematium meretrix and Scapha nutrix anus) does not help much:

Philem. Tum tu igitur cedo purpurissum. *Sc.* Non do. Scita tu es quidem.
Nova pictura interpolare[2] vis opus lepidissimum.

Nor does *St.* 354. Still less important is *Poen.* 221. In *Ps.* 146 *pingo* is used of embroidery or the like.

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[1] Cf. Terence *Phor.* 268, "Probe horum facta inprudens depinxit senex."

[2] See Sonnenschein, *ad loc.* If *interpolis* in *Mo.* 274, and *interpolare* in *Mo.* 262, can be connected, through *polio*, with *lino* (see *lino* in Walde[2]), these two passages become of value for our purposes.

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PETRONIUS AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

By C. W. Mendell

Some years ago Professor Abbott published in *Classical Philology*[1] a stimulating article entitled "The Origin of the Realistic Romance among the Romans." In that article he indicated many possible sources from which Petronius may have drawn something of his tone or matter. As Abbott himself suggests, all of these are sources for various specific characteristics of Petronius rather than ancestors from which the literary type proceeded. He concludes with the statement that "so far as our present information goes, Petronius seems to have been the inventor of the realistic romance."

Among the possible sources of Petronius, Abbott mentions the love romances of the Greeks which, if we could be sure that they were written in their developed form as early as the time of Petronius, would furnish a type of source different from the rest. Heinze[2] assumed for the romances an early date and developed the theory that Petronius wrote a parody of them. He finds in this way a forerunner of the type rather than of particular characteristics. I believe that this is the right direction in which to look for the literary ancestor of Petronius and that there are more indications of this relation than Heinze makes use of; furthermore, that Abbott's enumeration of characteristics reinforces rather than controverts this view, but that Heinze's theory of the parody nature of the novel is not the correct one.

I am skeptical of the propriety of calling Petronius' work a *realistic* romance, if that implies, as it seems to, an attempt on the part of the author to present human life essentially as it is.[3] The term "realistic" was presumably first applied to the book because it dealt

[1] VI (1911), 257 ff.

[2] R. Heinze, "Petron und der griechische Roman," *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), 494 ff.

[3] This is the position maintained by Martin Rosenblüth in a Kiel dissertation: *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren* (Berlin, 1909). Bürger also calls Petronius' work *ein echt realistischen Sittenroman;* see "Der antike Roman vor Petronius," *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 345 ff.

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with everyday folk, not with superhuman or heroic characters. But so did the love romances. That the hero and heroine were superlatively beautiful and in most ways extremely noble did not of necessity remove them from the sphere of possibility. Frankly accepted impossibilities were excluded from these romances, indicating a conscious effort at realism. But they still without apology introduced improbabilities of an extreme sort, and a succession of unusual experiences which in their total are quite incredible even though no particular one is by itself impossible. And this is just what Petronius does. He never asks us to believe in marvels, but he sends his characters through a series of adventures which the most credulous mind could not find probable. And even so we have but a small portion of them.

A parallel from another literary field may make more clear the actual position of Petronius in the scale of realism. Greek tragedy dealt with exalted characters of the heroic past; gods and goddesses and personages purely mythological. Aeschylus did not scruple to deal with impossibilities; there was good ground for Aristophanes' thrusts at his horse-cocks and goat-stags; his gods and his sea-nymphs and his winged Erinyes all trod the earth among his characters. Euripides made the drama much more realistic, and although mythical kings and princes and the dwellers on Olympus still make up the personnel, they show the emotions and actions of real people. The New Comedy took the next step. The logical successor of Euripides' tragedy, it reduced every detail to the plane of the commonplace. Ordinary people with ordinary emotions are its material, and it is called, in contrast to tragedy, "the mirror of life." But it is a *speculum vitae* only by comparison. It depicts only one side of life and that too distorted by exaggeration, with experiences treading on the heels of one another in such rapid succession and with such a persistently comic phase that they can hardly be termed, with any strictness of expression, realistic.

What is true of the New Comedy in this respect is roughly true of Petronius' work. It does not show the marvels of the early tales of adventurous travel. It confines itself to what might conceivably happen, but not to any truthfully realistic depiction of life. The romance of adventure, pure and simple, presented the frankly

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impossible with the utmost confidence. The romance of love confined itself to the realms of possibility so far as incidents go and, like Euripides, presented persons of an exalted rank, in a serious fashion, acting in a natural and human manner. Petronius reduced the characters to middle and low society and dwelt on a very different phase of their experiences. Just what that phase was and the resultant tone of the treatment will appear later.

The acceptance of some such evolution of the prose romance does not imply that with the beginning of one type the preceding ceased to be written, but merely that in a general way this was the order of their first appearance and development of type.[1] This Heinze doubts. He thinks that there is no such relation between the romance of adventure and the erotic romance. They are, he holds, two totally different and unrelated types, alike only in the one point that their plots are not stationary. He seems, however, to be influenced by the fact that he places the only writer of the romance of adventure that we know, Antonius Diogenes, too late to influence Petronius, while at the same time he posits erotic romances before the time of the Roman novelist. This is too cavalier. Even without the evidence of Lucian in the introduction to his *True History*, it would be clear that the romance of adventure was a very slight variation from the professedly historic work of such logographers as Ctesias and Iamboulos. Without positive proof it is almost impossible to give up the generally accepted theory of development which recognizes a logical sequence from the novel of adventure to the erotic romance.

The dating of Greek romances is at best a hazardous undertaking. But there is certainly no ground for putting Antonius Diogenes later than Petronius. It has been assumed that his bilingual name disproves the statement of Photius that he lived shortly after the time of Alexander.[2] But Livius Andronicus came to Rome in 275 B.C.; Rome had come much into contact with Greek cities in such a way as to acquire Greek slaves long before that; Naples and Cumae were

[1] This distinction is clearly drawn by Otmar Schissel von Fleschenberg in *Entwickelungsgeschichte des griechischen Romanes im Alterthum* (Halle, 1913).

[2] This is the position of J. S. Phillimore in his article on the romances in *English Literature and the Classics* (Oxford, 1912).

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Roman before 300; and before Alexander began his conquests Rome had conquered many a Greek in Campania. Furthermore, regardless of exact dating, his nearness to Ctesias and the other logographers makes it more than likely that he wrote before formal rhetoric had begun its sway.

The erotic romances, too, must be given much earlier dates than they used to receive. Jebb stated without hesitation that Chariton was a writer of the fifth century,[1] but a papyrus of 100 A.D. with a considerable fragment of his novel deducts from this date more than two hundred years at a blow.[2] The Ninos fragment cannot have been written later than 50 A.D., and in all probability was distinctly earlier.[3] These two romances have one thing in common which seems to me significant. Chariton's novel has much more deliberate rhetoric than the others that we possess, and the Ninos fragments indicate that that romance was similar to Chariton's in this respect. In psychological analysis, in balanced arguments, in brilliant descriptions, and in dramatic scenes, Chariton is far ahead of Xenophon, for example, or Achilles Tatius. It seems therefore not improbable that, although Rohde was wrong in his *actual* date for Chariton, he was right in his *relative* dating, and that the two romances of whose dates we have some slight indication are among the latest.[4] If Chariton is two hundred years and more older than he was generally believed to be, there is no reason to think that the rest may not be too, and internal evidence strongly suggests that they mark an earlier stage of development.

In consideration of the possibility of an early date for the romances, it seems not unlikely that too little weight has been given to a passage from Plautus.[5] In *Men.* 247, Messenio says to his

[1] See *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 161.

[2] Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri*, p. 74.

[3] See U. Wilcken, "Ein neuer griechischer Roman," *Hermes*, XXVIII (1893), 161 ff.

[4] Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 2d ed., p. 521: "Nur so viel scheint eine genauere Betrachtung seines Romanes zu lehren, dass er die Romane des Iamblichus, Heliodorus und nicht am wenigsten den des Xenophon vor Augen hatte und nachbildete." A fragment of Achilles Tatius of a date not later than 300 puts another of the romances much earlier than Rohde's dating. See *Oxyrhyncus Papyri*, X, 135, No. 1250.

[5] Professor Henry W. Prescott has kindly called to my attention the fact that this point is brought out by Bousset, *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutestamentl. Wiss.*, 1904, pp. 18 ff.

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master: "Quin nos hinc domum | redimus nisi si historiam scripturi sumus?" He has already complained of the traveling as follows: "Histros Hispanos Massilienses Hiluros | mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam | orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare | sumus circumvecti." This sounds more like material for a romance than for a history, and his conclusion indicates the further ground of similarity which led him to associate their wanderings with those of the romantic hero: "Hominem inter vivos quaeritamus mortuom; | nam invenissemus iam diu, sei viveret." There is nothing to contradict this interpretation in the other instances of the use of *historia* in Plautus.[1]

It is obvious since the discovery of the Ninos fragments that the rhetoric which could have influenced the romance was the rhetoric taught by such men as Seneca and his predecessors, not the rhetoric of the new sophistic. The balancing of arguments and the descriptive chapters are exactly the sort of thing which the regular rhetorical training would have cultivated. It by no means follows that the romances were expanded rhetorical exercises. The condensed plots which Seneca and the other rhetoricians collected were much more probably summaries of longer stories which the teacher presented in the form of an abstract for the pupil to practice on. The fact that many of them deal with actual historical incidents bears out this supposition and the modern case system of studying law furnishes a fair parallel. That the school teacher invented and the novelist borrowed is certainly a harder theory than the reverse. Parthenius, some thirty years before Christ, culling plots for Gallus to use, is a good example of the sort of thing that Seneca probably did to obtain for his classroom the material that has survived him. The interesting point for the present study is that he evidently had romances from which to draw.

Another parallel from the drama may serve to clarify the understanding of this development of type. Even in the time of Aeschylus the desire for the romantic element was strong. Colonization

[1] *Bacchides* i. 2. 50; *Trinummus* ii. 2. 100. R. Reitzenstein, *Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius*, pp. 32 ff. and 62 ff., interprets *historia* and *fabula* differently, but to take *historiae inseruisse* as "wrote at intervals while engaged on a serious work" is very hard, and the whole argument is based on the unfounded claim that Apuleius found his entire matter in Sisenna.

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had no doubt fostered it. In Aeschylus it is satisfied by the marvelous, the supernatural, and the strange. Such long stories as Io's of her wanderings have little reason for existing except as they cater to a public craving for romance. In the later dramatists, who catered to less naïve audiences, the strange and weird drop out and the love element enters to make good the romantic loss. Euripides incurs the charge of degrading the stage by introducing women in love among his characters. Finally, in the New Comedy, the love element is more regularly the central theme, but is reduced to a lower plane and treated with much less of dignity and seriousness.

So the romantic element in prose story-telling proceeds from the original travel motif with its marvels of imagination, the sort of thing that Lucian reproduces as an extravaganza in his *True History*, to the love story with adventure as a contributory element. And when it has run its course on the high and arid plane of pure romance, it is revived by an infusion of Roman salt by Petronius. Even in the part that rhetoric plays in these two very different fields the parallel holds roughly. The rhetoric of the Greek romance is the rhetoric of Euripides; the naturalness of Petronius is the naturalness of the New Comedy.

If we could be absolutely sure what the *Milesian Tales* were and just what Aristides wrote, one step in the development of the romance might be cleared up. But entire agreement on this point seems impossible; I merely venture a suggestion. Ovid's phrase (*Tristia* ii. 413), "Iunxit Aristides Milesia crimina [or carmina] secum, Pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est," is pretty generally taken to indicate that Aristides formed some kind of a whole out of the Milesian stories which he found or invented. The tone of the Milesian tale was presumably erotic and piquant.[1] Now it seems to me that the second reference of Ovid to Aristides (*Tristia* ii. 443) implies that his book was in reality a consecutive story: "Vertit Aristidem Sisenna nec obfuit illi Historiae turpis inseruisse iocos." *Fabula* and not *historia* is the regular word for short incidental stories. Many references to Petronius and Apuleius confirm the results of

[1] The best summaries of the evidence are Hans Lucas, "Zu den *Milesiaca* des Aristides," *Philologus*, LXVI (1907), 16 ff., and Otmar Schissel von Fleschenberg, *Die griechische Novelle* (Halle, 1913).

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a study of Ovid's usage on this point.[1] *Historia* indicates something sustained,[2] and such a meaning is demanded by the passage in order to make possible the insertion of the *ioci* which, as elsewhere in Ovid, are evidently erotic anecdotes. Sisenna then inserted short anecdotes into his translation of the book of Aristides. (Possibly Ovid was misled into thinking that the original book of Aristides was a compilation, by the title of it which was very likely *Milesiaca* after the analogy of the *Babylonica* of Iamblichus and the *Indica* and the like of his predecessors.) The resultant book was the novel that caused scandal when found in the luggage of one of Crassus' officers after the battle of Carrhae, and it was probably in its Latin version that it was known to the Romans who refer to it. So it is not strange that the scandalous insertions came to be looked on by them as the essential part of the romance and that the name of the Greek romance that gave them a setting was misconstrued into a title for them.

In view of some such possibility, Apuleius' statement about his own work in his introduction is significant: "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram," etc. He means that in addition to merely Latinizing the *Onos* of Lucius of Patrae he will insert stories of erotic flavor and it is in these that much of his originality lies. He speaks of the inserts as *fabulae*, with the exception noted above, as does Petronius in introducing the story of the Matron of Ephesus (110, 113).

If this supposition about the *Milesian Tales* be true, then it is in the Latin romances only, in Sisenna, Petronius, and Apuleius, that there are short inserted anecdotes. The Greek romances have numberless episodic digressions which seem to take the reader far afield, but *fabulae* deliberately introduced as short stories they do not have. It looks very much as though the introduction of these were a Roman contribution to the romance. But before considering this point further it will be convenient to consider the characteristics of Petronius as presented by Abbott and to see how they bear on the suggested relation between the Greek and the Roman romance.

[1] Cf. Petr. 39, 61, 92, 110, etc.; Apul. i. 20, 26; ii. 15, 20, etc.; Ovid *Met.* iv. 53; *Ex ponto* iii. 2. 97; *Tristia* iv. 10. 68, etc.

[2] Cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.* ii. 4. 2; in Apul. viii. 1, *historia* is used instead of the usual *fabula* and the insertion turns out to be a miniature romance.

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Professor Abbott, in outlining the characteristics of Petronius' novel that must be considered in looking for a predecessor, notes, first, the place, Southern Italy; second, the generally low class of characters; third, the prominence of women; fourth, the efficient motif, erotic in spite of the framework furnished by an offended deity; fifth, the baffling tone of satire; sixth, the realism; seventh, the character-drawing, and, finally, the prose-poetic form. These must be compared one by one with the characteristics of the romance.

The scenes of the Greek novels range pretty freely over the known world, although one point is worth noting which I think has not been brought out. The range of scene is confined to the old Greek world, not to the expanded Roman world. Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Southern Italy, Sicily form the stage on which the characters of romance move. If the novels were a late invention, if they did not, as I believe they do, go back to Hellenistic times, this would be difficult to explain, but it is perfectly natural in the case of a type of literature firmly fixed before Rome had widened the bounds of the world. The early romance of adventure had treated in splendidly cavalier style Scythia and Thule, the lower world and the moon, until the tendency toward realism led the romancer to limit himself to the world his readers knew. But to return to the point, the scenes cover always a considerable range. Southern Italy and Sicily figure in Xenophon of Ephesus and also in Chariton, who is the representative of the romance who comes nearest to Petronius. The scene of the Roman novel in the fragment we possess is Southern Italy; there is indication that Massilia, too, figured in the story, and the haphazard wandering of the characters leaves little room for doubt that the scenes were even more varied.

The characters of the romances are mixed. From the great king of Persia to a humble herdsman, all stages of society are represented. The hero and heroine, ordinarily half-way between these extremes, are, in the greatest variety of ways, brought into contact with prince and pauper, pirate and pander. In Petronius there are no real potentates. But, granted the criteria by which his middle-class folk gauge position, the range is like that of the Greek. From Habinnas and Trimalchio to the fisherman who picks up the heroes after the wreck, we have the counterparts of the romantic satrap

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and vassal. The general type of character must be noted (it is distinctly low by comparison), but the range of character is just as important, and in that Chariton and Petronius are alike.

In the matter of the prominence of women, I can find no reason to draw any distinction between Petronius and the romance. In Chariton, Callirhoe, Plangon, and Stateira are very prominent and sharply differentiated, and every romance furnishes its quota of well-drawn women. Manto, the Potiphar's wife of Xenophon, his ugly Kuno, Melite, the scheming widow of Achilles Tatius, the splendid farmer's daughter of Iamblichus—these can hardly be said to play a less important part than men.

In motif again there is little distinction beyond that of tone. The efficient motif of the romances is erotic just as much as is that of Petronius. In the romance it is circumstance that drives on the lovers through a mad succession of experiences even though these circumstances are sometimes motivated by the anger of a god offended by the obstinacy or arrogance of the lovers. Petronius, too, gives realism by making the force of circumstances govern the plot, but behind circumstances, he reminds us several times, is the anger of the offended Priapus. Like the low caste of his characters this choice of offended deity must be remembered as significant.

The baffling tone of satire is peculiar to Petronius. The romances are beyond all else ingenuous. The realism I have already discussed. The trend away from marvels had gone as far in Chariton as in Petronius. The only difference lies in the class of people treated: in keeping with his middle-class people, Petronius' adventures and melodramatic situations are middle class. I am inclined also to detect less difference than is usually found in the matter of character-drawing. What difference there is seems to me to be a result of the individual skill of a particular artist, not a question of type. As psychological analysis began to enter into the romance, characterization began to be more prominent. It is one of the chief results of strong rhetorical influences. And Chariton in particular depicts individualities: the faithful Polycharmus, a second Pylades, the gentleman Dionysius, the oriental queen Stateira, the big-hearted countrywoman Plangon; they are all real characters though not done with the genius of Petronius. Few of the romancers seem to

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have been men of high genius. Finally, the prose-poetic form is peculiar to Petronius.

It is clear, I think, that in most of its characteristics Petronius' book is not far removed from the Greek romance. Further points of similarity might be noted. Heinze has dwelt on the framework and motivation, on the union and separation of Giton and Encolpius, on the steady chain of misfortunes, on the constant erotic temptations of the heroes. I would add the insistence on hair-breadth escapes which are the mainstay of both the Roman and the Greek novelist in holding attention, and the prevailing willingness of the characters to give up and die when crises arise. Details, too, bear out the parallel which framework and general characteristics make so clear. To name a few: the cloak motif or recognition by means of a garment (Petr. 12 ff.) is almost identical in the use made of it with the incident of Iamblichus in which Sinonis tries to sell a cloak and is arrested for robbing a tomb. Encolpius before the pictures (Petr. 83) recalls the opening of Achilles Tatius. The argument over punishment (Petr. 107) may be paralled in any romance, perhaps best by the arguments of the pirates and the trial scene in Chariton. The shipwreck (Petr. 114, 115) might be taken bodily from Achilles Tatius or Xenophon of Ephesus. The comparison of Circe's beauty to that of a goddess (Petr. 126) suggests the familiar conceit that the Greek heroine would be taken for Aphrodite on the street. The magic potions of Greek romance are perhaps paralleled by the disgusting magic of Petronius (Petr. 134 ff.).

With all these points of similarity which cannot be mere coincidences, there remain the essential differences noted in passing: the class of characters treated, the baffling tone of satire, the prose-poetic form, and I would add the insertion of anecdotes unrelated to the plot.

It is time to consider the name under which the novel of Petronius has come down to us. Buecheler's *Petronii Satirae* is the accepted designation, but this title does not describe the book correctly if it implies conformity with one of the two types of satire distinguished by Quintilian, the Horatian and the Varronian. The hexameter form of the first is an unsurmountable obstacle, and Varro like Horace wrote short satires collected into books, not one long and

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continuous composition divided into chapters. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that there is practically no manuscript authority for designating Petronius' book as a satire. On the other hand, it will not be difficult to see how the designation crept in during later years.

The majority of the best manuscripts read *saturicon*, either in superscription or in colophon (so BDEFG[1]). B, the oldest, has "Petronii Arbitri Saturicon." In the eleventh-century Paris manuscript alone appears any form of the word *satura:* "Petronii arbitri satirarum l. incipit," and this is corrected in the margin by the same or a contemporary hand to "Petronii arbitri affranii Satirici lib. incip." This has the appearance of being an attempt to remedy the strange-looking form *satiricon*, further changed to *Satyri* in the Trau manuscript (A), and modern editors have been equally prone to change it to suit their purposes. Savaron in his notes on Sidonius Apollinaris[2] says: "Petronii libellus mera est satura Varroniana, ut suo loco dicitur, ipse tamen Saturicum sive Satiricum maluit inscribere: quo modo commentarium dicitur pro commentario libro: Apologeticus pro apologetico libro." Casaubon says[3] that it is not worth while discussing why Petronius preferred *Satiricum* to *Satyra*. As a matter of fact there is no reason to think that he did. *Saturicon* is in all probability the Latinization of the Greek genitive plural, and the *satirarum* of P, which has been largely responsible for the classification of Petronius' novel as a satire, was an attempt by the copyist to correct this. The longer fragment of the Trau manuscript (A) shows that there were at least sixteen books in the novel so that *βιβλία* was probably the word understood in the Greek title which Petronius wished to suggest. His title was made on the analogy of *τὰ Μιλησιακά*[4] or *τὰ Ἰνδικά*,[5] and gives fair warning of the kind of romance that is coming, at the same time indicating clearly that here is no satire proper.

The characterization of Petronius' book which made appropriate his designation of it and which also led to its later classification as satire is twofold: first, characteristics of content, second,

[1] See Buecheler's edition of 1862.

[2] *Epistulae* viii. 11. Cited by Burmann, edition of Petronius (1709), p. 2.

[3] *De Satyra* ii. 4. Cited by Burmann, edition of Petronius (1709), p. 2.

[4] Cf. Plut. *Crassus* 32.

[5] Cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, No. 72.

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those of form. In content the two branches of satire did not differ widely. Aulus Gellius (ii. 18. 6) indicates the nature of Varro's subject-matter to some extent, explaining that he was called Menippean because he modeled his work on that of the Cynic Menippus. The writings of Menippus were partly philosophical but rarely in a wholly serious tone.[1] Varro's subjects have a range as wide as Horace's: literary, philosophical, mythological, satires on the miser, on wills, on the education of children, on food and dinners, and on Priapus. The field of satire seems not to have varied much from Lucilius' day to Juvenal's, and from this field Petronius chose many an object for satiric attack. Oratory and poetry, education, the influence of money, the wealthy upstart, the *recitationes*, Priapus, the *captatores*, the women's devotion to a gladiator, magic, all are touched on by Petronius as well as by Varro and Horace and Juvenal. And so they are by Martial. The difference is that in the novelist and in the epigrammatist they are incidental, in the satirists they are the chief themes of the satires, treated for their own sake. In Petronius they are quite subordinate to the story. They indicate the satiric spirit of the author but do not prove him a satirist.

This point is well illustrated by the enumeration of characteristics in the thesis of Rosenblüth. After outlining the peculiarities common to Petronius and to satire, he proceeds to list those common to Petronius and to the mime, and practically every point which he brings up is applicable to satire as well, while the one thing that would be significant in Petronius, the dramatic form, is, of course, wanting. He cites, for example, the mixture of real names and appropriate nicknames, the use of colloquialisms, types of character, enchantments, mimic episodes, and so on. No doubt the mime, like the epic, like the prologues of comedy, had its influence in the formation of the romantic type. And so, in a greater degree, satire, the literary type truly congenial to the Roman, encroaching as it did on the epigram, on the lyric, on drama, and even on history, encroached also on the romance, and is responsible for incidental subjects in Petronius and for much of the tone throughout. But the novel of Petronius is neither mime nor satire. The essentials of its literary type are those of the romance.

[1] Cf. Riese edition of Varro, Introd., p. 9.

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In form it is the Varronian satire only with which Hirzel and Schmid, Rohde and Ribbeck would allign Petronius.[1] Whatever theory we may hold of its origin or precise nature, there can be no doubt of the existence as far back as the time of Cicero of this prosimetric form of essay, probably not precisely defined as satire. And from the point of view of form there is a real and essential resemblance between Varro and Petronius and a difference between Petronius and the Greek romance. But in this respect too I think that an incidental resemblance is mistaken for identity of type. The metrical portions of the novel do not, with two or three short exceptions, further the narrative, while in the Varronian satire, so far as can be judged by the remains, the discourse was carried on indiscriminately by the metrical parts and by the prose. Seneca's farce on the death of Claudius furnishes a striking example of the actual mixing of prose and verse and shows the difference between such metrical passages and the insertions in Petronius which, except for form, are much like the ethnographical lore inserted in the romances. The Menippean satire made it seem natural to the Roman to introduce metrical inserts into his continuous discourse, just as the influence of satire in general led him to introduce satiric attacks on various familiar abuses.

In so far as the characters treated by Petronius are of a different class from those of the Greek romance I believe that this too is due to the spirit of satire. It is to a satirist like Juvenal that we must look for a parallel, to a man of nearly the same period who saw practically the same conditions. If he chose a bourgeois society to assail, it is only natural that Petronius should attack the same class, a class coming into great prominence during the early empire without too much credit in the eyes of the aristocracy. But I have already indicated that I do not feel the difference in this respect between the Roman and the Greek to be very great. It should be borne in mind that the part of the novel which we possess deals with a provincial town where Habinnas the *sevir* would be a man of no inconsiderable position.

[1] Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), II, 37; Schmid, "Der griechische Roman," *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1904, I, 476; Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1900), p. 267; Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung*, III, 150.

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Finally, like Sisenna and like Apuleius, Petronius inserts into his narrative anecdotes which are in no wise relevant or necessary to the progress of his novel, stories introduced for their own sake and not merely digressions in which even a Chariton might indulge. Such anecdotes are foreign to the atmosphere of feverish haste which marks most of the Greek romances, but absolutely in keeping with the rambling and casual tone of satire. Horace is full of them and rarely feels the need of his apology, *non longa est fabula*, which, however, is significant when taken in connection with the use of *fabula* by Ovid, Petronius, and Apuleius.

This scrutiny of the characteristics of Petronius as outlined by Abbott shows that the baffling tone of satire, the prose-poetic form, the class of characters treated, and, in addition to these, the insertion of anecdotes not strictly a part of the plot, are presumably the result of the influence of satire, while the remaining characteristics supplement the evidence which serves to define the literary type of the work as erotic romance.

Now, although Heinze maintains the similarity between Petronius and the erotic romance, he finds the tone of the former to be one of parody and makes this the determining factor in explaining the relation between the two. He cites the general tone of epic parody, the tragic pose of killing one's self at every crisis, always given up on a very slight pretext, and, finally, the exaggerated attitude toward dangers of every sort.

These are all parody in detail: of themselves they do not justify a characterization of the whole work. And when we stop to notice how such detailed parody appears in other branches of Latin literature, not remote from the romance, their significance seems even less probably that which Heinze would make it. For example, so far as the tone of epic parody is concerned, Horace and Juvenal offer much more obvious instances of the same, yet no one would feel that the satire of Horace and Juvenal was adequately defined as parody. The Roman comedy has passages which very obviously parody the tragedy, such as the recognition scene in the *Menaechmi*, but such details do not make the comedy as a whole a parody. The comedy furnishes also numerous instances of characters who express a fixed determination to die, usually a slave or a weak-willed lover, and this

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determination presently vanishes. Dangers in the comedy are magnified enormously. But these facts do not prove that comedy belongs to the parody type of literature. It is true, to be sure, that the tone of the novel as a whole is largely a matter of feeling or impression and therefore dangerous ground for argument, but, so far as the consensus of feeling goes, the tone would seem to be nearer to one of realism than to one of parody, and I therefore feel more confident of my own impression that the tone of parody is confined to details.

To show that the romance as a whole was a parody it would be necessary, I think, to show that in its entirety, especially in so far as its main lines are concerned, the parody was obvious and sustained. Lucian, in the preface to his *True History*, gives fair warning that he is writing a parody and the reader is never given an opportunity to doubt the sincerity of the warning. The *Will of the Little Pig* is sustained parody. But if Petronius were the same, we should expect something more in the way of burlesque setting and fewer men with a normally developed sense of humor would have swallowed the romance as realistic and satiric.

Finally, the long incident of Trimalchio's dinner, forming as it does so considerable a portion of even the entire work, would be out of place in a parody of the erotic romance. Parody, as Heinze himself says in another connection, implies something parodied, and such an incident would be so totally foreign to the spirit and purpose of romance as to be utterly out of place in the parody. The dinner of the *nouveau riche* was an accepted subject of satire thoroughly congenial to the highly original writer of a romance penned in the satiric vein.

My conclusions are these. The novel of Petronius is not, strictly speaking, a realistic novel. It is an erotic romance and belongs to the developed, not to the early, type of romance. Its essential type characteristics are those of the romance. It is not a parody although it contains parody. It is not a satire although strongly influenced by the satiric spirit. It is a real romance written by a truly Roman artist; his national characteristics appear in the satiric bent, in the setting, and in much of the tone; his personal impress is felt in the excellent characterization, in the genial humor, and in the wealth of invention.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK[1]

DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 2

WORDS IN -ās, -ātos AND IN -ēs, -ētos
(Exclusive of those in -τηs, -τητος)

BY CARL D. BUCK

1. *Verbal adjectives of the type εὐκράς, προβλής.*—Of words in *-ās, -ātos* and *-ēs, -ētos* the class of most transparent origin is that in which *τ* is added to a root-form ending in *ā* or *η*; and with this must be considered the parallel class of the type *ἀγνώς* from root-forms ending in *ω*.[2]

In Sanskrit a similar addition of *t* is regular in the case of roots ending in a short vowel, e.g. *viçva-jí-t-* 'all-conquering,' *soma-sút-* 'soma-pressing,' *madhu-kṛ́-t-* 'honey-making, bee.' In use and frequency such forms are parallel to what from other kinds of roots are simply root-stems. Like these, they are most frequent as the final member of adjective compounds, which may of course be used substantively. The prevailing force is active, as in the examples cited; passive force, as in *deva-çru-t-* 'heard by, audible to the gods' is comparatively rare.[3] Forms with *t* added to a root ending in a long vowel are unknown in Sanskrit, but a few such occur in Avestan, as *dāmi-dā-t-* 'creator,' *θraotō-stā-t-* 'situated in the streams,' and in Latin, as *sacer-dōs, locu-plēs.*

In Greek the formation with *-τ-* has been largely displaced by that with *-τā-*, yielding the numerous class of agent-nouns in

[1] See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff. For the present article and the next following, a partial collation of references made some years since by a former pupil, Mr. Edgar Menk, has also been of service.

[2] Cf. especially Fraenkel, *Gesch. d. griech. Nom. ag. auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -τηs (-τ-)* 1. 77 ff.

[3] Cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram.* §§ 383, II, 1147; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* 2. 1. 175; and especially Reuter *KZ.* 31. 190 ff.

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-τᾱς, *-της*.[1] With a few exceptions,[2] it has survived only after root-forms ending in *ᾱ*, *η*, or *ω*, and belonging to that type which represents a monosyllabic form of dissyllabic bases.[3] The obvious examples are distributed as follows, the figures indicating the number of compounds, which will be cited in full in the word-list:

1. With inherited, general Greek *η*:
   -βλής (13); *-κλής* (1).
2. With inherited *ᾱ*, Ionic or Attic-Ionic *η*:
   -κρᾱς (9); *-θνής* (5); *-τμής* (3);
   -δμής (2); *-κμής* (7); *-τρής* (2).
3. With *ω*:
   -βλώς (1); *-βρώς* (14); *-στρώς* (1);
   -γνώς (3) *-τρώς* (1); *-πτώς* (1).

The meaning is partly passive, partly active, e.g., *ἀστροβλής* 'sun-struck,' but *ἀσπιδαποβλής* 'throwing away the shield'; *ἀγνώς* usually 'unknown,' but also 'unknowing,' *ἡμιβρώς* 'half eaten,' but *ἀνδροβρώς* 'man-eating.' But passive force greatly predominates, in notable contrast to the Sanskrit *t*-forms. Thus, passive are: all in *-κρᾱ́ς*, *-κλής*, *-δμής*, *-τμής*, *-τρής*, *-τρώς*, *-στρώς*, most in *-βλής*, *-γνώς*, some in *-βρώς*. Active (transitive) are: *ἀσπιδαποβλής*, *ἀγνώς* sometimes, most in *-βρώς*, also one each in *-κμής*, *-θνής* (see below).

[1] The intimate connection of this class with the simple *t*-formation has been placed beyond question by Fraenkel, *op. cit.* But his explanation of the manner in which the extension to *-τᾱ-* took place (2. 157 ff = *IF. Anz.* 29. 63) can scarcely be regarded as adequate. The existence of masculines based upon feminine ᾱ-stems (*νεανίας*, etc.), in which class may still be reckoned a few of those in *-της*, was probably the chief factor in the transfer.

[2] Namely, a few in *-ι-τ-*, *-κ-τ-*, *-ρ-τ-*, and *ν-τ-*, which will be discussed later.

[3] Inherited strong-grade forms like *πλη-* (Lat. *plē-*, Skt. *prā-*), *βλη-*, *γνω-* (Lat. *nō-*, Skt. *jñā-*) and weak-grade forms like *δμᾱ-*, Att.-Ion. *δμη-*, beside *δαμα-* (*δμᾱτός* = Skt. *dāmitá-*), *θνᾱ* beside *θανα-*, etc., have contributed alike to what is substantially one type from the Greek point of view and plays a distinct rôle in the verb-system. Whether *στρω-* (and similarly *βρω-*, *βλω-*, etc.) represents a strong-grade form parallel to *γνω-*, or a weak-grade form with *ρω* = Lat. *rā* in *strātus* and Skt. *ir* in *stīrṇá-*, according to the view one takes in this disputed question of phonetic correspondence, has no bearing on the function of *στρω-* in Greek. But this whole type of root-forms is clearly distinguished in its scope in Greek from the originally monosyllabic roots ending in a long vowel, with weak-grade in a short vowel, like those of *ἵστημι*, *τίθημι*, *δίδωμι*. And so also in the derivatives under discussion. There are no compounds in *-στας*, *-θής*, *-δώς* (but cf. the rare simplex *δώς* 'gift') parallel to the Avestan forms in *-stāt-*, *-dāt-* or Lat. *sacerdōs*, but only *-στάτης*, *-θέτης*, *-δότης*.

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Intransitive, like the verbs from which they are derived, are: *ἀπτώς* 'not falling,' *ἀγχιβλώς* 'coming near' (Et. M.) most in *-θνής*, as *ἡμιθνής* 'half dead,' *νεοθνής* 'just dead,' *λιμοθνής* 'dead of hunger,' *χειμοθνής* 'dead of cold.' So also *ἀκμής* 'untiring, unwearied,' *δουρικμής* 'afflicted by, slain by the spear,' *σιδηροκμής* 'slain by the sword,' simply retain the intransitive force of *κάμνω* 'be wearied, afflicted, etc'; while only the late *νεοκμής* 'newly wrought,' *αὐτοκμής* 'self-wrought' are real passives to the secondary transitive use of *κάμνω*. The rare transitive use of *-θνής*, *-κμής* in *ἀνδροθνής* 'murderous,' Aesch. *Ag.* 814, and *ἀνδροκμής* 'man-afflicting, man-slaying,' for which there is no corresponding use of the verbs, arose as a pendant to *-θνής* 'dead,' *-κμής* 'afflicted, slain,' under the influence of such parallels as *-βρώς* 'eating,' beside *-βρώς* 'eaten.'[1] That is, we have to do here with a semantic back-formation.

The uncompounded *βλής*, which is quoted from an unknown poet (Hdn. 2. 121. 21) is probably an artificial abstraction from the compounds.

The forms which are regularly substantives are: *ἐπιβλής* 'bolt,' *καταβλής* 'bolt' (Hesych.), *προβλής* 'headland' (Soph.+; in Homer adjective), and *συγκλής* 'assembly' in Thessalian (*συνκλεῖτος γενομένας*).

Besides these obvious derivatives of this type, the following in *-ής* (those in *-ώς* will be discussed elsewhere) are to be mentioned in this connection.

ἀπτής, *Inschr. v. Olympia* 164 = *ἀπτώς*, might easily be explained as a transformation of the latter, under the influence of the compounds in *-βλής*, etc. But more probably it is an independent formation, from *πτη-* seen in *πεπτηώς*.[2]

Ἴγνητες (see below, p. 185) is a derivative of *γνη-* seen in *γνήσιος*. Another such would be *ἑτερόγνης* (Hdn. 1. 83. 2), but its authenticity is very doubtful.

[1] Similarly Fraenkel, *Glotta* 1. 275. His later interpretation of the use of *ἀνδροθνής* and *ἀνδροκμής*, *Nom. ag.* 1. 81 ff., is possible, but not necessary.

[2] For the graduation in the forms of *πίπτω*, cf. Meillet, *Mém. soc. ling.* 13. 44. *πτω-* belongs properly in the perfect indicative *πέπτωκα* (cf. *ἔρρωγα* beside *ῥήγνυμι*, Dor. *ἔωκα* beside *ἴημι*), but spread at the expense of *πτη-* and became the usual basis of derivation (*πτῶμα*, *πτῶσις*). *ἀπτής* may be a survival of an earlier formation than *ἀπτώς*.

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χερνής is probably a compound of νη- 'spin' (νέω, νήσω), meaning first 'one who spins for daily hire,' 'a handworker,' like χερνῆτις Hom. *Il.* 12. 433, hence 'poor.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.*², and Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 87.

δασπλής beside δασπλῆτις is probably, like τειχεσιπλήτης, a compound of πλη- (πλᾱ-) seen in πλῆτο to πελάζω. Cf. the most recent discussion by Bechtel *Lexil. Hom.* 94 ff.

θής (from *θᾱ́ς, cf. Cypr. θᾶτας) belongs to this type according to the derivation suggested by Brugmann, *IF.* 19. 388, namely from *θϝᾱ- (cf. θοός, θύνω). Against this, Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 87.

As regards accent, words of this type are regularly oxytone, as in Sanskrit. Instances of a different accent appearing, in the case of a few rare forms, in our texts and lexicons (e.g. in L. and S. ἀγχίβλως, ἀρίγνως, μελίκρας, or in Herodian the doubtful ἑτερόγνης), may be safely dismissed as errors. But τριχόβρωτες Ar. *Ach.* 1111 is generally retained, and perhaps rightly, though Wackernagel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1914. 29, regards this also as "ohne Belang." In contrast to the other compounds in -βρώς, all rare and poetical, this seems to have come into ordinary prose use as a substantive denoting moths, worms, etc. (cf. the Scholia to Ar. *loc. cit*, and Suidas, Pollux, Hesychius). Its substantive use, coupled with the well-known Attic tendency to shift from perispomenon to proparoxytone, may well account for a change of τριχοβρῶτες to τριχόβρωτες.

These words belong distinctively to poetic diction, though a few of them are occasionally employed by prose writers. If we ignore the fifteen which are quotable only from lexicographers, grammarians, and scholiasts, we find that of the remainder thirty-seven occur only in poetry, while nine appear in prose writers, namely, ἀστροβλής Aristot.; κεραυνοβλής Theophr.; ἠμιθνής Thuc., Aesch.; νεοθνής Plato; χειμοθνής Luc.; ἀκμής Paus., Dion. H., Plut.; νεοβρώς Hipp.; ἀτρώς Paus. (4. 8. 5, emendation); ἀπτώς Plato, M. Aurel. The only one occurring in prose inscriptions, and evidently a word of ordinary use, is the substantive συγκλής 'assembly' in Thessalian.

2. *Nouns and adjectives of the type* κέλης, λέβης (ἀργής).—The source of this type is by no means so clear as that of the preceding. The most probable connection is with forms pointing to an IE. *-et-*, that is *-e-t-* with *t* added to thematic verb-stems, as Lat. *teres -etis*,

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teges -etis, seges -etis, etc., Skt. *vāghát-, sravát-, vahát-*, and some Celtic and Germanic forms. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.*² 2. 1. 425. These show the same variety of use as other *t*-formations, comprising feminine abstracts (Skt. *sravát-* 'stream,' *vahát-* 'vehicle,' etc.), verbal adjectives with passive (Lat. *teres* 'rounded off') or active meaning, and *nomina agentis*. It is this last use as seen in Skt. *vāghát-* 'institutor of the sacrifice,' that agrees with that prevailing in Greek. The *-et-* would be preserved in Greek only in Hom. *ἀργέτι, ἀργέτα* beside *ἀργῆτι, ἀργῆτα*, and in derivatives like *πενέστερος* beside *πένης*. The otherwise regular *-ητ-* would represent a generalization of a strengthened grade *-ēt-*, of which there is some other evidence, as Avest. *fra-čarāt-* 'moving forward.'[1]

Examples of the most distinctive use, namely as *nomina agentis*, are: *κέλης* 'courser' (but *κέληξ* in Laconian), *πλάνης* 'wanderer,' *γόης* 'howler,' *βέρρης· δράπετης* Hesych. (to *ἔρρω*), *πένης* 'poor man,' to which *ἔχης* 'man of substance' (*Et. M.*) is a pendant. So also *ἑρπής* 'shingles' is the disease that 'creeps' (*ἕρπω*) over the body, and *λέβης* 'basin, kettle,' though the root connection is unknown, was probably 'receiver' or the like, with the familiar application of *nomina agentis* to utensils as in *κράτηρ*, Eng. *mixer, boiler*, etc.

After the analogy of words like *πένης*, and also of *χερνής* (above, p. 176), were formed secondary derivatives denoting persons of a certain condition. A special group consists of military terms, as *κούρητες* 'young warriors' from *κοῦροι; γυμνής* 'light-armed soldier' from *γυμνός; ψιλής* (Aesch.) from *ψιλός*, though the latter was commonly used in this specialized sense without change of form; further, **ὁπλής*, implied by *Ὅπλητες*, beside usual *ὁπλίτης*, and *δούρης* Hdn.

[1] According to a totally different view *-ητ-* represents an extension of original *ē*-stems, both in the appellatives and in the proper names. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1886. 378 ff., *Personennamen* 23 ff., Schulze, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1910. 807 (but the particular etymological combination there asserted is withdrawn *KZ.* 40. 287), Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 2. 200, and for the proper names also R. Meister *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff. But there is no respectable evidence for the existence of an IE. class of *ē*-stems. Cf. Sommer, *die idg. i̯ā und i̯o-Stämme in Baltischen* (*Abh. Sächs. Ges.* 1914) 14. If the status of IE. *ē*-stems was weak enough even with the support of the almost universally recognized class of IE. *i̯ā*-stems, it is doubly precarious, now that the chief foundation for the belief in the latter has been shaken by Sommer's investigation. Furthermore, the stock example to show the extension of an *ē*-stem in Greek, *μυκητ-*, is not one of the typical words in point of usage, and is not an extension of an *ē*-stem, but of an *ā*-stem (see below, p. 178). For the proper names, see also below, p. 183.

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2. 680. 34,[1] which is doubtless quoted from some poet who used it in the sense of 'spearman.' A similar derivative is probably concealed in the obscure Hesychian gloss. *δέρμητες· οἱ ἐξ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*[2] *περισσοί.*

From *γλοιός* 'slippery, knavish' comes *γλοίης*, used of a vicious horse (Hesych.) or person (Hdn. 2. 680. 16. *Et. M.*). *ἀμενής* 'weak' gives rise to *ἀμένης* 'weakling' (Hdn. 2. 684. 3 *σημαίνει δὲ τὸ παιδίον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν μενος*). *δηλής, δειλῆτος*, Hdn. 2. 682. 27, is intended for a similar derivative of *δειλός* 'cowardly.' *λιπερνής* in the phrase *ὦ λιπερνῆτες πολῖται* Archil., copied in Crat. *Πυτίνη* (cf. Meineke 2. 124), is a transfer from an *σ*-stem form, if the ancient derivation from *ἔρνος* (Suidas) is correct, as is probable. *ὑψικέρης*, Hdn. 2. 683. 39, if genuine is a transfer to this type from the stem *ὑψικερᾱτ-* (above, p. 26, n. 1), rather than an Ionic form of the same.[3]

The influence of the *nomina agentis* may also be recognized in *φάλης* (Ar., Theocr.) = *φαλλός*, and in such rare by-forms of adjectives as *δορυσσόης* (Soph.) = *δορύσσοος*, *εὐκραιρής* (Maxim.) = *εὔκραιρος*, and *πάχης* = *παχύς* (*πάχητι* Evagr. *H.E.* 4. 7; *πάχητες· πλούσιοι, παχεῖς* Hesych.; cf. also Suidas, who makes a fictitious differentiation from *παχύς*, and Tzetz., *Hist.* 9. 304).

The remaining words have no resemblance in use to the preceding, and are mostly of obscure, in part clearly foreign, origin. The *τ*-inflection is secondary in *σής* 'moth,' gen. *σεός*, later *σητός* (Menand.+); in *μύκης* 'mushroom,' etc., gen. *μύκεω* Archil. 46 Bergk (cf. also nom. pl. fem. *μύκαι* Epich. 155 Kaibel), later *μύκητος* (Ar.+).

Beside *μάσθλης*, Lesb. *μάσλης* 'leather, thong of a whip, etc.' occurs *μάσθλη* (Hesych.), which may be a blend of *ἱμάσθλη* with *μάστιξ* (so Prellwitz, *BzB.* 26. 305). *ἄμης*, a sort of milk-cake, is of unknown origin. *ἀλάβης* (cf. *alabetes* Pliny), a fish of the Nile, is of course borrowed. *τάπης* 'carpet, rug,' is of Persian origin (cf. Mod. Pers. *tāf-tan* 'spin') and probably furnished the model for *κάνης* 'reed mat' (cf. *κάνειον* 'reed basket').

ἐσθής 'clothing,' is isolated by its form (*ἐσθᾶς* in Pindar) and feminine gender, and is certainly a stranger in the ranks. It is

[1] But *μούρης* in the same passage is wholly obscure. Hilgard, Choerob. 1. 161. 6, takes both words as proper names.

[2] The correction to *ἐφήβων* is probable, but leaves the definition still obscure.

[3] Cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildung* 367.

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best explained as an early blend of the rare neuter *ἔσ-θος*, formed like *πλῆ-θος*, and a derivative containing the suffix *-τᾱτ-*, *-τητ-*.[1]

The accent of all words of this type was originally on the final syllable (of the nominative singular) as uniformly in Sanskrit (*vāghát*, etc.), and as in the verbal adjectives like *προβλής*. But in Greek this was shifted to the preceding syllable when short, as in *κέλης*, *πένης*, etc.[2] Words with long penult regularly remained oxytone, as *ἀργής*, *ἑσθής*, *γυμνής*, *ψῑλής*, *χερνής*, but several follow the analogy of the larger class, e.g., *κούρης*, *γλοίης*, *μάσθλης*, if their accentuation is authentic. *ἐρπής* is so accented by Herodian (2. 682. 24), agreeing with the general rule, but *ἕρπης* is also common in MSS.

3. *Personal names like* Μένης, Φέρης.—This class of hypocoristic personal names is obviously based upon the appellatives denoting persons, such as *πένης*, *πλάνης*, etc. The great majority, constituting the normal type, are names of two syllables in the nominative.[3]

The names include those of (*a*) heroes of Greek legend, (*b*) Greek citizens, (*c*) foreigners.

a) Legendary heroes: Κέλης (Ath. 442*a*), Τέλης, Φάνης, Φέρης, Μύλης, Μέγης (Hom. acc. *-ην* beside *-ητα*), Σέβης, Ὅπλης,[4] Ὑπέρης, Ἡπιάλης (Sophron 70 Kaibel = Hdn. i. 69. 14; or Ἐπιάλης Hdn. i. 69. 13), Ἀφάρης (Hdn. 2. 639. 5, now directly attested by Ἀφάρητα Bacch. 5. 129; cf. also Ἀφαρητίδαι Pind. N. 10. 65 and Ἀφαρητιάδαι Ap. Rhod. 1. 151). The name of the giant Γύγης (= usual Γύης) has gen. Γύγητος according to Hdn. 2. 78. 27.

b) Greek citizens: The type is most prevalent in Attic. Such Athenian names, most of them very common (cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*), are: Κράτης, Λάχης, Μάγνης, Μέλης, Μένης, Πάχης,

[1] So Schwyzer, *IF.* 30. 443. But the assumption that **ϝεσ-τᾱτ-* arose by haplology from **ϝεστο-τᾱτ-*, as *ποτής* from **ποτο-τᾱτ-*, is not an easy one. Haplology is natural in **ποτοτᾱτ-*, but not for **ϝεστοτᾱτ-* any more than for *μαστότης*, *ζεστότης*, *πιστότης*, etc.

[2] This change probably originated in the case-forms which had the metrical value ⏑ – ⏑, in which there was a marked tendency to recessive accent. Cf. Vendryes, *Mém. Soc. ling.* 13. 221 ff., Brugmann *IF.* 22. 176.

[3] Exceptions are: Ὑπέρης, Ἀφάρης, Ἡπιάλης, Κεφάλης (Hdn. 1. 69. 14, 2. 684. 1; cf. Boeot. Κεφάλλεις nom. only, and Eretr. Κεφαλήτης), Ἀγέλλης (below, p. 180), Pamph. Μεγάλεις, Ἀγάθεις (below, p. 180). Compounds do not follow this type, which is distinctly hypocoristic, and in Θεομένης Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 131 the *τ*-inflection instead of the usual *σ*-inflection is an intrusion from that of Μένης. But compounds occur in the related Boeotian type, for which see below, p. 182.

[4] The eponym abstracted from the Athenian Ὅπλητες. For Ὅπλης as a man's name in Pisidia, see below, p. 184.

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Φάνης, Χάρης, Χρέμης. Ἀγγέλης occurs only in the nominative in Attic (*IG.* 2. 2100), but cf. Rhod. gen. Ἀγγέλητος (*IG.* 12. 1. 764. 27), while the σ-stem forms seen elsewhere may be secondary (see below, 183). Δράκης, Ar. *Lys.* 254, *Eccl.* 294, occurs elsewhere only in Ael. *Ep.* 4 (Δράκητι). Τρόμης, Dem. *De cor.* 130 is perhaps only the malicious invention of the orator. (To these Athenian names the appropriate dog's name Λάβης Ar. *Wasps* 836 may be appended.)

Many of these Athenian names occur also with more or less frequency in various other dialects, namely Κράτης, Λάχης, Μέλης, Μένης, Φάνης, Χάρης, Ἄγγελης. Cf. also Thess. Φρόνης (gen. Φρόνητος in a fifth-century inscription, *JHS.* 33. 313), Meg. Τέλης (*IG.* 7. 8–11), Astyp. Φέρης (*IG.* 4. 1418.; 12. 3. 212; 12. 5. 2. 1003), Τύχης of unknown origin (*IG.* 14. 2011), Arc. Πάνης(?),[1] Arg. Τρύγης, and the Pamphylian forms of the originally Phrygian name Μάνης, namely Μάνης, gen. Μάνητυς (Lancoronski 1. No. 54), in later spelling Μάνεις, gen. Μάνειτυς (*ibid.* Nos. 83, 86, 87), of the otherwise unknown Μεγάλης, namely, nom. Μλειάλη, dat. Μλειάλητι (*ibid.* No. 54, later gen. Μεγάλειτυς (*ibid.* No. 75), further gen. Fέκειτους (*ibid.* No. 89; Fέκης otherwise unknown), gen. Ζώϝειτους (*ibid.* No. 84; cf. Cypr. Ζώϝης, Lesb. Ζώης), Ἀγάθεις (*ibid.* No. 83, nom. only, but probably belonging here). Cf. also in literary sources Boeot. Κέβης (Xen., etc.), Γέρης (Strabo, Paus.), Arc. Σμίκρης (Xen.), Acarn. Κίννης (Thuc.), and in Suidas Πόλλης of Aegae, Κόρης, Χέρης, Πάσης.

The fact that these names follow the τ-inflection in the Attic writers and later lexicographers is, of course, not conclusive evidence of their native inflection. And of the numerous examples of τ-forms in dialect inscriptions the great majority are not early enough to preclude the possibility of Attic influence. But the Thessalian

[1] Only nom. Πανῆς *IG.* 5. 2. 387, which the editors take as Πανῆς contracted from Πανέας, while R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 10 takes as Πάνης. This is more probable, likewise Arg. Τρύγης rather than Τρυγῆς (as editors, *BCH.* 27. 270; 33. 171, thoughtlessly followed in my *Grk. Dial.* No. 82). For while names in -ῆς from -εᾶς are attested from an early period in Ionic and in some of the Doric islands (cf. my *Grk. Dial.* § 42. 2), they are unknown in the Peloponnesus, except for late and obviously imported Ἑρμῆς, Ἀπελλῆς, etc. In Arcadian a Πανῆς would stand alone against about eighteen names in -εας, many occurring with great frequency (e.g. Δαμέας 18 times). An Arg. Τρυγῆς would stand alone, except for late Ἑρμῆς, Ἀπελλῆς, against about a dozen forms in -εας.

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and Pamphylian forms at any rate are beyond suspicion, and as the τ-inflection agrees with that of the legendary names in Homer and in Doric poetry, and furthermore, with that of the appellatives, there is every reason to regard this as the original Greek type, and to accept the τ-forms as normal in all dialects where there is no evidence to the contrary.[1] But in some dialects there is such evidence.

In Ionic inscriptions the τ-inflection is almost unknown, and the few examples are best attributed to Attic influence. Thus from Χάρης we find gen. Χάρητος in *SGDI.* 5692*a* 34 (about 278 B.C.) and 5437. 6 (second century B.C.), but Χάρεω 5495. 30 (early fifth century B.C.). From Κράτης *SGDI.* 5515 (before 353 B.C.) has gen. Κράτητος l. 48, but Κράτευς l. 15, while Diog. L. 8. 1. 25 has Κράτεω. Other such names show only the vowel inflection, as Φάνης, gen. Φανέω *ibid.* 5515. 10, Eretr. Φάνου Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1911. 11 (where also Μένου); Πύρης, gen. Πύρεω 5680 (cf. Πύρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου Athen. 620*e*), Τέλλης, gen. Τέλλεω Delphin. in Milet 122. II. 59 (cf. Meg. Τέλητος) Πίγρης, gen. Πίγρεω 5727*a* 28 (a foreign name, but declined as a τ-stem in Attic writers), Κόμης, gen. Κόμεω in Hipp. (cf. Κόμητα *CIG.* 8901, Hdn. 2. 679. 23). So it must be recognized as the normal Ionic practice that names which correspond to Att. Χάρης, etc., follow the analogy of names of the first declension, so that the two classes become indistinguishable.[2]

The statement of Moeris that Θαλῆς is Attic and Θάλης, Θάλητος Hellenistic is an approximately true picture of the literary practice.

[1] Otherwise Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen* 23 ff.; R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff. See above, p. 177, and below, p. 183.

[2] A large class of names in -ης is commonly regarded as resulting from contraction of those in -έᾱς, and accordingly accented -ῆς, e.g. Θαλῆς, Ἀπελλῆς, etc., so explained and accented by Herodian 1. 65. 9. This whole assumption is discredited by R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 9 ff. But even if we accept the traditional accentuation of Θαλῆς as correct, it is impossible to determine just which names should be classed with it, and the editors' accentuation of many of those occurring in the Ionic inscriptions is necessarily arbitrary (e.g. Σώτης or Σωτῆς?). The extreme view that all the Ionic forms with vowel declension are perispomena, and that we should accent Χαρῆς because of Χαρεω (so Wilamowitz, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1904. 621) is the least likely of all.

Another question of accent, again assuming the correctness of Θαλῆς, is that of the τ-forms employed by later writers. Here we have the authority of Herodian for Θάλης, Θάλητος (2. 683. 10) but also Ποσθῆτος (2. 683. 12). It is at best only a matter of convention. The accentuation of the numerous Egyptian proper names in the papyri is a separate question. Cf. Mayser 274 with references.

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But the Hellenistic usage simply shows the final absorption of the name into the normal Attic type of Μένης, etc., while the older Attic writers, as well as some of the Hellenistic, retain the Ionic vowel inflection.

In Boeotian there are a few examples of names in -ευς, gen. -ειτος (Boeot. ει=Att. η), as Κράτευς, Κράτειτος (*IG.* 7. 1728, 2714), Φάνευς, Φάνειτος (*ibid.* 1752). These are possibly due to Attic influence. At any rate the usual Boeotian type is that with consonant doubling and nominative in -ει or -ευς, genitive in -ιος, e.g., nom. Θάλλει and Θάλλευς, Φίλλει and Φίλλευς, Ξέννει, Μέννει, Μνασίλλει, etc. (full list of those in -ει in Sadée, *de Boeot. tit. dial.* 50 ff.), gen. Τέλλιος, Φίλλιος, Ξέννιος, Μνασίλλιος, Τιμόλλιος, etc.

The probable explanation of this type is as follows. The genitive in -ιος (=-εος) was formed after the analogy of σ-stems, just as Κράτευς etc. in various other dialects (below, p. 183). The names now shared in such changes of original σ-stem proper names, under the influence of those of the first declension, as are observed in certain other dialects (cf. my *Greek Dialects* § 108. 2). Hence acc. Δαΐμμειν like Δαμοτέλειν, and the vocative in -ει (for η, cf. Arc. Ἀτέλη), which is the probable source of the nominative in -ει and of the consonant doubling throughout. Even in the genitive we find an isolated parallel to Lesb. Μένη, Θεογένη, Cret. Ἀλκιμένη, etc., in Τέλλη Θηβαίου in a Delphian inscription (*SGDI.* 2502. 92. 110; cf. Ion. Τέλλεω, above, p. 181).

While the Boeotian type is in its origin, we are convinced, identical with that of Att. Μένης, it spread far beyond its usual limits in the case of the numerous longer names like Μνασίλλει, Εὐνόμμει, Ἀθανίκκει, etc.

In Lesbian, where all the examples are late, there are a few instances of τ-inflection, as Μένητος, Κράτητος, Κάμητος (so probably Κ[ά]μιτος *IG.* 12. 2. 532; cf. Καίμμη below) perhaps due to Attic influence. Usually such names show the same inflection as the σ-stem proper names, namely as η-stems following the analogy of ᾱ-stems. Thus gen. Μένη, Φάνη, Τείμη, Καίμμη, Ζώη, are parallel to gen. Θεογένη, Διοφάνη, Ἐχεκράτη, etc. Cf. my *Greek Dialects*, § 108. 2 and Hoffmann 2. 548.

In Cyprian there are three genitive forms which in all probability belong to names of the Μένης type, namely Πίγιρεῖϝο (cf. Πίγρης,

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gen. Πίγρητος in Attic writers, Ion. Πίγρεω), Φίλε̄fo (cf. Boeot. Φίλλει), and Τιμάσε̄ν. Cf. R. Meister, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.* 1909. 8 ff.; 1911. 25, 37. The *f* in the last two forms represents the glide sound before *o*, as in Cypr. Τιμοχάριfος, Corcyr. Τλασίαfo, etc.; and the genitive formation is parallel to that of the masculine *ā*-stems (-ε̄ν to the usual Cyprian -ᾱν, -ε̄[*f*]ο to its antecedent -ᾱο).

Meister finds in these Cyprian forms confirmation of the view that names like Μένης were originally vowel stems. But for those who are convinced that the *τ*-inflection is original (see above, p. 177) there is no difficulty in regarding the vowel inflection here, and in Ionic and Lesbian, as secondary, due to the analogy of the masculine *ā*-stems, just as the vowel inflection of *σ*-stem names in Lesbian and elsewhere (cf. my *Greek Dialects* § 108. 2) must be so regarded.

Besides the confusion with the vowel declension, as seen in Ionic, Lesbian, Cyprian, and occasionally elsewhere, there is some confusion with *σ*-stem names in -ης. The transfer to the *σ*-declension in Boeotian has already been noted. Cf. also Ion. gen. Κράτευς (*SGDI.* 5515. 15), Rhod. Κράτευς (*IG.* 12. 1. 1338), Ther. Κράτους with Attic -ους (*IG.* 12. 3. 659); Ion. gen. Ἀγγέλευς *SGDI.* 5668, Lac. acc. Ἀγγέλη (*IG.* 5. 1. 931), compared with Rhod. Ἀγγέλητος; Rhod. Μάνευς (*SGDI.* 4245, 534), Κότευς (*IG.* 12. 1. 1337), foreign names which also appear with *τ*-inflection; Lesb. Ζώους (*IG.* 12. 2. 35, etc.) with Att. -ους, contrasted with Ζωη, Pamph. Ζώfειτους.

The analogy of names in -κλῆς, gen. -κλέους is very often followed by other names in -ης in the papyri and in inscriptions of Asia Minor, e.g., gen. Ἀπελλέους to Ἀπελλῆς, gen. Ὁπλέους, Μολέους beside Ὅπλητος, Μόλητος, etc. Cf. Mayser 281, Crönert 162 ff., Kretschmer 423.

Conversely, vowel stem and *σ*-stem names sometimes appear in late times with *τ*-forms, e.g. Ἑρμῆτος *pap. Goodspeed* No. 30, *passim;* Ἡρακλῆτι *IG.* 14. 1001; Ἀπελλῆτος *pap. Ox.* No. 53; Εὐτυχῆτος, *pap. Brit. Mus.* 2. p. 254, 29. Cf. Crönert 162 ff., and also below, p. 186.

c) Names of foreigners: How far the representation by forms of the Μένης type is based upon the presence of *t* in the original names is often not to be determined. But this is clearly the case with those taken from Egyptian, where one of the commonest types

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of names is that in *-et*, as *Beket, Khampet, Menkhet, Phanet*, etc. Aside from those occurring in Greek writers, as Μένδης, Τάγης, Μήνης, the papyri are full of such names, which regularly follow the τ-inflection, but also, very frequently, the analogy of Greek names in -κλῆς. Cf. Mayser 274 and 281.

Asia Minor names which in their Greek transcription follow the τ-inflection, either regularly or occasionally, probably owe this simply to the analogy of Greek names like Μένης, and were originally vowel stems. Such are Trojan Δάρης and Μύνης of Lyrnessus in Homer, Lydian Κάμβλης in Attic writers, and Βάμβλης Hdn. 2. 680. 8, which is also perhaps Lydian, Phrygian Γύης Hdn. 1. 59, 22. Carian and Lycian Πίγρης has gen. Πίγρητος in Attic writers, Ion. Πίγρεω, Cypr. Πίγιρε̄ϝο (above pp. 181, 182), while Πιγρέους (*JHS.* 34. 3. No. 5) shows the late type so frequent in Asia Minor (above p. 181). Μάνης, probably Phrygian (Kretschmer 198), has τ-inflection in Pamphylian (above, p. 180) and in Pisidia (Μάνειτος, also Μανέους, Lancoronski 1. Nos. 91, 150). Μόλης (also written Μώλης), very frequent in inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia, has usually Μόλητος, but also Μολέους; cf. Kretschmer 360, and, for Cilicia, Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* No. 220 (Μόλητος, Μόλητι). Ὅπλης, gen. Ὅπλητος and Ὁπλέους, acc. Ὅπλητα, dat. Ὅπλῃ, in inscriptions of Termessus (cf. Lancoronski 2. Index, *BCH.* 23. 183–86, 292–96), in spite of its Greek appearance, whence the usual transcription with ', is probably only the adaptation of a foreign name. Κότης (Κόττης), found in inscriptions of Pisidia (Κοττέους Lancoronski 2. Nos. 32, 92), etc., passed to Rhodes (gen. Κότευς *IG.* 12. 1. 1337) and its colonies, showing gen. Κότητος at Agrigentum (*IG.* 14. 952). Σύκης, gen. Σύκητος in Pisidia (Lancoronski 2. No. 1). Lycian Τρεμίλης = *Trm̃mili* has gen. Τρεμίλου and Τρεμίλητος according to Hdn. 1. 69. 19.

Βάγης, a Scythian (Iranian) name in inscriptions of the Euxine, usually follows the first declension, but gen. Βάγητος also occurs Latyshev 2. 402. 40. The τ-inflection of Ναρσῆς has no foundation in the Persian form (Justi., *Iran. Namenbuch* 221 ff.). Macedonian Βέρης corresponds to Grk. Φέρης. Φέλλης, name of a king of Tyre, is made to follow the Μένης type by Josephus, *contra Apionem* 1. 123. Μόργης is the eponym abstracted from the Oenotrian Μόργητες.

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4. *Ethnica.*—The Rhodian Ἴγνητες (Apoll. Dysc., Hdn., Hesych., Steph. Byz.) were *ἰθαγενεῖς* (Hdn. 1. 401. 21), *οἱ γνήσιοι Ῥόδιοι* (Hdn. 2. 678. 9), and the name is from **ἐν-γνητες* 'indigenae,' a verbal adjective of the *προβλής* type (above, p. 175).[1] The name of the Athenian tribe Ὅπλητες rests upon an appellative **ὁπλῆτες* parallel to *γυμνῆτες*; and that of the Κουρῆτες of Pharon, there is no good reason to doubt, upon *κούρητες*.[2] Κρῆτες[3] and Μάγνητες are of unknown origin, very likely pre-Hellenic. The inhabitants of the Boeotian Φαραί were called Φάρητες (Steph. Byz.). The majority of ethnica of this type are foreign. Thus the Libyan Φρῆτες, Aethiopian Νίγρητες, Pisidian Ὄρβλητες (*φυλῆς* Ὀρβλητος Lancoronski 2. No. 15), Maeotian Τάρπητες, German Νέμητες, Oenotrian Μόργητες, Iberian Κύνητες, Κέρητες, Μίσγητες, Ἔσδητες, Γλῆτες (Τλῆτες is probably an error for the same, cf. Hdn. 1. 402. 5 with footnote) or Ἰγλῆτες (Strabo 166). Τριτωνομένδητες and Καυλομύκητες are inventions of Lucian.

5. *Geographical names.*—The great majority of these are foreign. The one obvious Greek derivative is Plato's name for a river in Hades, Ἀμέλης. There are only a few which designate localities in Greece proper, as Ἄρης, place in Euboea (St. Byz.), Χάρης, river in Argolis (Plut. *Arat.* 28), Μάσης, town in Argolis (Hom.+).[4] Μύης (St.

[1] Cf. Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griech. Wortforschung* 215; Blinkenberg, *Hermes* 50. 274 ff. The name was probably that which the pre-Dorian inhabitants of Rhodes gave to themselves (so Blinkenberg), and thus the parallelism with Arcadian-Cyprian *ἰν-* for *ἐν-* is not accidental. The uncompounded Γνής is less well attested, and probably a fabrication of the grammarians, induced by the relation of Ἐτεόκρητες to Κρῆτες, cf. Blinkenberg.

[2] The recessive accent of Ἴγνητες and Ὅπλητες is normal in the proper names. The differentiation between *κούρητες* and Κουρῆτες, as stated by Herodian (1. 63, 26; 2. 640. 23), is the opposite of what would be expected, and is open to suspicion. Cf. Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 2. 200. Besides its ethnic use, Κουρῆτες designates a class of semi-divine beings, and in this sense appears as Κωρῆτες in Cretan (*SGDI.* 5039, 5041, 5075), a form which confirms the connection with *κοῦροι* (cf. Cret. *κώρα* = Ion. *κούρη*). It also denotes a priestly body at Ephesus (*SGDI.* 5589; cf. *πρωτοκούρης*, *Gr. Insc. Brit. Mus.* 3. 2. p. 319).

[3] With its old compound Ἐτεόκρητες (Hom.+), and the later Νεόκρητες (Polyb.) and *ἡμικρῆτες* (Lycophron 150, but accent?). Ἔγκρης Hdn. 1. 64. 29; 2. 681. 15 = Choerob. 1. 161. 29 is an error for Ἐτεόκρης. Cf. Lobeck. *Paralip.* 81, and Hilgard, Choerob. *loc. cit.* and 1. 186. 36.

[4] Μάσης from Μάνσης now quotable in an Argive inscription, *Mnemosyne* 44 (1916). 221. 4. The name is very likely of pre-Greek origin, as assumed by Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* 71, to whom the earlier Μάνσης was, of course, unknown.

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Byz.) is only another form for the usual Μυοῦς in Ionic, and is probably due to the influence of other Asia Minor names in -ης. Μέλης, a river near Smyrna, of which Μήλης, ποταμὸς Κολοφῶνος (Hdn. 1. 62. 15; 2. 680. 4), is perhaps only a variant, might be Greek, but more probably belongs with other Asia Minor names.

Such are: Ἀκέλης, river and town in Lydia (Hdn. 1. 69. 15), with which Ἀχέλης, river near Smyrna (Schol. *Il.* 24. 216) is doubtless identical; Κάλης, river and town in Bithynia (Κάληξ Thuc. 4. 75; Κάχης Diod. Sic. 12. 72); Πύδης, river and town in Pisidia, gen. Πύδητος and Πύδου (Hdn. 2. 639. 19). From other regions: Βέρης in Thrace, Φάγρης in Paeonia; Ζάμης in Arabia; Μένδης in Egypt; Τύνης, Σέρβης, Ἀδρύμης, and Νίγρης in Africa; Ἑλέης (Strabo 252; cf. acc. *Haletem* or *Heletem* Cic.) and Μέμβλης (Lyc. 1083) in Italy; Καβάρης (Hdn. 2. 684. 1) and Κύρης (Hdn. 1. 63. 25) of unknown location.

The name of the river Tigris the Greeks took from the Persian form (OPers. acc. *Tigrām*).[1] Herodotus has Τίγρης, acc. Τίγρην, while Xenophon, Arrian, Pausanias, etc., have Τίγρης, Τίγρητος, with transfer to the τ-type. Cf. Πίγρης, gen. Ion. Πίγρεω, but Att. Πίγρητος (above, p. 184). The form Τίγρις in Strabo, Plutarch, Ptolemaeus, etc., was favored by the current popular etymology (cf. Curt. 4. 9. 16), connecting the name with the Persian word for arrow (Avest. *tiγriš*).

The names Αἴργης and Βάβρης (Hdn. 2. 680. 14, 22) are doubtless foreign, but there is nothing to show whether they are geographical or personal.

6. *Personal names in -ās, -ātos, etc.*—The latest extension of the τ-inflection is to the proper names in -ᾶς, and likewise to those in -ῆς, -αῦς, -εῦς, -οῦς, -ῶς, which are common in late times and normally show vowel inflection. Such forms as Μεγᾶς, Μεγᾶτος, Δωρᾶς, Δωρᾶτος, occur in great numbers in the Egyptian papyri. Cf. Mayser 253 ff., and, for those in -οῦς, -οῦτος, -ῶς, -ῶτος, etc., 274 ff. They are nowhere else so frequent, but examples occur also in inscriptions of Asia Minor, e.g., Pamph. gen. Μελατᾶτυς (Lancoronski 1. No. 92), from Cilicia Ἀπολλῶς, -ῶτος (Heberdey, *Reisen in Kilikien* p. 76), and from Lycia Ζωσιμᾶς, -ᾶτος, Ζωσιμοῦς, -οῦτος,

[1] For the various Asiatic forms, cf. Hübschmann, *IF.* 16. 421.

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Ἀμαροῦς, -οῦντος, etc.[1] In Ionic inscriptions such names have assumed the δ-inflection, as Βιτᾶς, -ᾶδος, Ἀγαθοῦς, -οῦδος, etc. But the τ-forms represent an independent extension, not a phonetic variation.

WORD-LIST

WORDS IN -ᾱς, -ᾱτος AND IN -ης, -ητος

(Exclusive of those in -της, -τητος)[2]

Masculine substantives, unless otherwise indicated

Λάβης [p. 180.
ἀλάβης, ἀλλάβης Strabo [p. 178.
Κέβης [p. 180.
λέβης Hom.+[p. 177.
ἰπνο- Luc.
Σέβης [p. 179.
Σέρβης [p. 186.
Βάγης [p. 184.
Τάγης [p. 184.
Μέγης [p. 179.
ἀργής, ὁ, ἡ Hom.+[p. 177.
Λίργης [p. 186.
Μόργης [p. 184.
Μόργητες [p. 185.
Μίσγητες [p. 185.
Γύγης [p. 179.
Τρύγης BCH. 33. 171 [p. 180.
Μένδης [pp. 184, 186.
Τριτωνομένδητες [p. 185.
Ἔσθητες [p. 185.
Ποδῆς [p. 181, n. 2.
Πένδης [p. 186.
Ἔλέης [p. 186.
θής Hom.+[p. 176.
Ἀγάθεις inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. No. 83 [p. 180.
ἐσθής, ἡ Hom.+[p. 178.
Ναίης
γλοίης Hdn., Hesych., Et. M. [p. 178.
Ἀράκης [p. 180.
(Fέκης), gen. Fέκατος inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. No. 89 [p. 180.
μύκης (Archil.+), μύκητος Ar.+[p. 178.
Καυλομύκητες [p. 185.
Σύκης inscr. Pisid., Lancoronski 2. No. 1 [p. 184.
(Μεγάλης), gen. Μεγάλειτος, also nom. Μλειάλᾱ, dat. Μλειάλᾱτι inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. Nos. 54, 75 [p. 180.
Θάλης [p. 181.
Κάλης [p. 186.
Ἐπιάλης = foll.
Ἡπιάλης Sophron 70 Kaibel [p. 179.
φάλης Ar., Theocr. [p. 178.
Κεφάλης [p. 179, n. 3.

[1] Cf. *CIG.* 3. p. 1120; *BCH.* 16. 213 ff.; Schulze, *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1893. 226; Kretschmer *KZ.* 33, 469; Thumb. *Griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* 232.

[2] Also exclusive of the late type of proper names in -ᾶς, -ᾶτος (cf. above, p. 186); and of those in -ῆς, -ῆτος which represent Egyptian names in the papyri (Mayser 274); further, of some names which show an occasional τ-form in late inscriptions or papyri, as Ἑρμῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, etc. (cf. above, p. 183).

Proper names in -ης which are to be found in Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* are usually cited without reference.

The ethnica are given in the plural form, for convenience in distinguishing them, even when the singular is in use, e.g., Κρῆτες, not Κρής.

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βλής, ὁ, ἡ Hdn. [p. 175.
-βλής, ὁ, ἡ, and ὁ [pp. 174, 175.
ἀ- Hom.+
παρα- Manetho
κατα-, ὁ Hesych.
ἐπι-, ὁ Hom.+
συμ- Orph. Arg.
λιθο- Tzetz.
Διο- Schol. Pind.
κεραυνο- Theophr.
ἀσπιδαπο- Ar.
προ- Hom. +
ἀστρο- Aristot.
νιφο- Anth. P.
πολυ- Apoll. Lex. Hom.
Βάμβλης [p. 184.
Κάμβλης [p. 184.
Μέμβλης [p. 186.
Ὀρβλητες inscr. Pisid. Lancoronski 2. No. 15 [p. 185.
Γλῆτες, Ἰγλῆτες [p. 185.
Ἄγγέλης IG. 12. 1. 764 [pp. 180, 183.
κέλης Hom.+[p. 177.
μονο- epigr. ap. Paus. (μουνο-), Tzetz.
ἐπακτρο- Aeschin., Aristot.
Κέλης [p. 179.
Ἀκέλης [p. 186.
Μέλης [pp. 179, 180, 186.
Ἀμέλης [p. 185.
Τέλης [pp. 179, 180, 181.
Ἀχέλης [p. 186.
δηλής Hdn. [p. 178.
Μήλης [p. 186.
μάσθλης, μάσλης Sappho+[p. 178.
τροπο- Luc.
Τρεμίλης [p. 184.
ψιλής Aesch. [p. 177.
συγκλής, ἡ IG. 9. 2. 517. 10 [pp. 175, 176.
Φέλλης [p. 184.
Πόλλης [p. 180.
Μόλης (Μώλης) [p. 184.
Ὅπλης [pp. 179, 184.
Ὅπλητες [pp. 177, 185.
δασπλής Simon.+[p. 176.
Μῦλης [p. 179.
ἄμης Ar.+[p. 178.
Ζάμης [p. 186.
Κάμης [p. 182.
-δμής, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.
α- Hom.+
νεο- h. Hom.+
Νέμητες [p. 185.
Χρέμης [p. 180.
-κμής, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 174, 175.
ἀ- Hom.+
δουρι- Aesch.
νεο- Nic.
μεγαλο- Schol. Aesch.
ἀνδρο- Aesch.+
σιδηρο- Soph.
αὐτο- Opp.
Κόμης [p. 181.
Τρόμης [p. 180.
δάρμητες Hesych. [p. 178.
-τμής, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.
ἡμι- Manetho, Paul. Sil.
φλεβο- Hdn.
ἰθυ- Nonn.
Ἀδρύμης [p. 186.
κάνης Crates, Plut. [p. 178.
πλάνης Soph.+[p. 177.
ψευδο- Eust.
Μάνης [pp. 180, 184.
Πάνης IG. 5. 2. 387 [p. 180.
Φάνης [pp. 179, 180, 181.
Γνῆτες [p. 185, n. 1.
Μάγνης [p. 179.
Μάγνητες [p. 185.
Ἴγνητες [p. 185.
ἑτερόγνης Hdn. [pp. 175, 176.
Μένης [pp. 179, 180.
ἀμένης Hdn. [p. 178.
Θειομένης [p. 179, n. 3.
πένης, ὁ and ὁ, ἡ Soph.+[p. 177.
συμ- Greg. Naz.
περιεργο- Hesych.
νεο- A.B. 52.
φιλο- Jo. Chrys.

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-θνής, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 174, 175.
ἡμι- Ar., Thuc.+
νεο- Plato
χειμο- Luc.
λιμο- Aesch.
ἀνδρο- Aesch.
γυμνής Tyrtaeus.+[p. 177.
Φρόνης JHS. 33. 313 [p. 180.
λιπερνής, ὁ, ἡ Archil.+[p. 178.
χερνής, ὁ, ἡ Eur.+[p. 176.
Κύνης [p. 180.
Κύνητες [p. 185.
Μύνης [p. 184.
Τύνης [p. 186.
γόης Hdt.+[p. 177.
ἀρχι- Greg. Naz.
μισο- Luc. (nom. only)
δορυσσόης, ὁ, ἡ Soph. [p. 178.
τάπης Hom.+[p. 178.
ἀμφι- Alexis+
τυλο- Euseb. in Ps. (Th.)
Τάρπητες [p. 185.
ἑρπής Hipp.+[pp. 177, 179.
Ἄρης [p. 185.
Καβάρης [p. 186.
Δάρης [p. 184.
Φάρητες [p. 185.
Ἀφάρης Bacch. 5. 129 [p. 179.
Χάρης [pp. 180, 181, 185.
Βάβρης [p. 186.
Φάγρης [p. 186.
Νίγρης [p. 186.
Νίγρητες [p. 185.
Πίγρης [pp. 181, 184.
Τίγρης [p. 186.
Βέρης [pp. 184, 186.
Γέρης [p. 180.
ὑψικέρης Hdn. [p. 178.
Κέρητες [p. 185.
Ὑπέρης [p. 179.
Φέρης [pp. 179, 180.
Χέρης [p. 180.
εὐκραίρης, ὁ, ἡ Maxim. [p. 178.
-κρᾶς, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 174, 176.
ἁλι- Hdn.
μελι- Theod., Choerob.
νεο- Aesch.+
χαλκο- Hdn.
ἰσο- Hdn.
μελισσο- Hesych.
γαλακτο- Hdn.
αὐτό- Poll.
εὖ- Eur.+
Κρήτες [p. 185.
Ἐτεό- [p. 185, n. 3.
ἡμι- Lyc. [p. 185, n. 3.
Νεό- [p. 185, n. 3.
Σμίκρης [p. 180.
Κόρης [p. 180.
βέρρης Hesych. [p. 177.
-τρής, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.
ἡμι- Hdn.
ἀμφι- Soph.+
Κύρης [p. 186.
δούρης Hdn. [p. 177.
κούρητες Hom.+[p. 177.
Κούρης
Κουρῆτες [p. 185.
πρωτοκούρης Gr. inscr. Brit. Mus. 3. 2. p. 219 [p. 185, n. 2.
μούρης Hdn. [p. 178, n. 1.
Πύρης [p. 181.
Φρῆτες [p. 185.
Κωρῆτες = Κουρῆτες
σής (Pind.+), σητός Men.+[p. 178.
Μάσης, Μάνσης [p. 185.
Πάσης [p. 180.
Ναρσῆς [p. 184.
Κράτης [pp. 179, 180, 181.
Κότης [p. 184.
ἀπτής = ἀπτώς Inscr. v. Ol. 164 [p. 175.
Γύης [p. 184.
Μύης [p. 185.
Κάχης [p. 186.
Λάχης [pp. 179, 180.
πάχης, ὁ, ἡ Hesych.+[p. 178.
Πάχης [p. 179.
ἔχης Et. M. [p. 177.
Τύχης IG. 14. 2011 [p. 180.
Ζώρης, gen. Ζώρειτους inscr. Pamph., Lancoronski 1. No. 84 [pp. 180, 183.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

A SUPPOSEDLY RHODIAN INSCRIPTION RE-EXAMINED

In the *American Journal of Philology* for 1908, pp. 461 ff., Mr. T. Leslie Shear published, under the title "A New Rhodian Inscription," a vase of pottery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The dealer from whom this vase was bought testified that it was found on the island of Rhodes, and his statement receives some confirmation from the resemblance of this piece to other pieces known to have that origin. In 1886 Fürtwängler, in publishing a number of specimens in Berlin (*Jahrb d. arch. Inst.*, I, 152), assigned them on the evidence of associated objects to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. In default of more exact evidence this has to serve as indicating the approximate date of the vase in the Metropolitan Museum.

This vase is simply decorated with painted horizontal bands and has in addition two painted inscriptions. On the one side are the names of four divinities: Δεύς, Ἑρμᾶς, Ἄρταμις, Ἀθαναία. On the other side is the inscription to be discussed in this note, viz.,

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΓΑΣΗΒΡΑΣΙΑ
ΗΩΣΕΜΙΝΔΟΚΕΙ.

This, regarded by Mr. Shear as an irregular iambic trimeter, in spite of the spondee as the second foot and the hiatus before ὡς, is read by him, καλλίστα γᾶς ἁ Βρασία ὡς ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, and translated, "the Brasian region is the fairest in the land in my opinion." (The Brasii are known from several Rhodian inscriptions as a deme of Lindus. Their village must have been called Brasos, or something of the sort.)

The alphabet of the foregoing inscriptions is Ionic, except that the sign H is used for the rough breathing. This exception is surprising, if the vase is Rhodian, for in other Rhodian inscriptions of the fifth century—not numerous, to be sure—H has the value of η and the rough breathing is not indicated. So, e.g., in the incised verse on a late black-figured vase found at Camirus and now in the British Museum (*IG*, XII, 719): Φιλτός ἠμι τᾶς καλᾶς ἁ κύλιξ ἁ ποικίλα. The circumstance throws some doubt on the Rhodian origin of the vase. May it not be Boeotian? The use of the form Λ instead of Ι would in an epoch of transition from the local Boeotian alphabet to the Ionic create no serious difficulty (cf. *IG*, VII, 2899).

But whether the vase be Rhodian or not, I cannot accept Mr. Shear's interpretation of the inscription. The supposed sentiment, surprising in

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itself, belongs to an order of ideas otherwise unrepresented among vase inscriptions. Apart from that, I submit that, given the words καλλίστα γῆς ἡ Βρασία, the natural translation, the almost inevitable translation, would be "The Brasian woman is the fairest on earth." This, besides being the obvious meaning of the words, would bring the inscription into line with innumerable inscriptions on Attic pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries—inscriptions of the type ὁ παῖς καλός, ἡ παῖς καλή, ὁ δεῖνα καλός, ἡ δεῖνα καλή. Klein's *Griechische Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* supplies still closer parallels. Thus we find two youths, Andrias and Hippocritus, acclaimed each as κάλλιστος. And there are several instances of δοκεῖ in this class of inscriptions, e.g., *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. III, E 718: Ἀφροδισία καλή, τὼς δοκεῖ Εὐχ(ε)ίρᾳ. Other instances may be found on pp. 39, 61, 98 of Klein's *Lieblingsinschriften* and on p. 50 of his *Meistersignaturen*.

In short, I am convinced that the vase painter meant to celebrate a woman, not a small piece of country. But that he would refer to her as the "the Brasian woman" rather than by her individual name does not seem very likely. If it be suggested that her name was Brasia, the objection is that the article is never used with a proper name in this class of inscriptions. I propose, therefore, to see in HABPAΣIA a single word, Habrasia. This, though unexampled, seems to be possible as a woman's name, compounded of ἁβρ— and Ἀσία. A place-name does sometimes occur as the second element of a personal name, and Ἀβρασία looks as intelligible as Ἀριστόκυπρος.

Mr. Shear translates γῆς by "land," whereas I prefer to take it as "earth," but his understanding of the construction is the same as mine. Parallels are quoted by Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre*, I, 47, 29, A 7; viz., Plato, *Protag.* 342 A: σοφισταὶ πλεῖστοι γῆς ἐκεῖ εἰσιν, and Xenophon, *Symp.* VIII, 40: σῶμα ἀξιοπρεπέστατον ἴδοις τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν.

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ON THE DATE AND ORDER OF DELIVERY OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S TRACTATES ON THE GOSPEL AND EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN

M. Péronne (*Œuvres complètes de Saint Augustin* [Paris, 1869], IX, 212 ff.; X, 452), dates these discourses in the year 416 or 417 A.D. It is certain from the content of the various sermons that they were delivered in the midst of the struggle between the Catholics and the Donatists. They might therefore be placed as far back perhaps as the year 411, just preceding the famous conference at Carthage between Catholic and Donatist bishops. In Tractates XLV, XLVIII, LXXXIII, CV, CXI, not only the doctrine of predestination, but also the errors of the Pelagians are discussed. Now the Pelagian heresy began to make its way into Africa about 411 A.D., and for that reason these sermons cannot be placed before that date.

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The following statement from Tractate CXX would make it clear that a date later than 415 is to be assumed: "Hic ergo intelligendum est ad Iesum, non tunc solum, sed tunc primum venisse Nicodemum; venititasse autem postea ut fieret audiendo discipulus; quod certe modo in revelatione corporis beatissimi Stephani fere omnibus gentibus declaratur." The discovery of the bodies of Nicodemus and St. Stephen was made at the close of 415 A.D. Besides, at the end of Augustine's work *De trinitate* (XV, 27 [48]), Augustine quotes from one of the last sermons on the Gospel of St. John (XCIX, 8, 9). The *De trinitate* was finished in or after 416. The date 416–17 for this series of sermons, therefore, is the earliest probable date.

M. Pérrone says also that these discourses were delivered "tous les jours sans distinction." This statement, however, cannot be accurate, if it is intended to indicate immediately successive days. Thus Sermons I and II were preached on Sunday (note II, 1) and Monday (II, 1, 2), respectively; and Sermons VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII in close succession on Sunday (VII, 24), Monday (VIII, 1, 13), Tuesday (VIII, 9, 13), Wednesday (X, 11, 12), Sunday (XIII, 1), and Monday (XII, 1), respectively. Thus under the closest possible successive arrangement, allowing a separate day for each sermon, one day remains unoccupied between Sermons II and VII, and three days between Sermons X and XI. Sermons XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII took place on successive days, on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, as we learn from the following passages: XXVIII, 1; XXXVII, 1, 6; XXXVI, 3; XXXV, 1. Sermons XLV and XLVI also were delivered on a Saturday and the following Sunday respectively (XLVII, 1; XLVI, 1).

The particular days of the week cannot be ascertained for any other sermons than those above mentioned, but certain homilies can be linked together as occurring on immediately successive days. Such are the sermon groups XV (note sec. 1) and XVI; XVII and XVIII (sec. 1); XIX (sec. 1, 20), XX (sec. 13), XXI (sec. 1), XXII (sec. 1, 11), and XXIII (sec. 3, 6, 15); XXIV and XXV (sec. 1); XXVIII and XXIX (sec. 1); XXXVIII (sec. 8); and XXXIX; XLIX and L (sec. 1); and LI and LII (sec. 1, 12).

All homilies which have been mentioned so far precede LIII. Beginning with LIV, the sermons become more compact in thought, and sharply reduced in length to about one-third of the average previous sermon. Furthermore, the day of the week of no single sermon from LIV to the end can be learned, and no two sermons can be joined with certainty as occurring on immediately successive days. Definite phrases in the first group of sermons (I–LIII) which refer specifically to the preceding or immediately following sermon, such as *praeterito die dominico*, *hesterno die*, *hesternam sermonem*, *in crastinum*, *crastino die*, etc. (*loc. cit.*) give way in the second group (LIV–CXXIV) on the one hand to such indefinite words as *pristino sermone* (LXXI, 1; LXXII, 1; LXXIII, 2; XCVIII, 8), and *praeterito sermone* (LXI, 1; XCVII, 2), where reference is always made to the immediately preceding verses of the Gospel, and on the other hand to *sermone alio* (XCVII, 5; CV, 8; CVI, 7; CVIII, 5;

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CXII, 6; CXVI, 9; CXX, 9), *alia disputatione* (CIX, 5; CXV, 5), *ab alio exordio* (CXIII), and *alias* (CXVIII, 5), where reference is always made to the sermon directly following. This sudden and continued departure in the method of referring to immediately preceding and following sermons seems to indicate greater lapse of time between the several sermons of the second group than between those of the first group.

In XLVII, 9, Augustine says: "Fratres, quaeramus hoc paulo attentius. Non nos at artat horaque solet die dominico." From this statement it seems reasonable to believe that the brevity of the sermons of the second group is due to their being given regularly on Sundays and special feast-days, under the definite limitations of the holyday service. However, Augustine may also have come to realize that he was at times tiresome to his audience, and may have consented to shorten his sermons for that reason.

The ten tractates on the Epistle of St. John were delivered during a break in the service on the Gospel of St. John, as we learn from the beginning of the first of these ten sermons. Some manuscripts cut off the beginning of this first sermon as a *prologus* to the entire series. This, however, does not seem justifiable since Augustine in I, 5, refers back to the so-called *prologus* as to the beginning of his sermon: "Mementote in principio sermonis nostri, quia Epistola ista caritatem commendat." From internal evidence the following sermons on the Epistle occurred on successive days: I and II (note sec. 3); III, IV (sec. 1, 2), V (sec. 1), and VII; and IX and X (sec. 1). According to the authors of certain ancient manuscripts, II and III were given on the second and third day, respectively, of Easter Week. If so, the groups of I and II, and III–VII may be joined as a series of daily sermons.

M. Péronne (*loc. cit.*) places the delivery of these tractates directly after Tractate XI of the series on the Gospel of St. John. He does this for the most part on the basis of the opening words of Sermon XV, which show clearly a special effort to brush up the memory of his hearers on matters dropped a considerable time before. These sermons on the Epistle, in length and general character, do appear to belong to the first group of the sermons on the Gospel (I–LIII). At any rate, the discourses on the Epistle form a cognate part or episode in the series on the Gospel.

Thus Sermons I–LIII on the Gospel were given nearly every day, and are characterized by their greater length (cf. VI, a sermon of 5,500 words which probably took an hour for delivery). Ten sermons on the Epistle of St. John seem to have been given as an interruption of this group, perhaps at Sermon XI. No two sermons of the second group (LIV–CXXIV) appear to have been delivered on immediately successive days. Moreover, they are characterized by marked brevity and compactness of thought, and may have been given on holydays and Sundays only.

At the very beginning of VI, Augustine refers to the weather as being extremely cold. This statement, together with certain remarks during the course of the sermons, places the commencement of the delivery of these

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tractates at the end of 416 A.D. The great number of the sermons (134 in all), as well as the likelihood that a good portion of them were not delivered on successive days, leads us to believe that they were extended over the major part of 417 and possibly into 418 A.D.

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VARIA TOPOGRAPHICA

The Basilica Opimia.—In 121 B.C. L. Opimius erected a basilica near the temple of Concord, which stood until it was removed by Tiberius in 10 A.D. Cicero in his oration for Sestius (140) contrasts the reputation of those Romans who have roused their fellow-citizens to revolt and sedition with that of those who have used their influence to check such uprisings, and writes: "ac ne quis ex nostro aut aliquorum praeterea casu hanc vitae viam pertimescat, unus in hac civitate, quem quidem ego possum dicere, praeclare vir de re publica meritus, L. Opimius, indignissime concidit; cuius monumentum celeberrimum in foro sepulchrum desertissimum in litore Dyrrachio relictum est." The meaning of *celeberrimum*, "much frequented," is perfectly clear, but not only have translators often fallen into error (cf. Bohn, "superb monument"), but Hülsen misses the point and makes this passage his authority for the following statement (*Forum*², 13): "Opimius erbaute . . . . eine Basilica die . . . . als stattliches Monument gerühmt wird: was, da der Bauplatz nur klein gewesen sein kann, wohl auf prachtvolle Ausstattung schliessen lässt." We may wonder that Hülsen was caught napping, and still more that both his French and his English translators perpetuate the error. Carcopino even quotes the Latin words. In this way is the old basilica made over into a stately edifice!

Elephas herbarius.—The last monument mentioned in the *Regionary Catalogue* in region VIII is Elephas herbarius, which from its place in the list probably stood near the foot of the Capitoline, in the modern piazza Montanara. There is no other reference to the monument in antiquity, but the name was preserved during the Middle Ages as a local designation in the title of the Church of S. Abbaciro ad Alafantum. It was undoubtedly a bronze statue of an elephant, comparable with the *elephantes aenei* on the Sacra Via, which are mentioned by Cassidorus (*Varia* 30), but the epithet *herbarius* has proved a stumbling-block for topographers. Becker (601) hazards no conjecture, but simply says: "der so wenig mit dem Forum Olitorium gemein hat als *herbae* und *olera* gleichbedeutend sind." Preller (154) remarks: "Der Beiname *herbarius* mag auf einem besondern Umstande beruhen; sonst hiessen *animalia herbatica* oder *herbaria* grassfressende Thiere." Jordan (I, 2, 476) calls it *Krautelephant*, and comments thus: "Der Beiname *herbarius* sollte allerdings wie bei Hercules olivarius und Apollo sandaliarius auf der Nähe eines Geschäfts von *herbarii* weisen.

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Allein ein solches Gewerbe ist nicht nachweisbar, sicher nur dass es nichts mit *holera* des Forum holitorium gemein haben könnte. Die Sache bleibt dunkel." Jordan did not notice that the analogy between Apollo sandaliarius, Hercules olivarius, and this is only superficial after all, for in the case of deities entirely other considerations may enter into the explanation of epithets.

Hülsen says (*RE*, V, 2525): "Den Beinamen *herbarius* darf man natürlich weder mit der *holera* des Forum holitorium noch mit einem Gewerbe von *herbarii* in Verbindung bringen; es heisst wohl einfach der zahme." This looks as if Hülsen thought that wild elephants were carnivorous! Armellini (564) derives the name from a neighboring market of *herbae*, of which we know nothing, and Richter (191) says that it gave its name to a *vicus* in which the dealers in *herbae* carried on their trade. Gilbert (III, 418) thinks that it was connected with the Forum holitorium, which is altogether improbable.

So there is much obscurity developed about a perfectly simple thing, of which, to be sure, Becker, as so often, had given a hint—a statue of an elephant eating grass, a most natural and suggestive pose. For this use of *herbarius* in imperial times we may compare two inscriptions: (*CIL*, VI, 10209) Aurel. Sabinus Aug. lib. praepositus herbariarum, that is, the superintendent of the *animalia herbaria* that were used in the Colosseum; (*NS*, 1899, 149) M. Rebilus Macedo . . . . feris n. IIII ursis XVI noxeis III et ceteris herbariis, of a show given at Beneventum.

Thermae Hiemales.—A passage in the *Vita Aureliani* (45) reads: thermas in transtiberina regione facere paravit hiemales, quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset; that is, Aurelian proposed to build some baths, *thermae hiemales*, in Trastevere because there was no sufficient supply of *aqua frigidior*, evidently water that was colder than that required for *thermae hiemales*.

Hülsen translates *Kaltbad*, and thus falls into a double error, first of neglecting to observe that the reason given has no sense if this is the kind of bath intended, and second of supposing that *hiemales thermae* can mean cold baths. There is no parallel for any such use of *hiemales*. The use of the word in Pliny (xviii. 69): "totis hoc Alpibus notum et hiemalibus provinciis nullum hoc frumento laetius [triticum]," is no real exception, for here it is precisely equivalent to our own "wintry." Furthermore, there is no case of any such expression as *thermae frigidae*, although we cannot say that *thermae* had so far retained its original signification as to make such a usage impossible.

Of *aestivus*, *aestivalis*, with *thermae* we have these cases from the later period: *CIL*, X, 5348, an inscription from Interamna: "opera thermarum estivalium restituit"; *Vit. Gordiani*, 32, 7: "cogitaverat praeterea cum Misitheo ut post basilicam thermas aestivas sui nominis faceret, ita ut hiemales in principio porticuum poneret, intus essent vel viridaria vel porticus." In these two cases *hiemalis* and *aestivalis* are clearly opposite in meaning, namely, for use in winter and for use in summer. In the trans-Tiberine

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district there was not sufficient water available of a temperature cool enough for summer use. Two aqueducts supplied this region, the Alsietina built by Augustus to feed his *naumachia*, and the Traiana, built by Trajan to supply drinking-water. The first brought water from Lake Martignano, the second from springs. Severus had already constructed baths in this region, and it is quite clear that no further demands could be made on the cold spring water of the Traiana.

The Porta Romana or Romanula.—According to Varro there were three gates in the wall of the original Palatine city, and that on the northwest corner of the hill was called Romanula—*ab Roma dictam* (*LL.*, V, 164). Festus (262) says: "Appellata autem Romana a Sabinis praecipue quod ea proximus aditus erat Romam." There is little doubt that Romana is the proper form, and the explanation of the name is the problem which confronts us. So far as we know, the gates of Latin cities were frequently named after the towns on the roads that ran out of them, or after the roads themselves. Compare the familiar examples, p. Praenestina, Collatina, Ardeatina, Ostiensis, etc., in Rome, and the p. Esquilina in Tibur. Other gates in Rome were named after local designations of sections of the city, as Collina, Pinciana; still others, of course, bore names of different significance, but, so far as I know, we have no other case like Porta Romana, where the name of the town itself is given to a gate.

Against any hesitation on this ground, however, is Varro's direct testimony—*ab Roma dictam*—and if he saw nothing unusual, or at least impossible, in such usage, why should we? But we cannot, unfortunately, follow this simple rule in dealing with Varro, and Festus seems to hint that such an explanation was not satisfactory to all Romans. He, at least, draws a little nearer to the apparent practice when he says that the name was given by the Sabines to the gate through which they found their nearest approach. We do not know the source from which Festus draws here, but the explanation seems to be an infelicitous attempt to avoid the Varronian view. Certainly it does not appear probable that this was the true origin of the name.

In the good old days when we could connect Roma with *ruma*, *rumon*, "a stream," it was easy to explain the name of the gate, for it would be altogether natural to call that nearest the river the river-gate. But now that Schulze has made his theory so fashionable that everybody says without hesitation that Rome got its name from an Etruscan clan, the case is different. Kretschmer a few years ago (*Glotta*, I, 295, n. 2) wrote as follows: "Da Tore nach den Oertlichkeiten zu heissen pflegen, in deren Nähe sie liegen oder führen, so dürfte die Porta Romana das Tor gewesen sein das nach Rom führte. Dann kann natürlich die alte Stadt auf dem Palatin, die sogenannte Roma quadrata, ursprünglich nicht den Namen Rom getragen haben, sie wird vielmehr Palatium geheissen haben, und der Name Roma muss dann ursprünglich an der Oertlichkeit westlich vom Palatin (später Velabrum, eventuell

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auch Forum und Capitol) gehaftet haben und ist, als diese Ansiedlung mit der Palatinstadt verwuchs, auf das Ganze übertragen worden."

Now the idea of a settlement in the swampy Velabrum or Forum in early times is quite preposterous, and I do not mean to assert that Kretschmer insists on a settlement in *Oertlichkeit*, but if there had been a village on the Capitoline which was called Roma, some trace of the transfer of the name to the Palatine would surely be found in tradition. Such a transfer would have resulted, normally, from causes that would have found some reflection in later times. Some support for this view might possibly be found in Festus' statement, were it not for the difficulty of explaining how a Sabine settlement came to have an Etruscan name—although, to be sure, one might ask whether there was any greater difficulty here than in giving an Etruscan name to a Latin settlement—and for the fact that it implies a complete reversal of the traditional place occupied by the Capitoline in Roman tradition, a reversal that demands more effective support than this hypothesis affords. If Schulze's view is true, why can we not explain the Porta Romana most easily by supposing that this powerful Etruscan clan, or family, dwelt at this northwest corner of the hill—where tradition puts the first settlement—and that the gate, as well as the whole inclosure, got its name from this fact? I cannot cite any exact parallel, but it seems a more plausible explanation than to derive the name of the gate directly from that of the city.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

TACITUS *AGRICOLA* 44.1

Agricola 44.1 states: "excessit [Agricola] . . . . Collega Priscoque consulibus." All the manuscripts[1] give the name of the consul in the form "Prisco," and the editors of the *Agricola* have unanimously followed them. A few[2] have called attention to the fact that there was some inscriptional evidence[3] for "Priscinus" as the name of the consul. One editor, K. Tücking, goes so far as to say, "Statt Prisco ist wohl zu lesen Priscino"; he does not, however, introduce "Priscino" into his text.[4] Recently Liebenam, in his

[1] C. Annibaldi, *L'Agricola e La Germania di Cornelio Tacito* (Citta di Castello, 1907), p. 105, shows that the reading of E is "Prisco," and does not point out any other reading in his comparisons with the other manuscripts. See, too, the edition by Katherine Allen and G. L. Hendrickson (Boston, 1913), p. 117.

[2] H. Furneaux (Oxford, 1898), p. 161, note 5; A. Gudeman, edition of *Agricola* and *Germania* (Boston, 1900), p. 145; A. Draeger's edition revised by W. Heraeus (published by Teubner, 1905), note on the passage 44. 1.

[3] J. Klein, *Fasti Consulares* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 50, gave Priscinus as the correct name. He was followed by J. Asbach, "*Fasti Consulares*" in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, LXXIX (1885), 125, and D. Vaglieri, in *De Ruggiero*, II², 1060. The evidence for the name Priscinus was found on two brief non-official inscriptions in *Annali dell' Inst.*, XLII (1870), 185, Nos. 196 and 197.

[4] K. Tücking, edition of *Agricola* (Paderborn, 1890), p. 71.

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Fasti,[1] and B. Stech[2] have preferred "Priscus" as the proper form, although they admit the possibility of "Priscinus."

The problem can now be definitely solved by the evidence from an inscription first published in 1910. This inscription, which is an official record of certain grants to soldiers, gives, as the names of the consuls of 93, "Sex. Pompeio Collega. Q. Peducaeo Priscino."[3] It is certain, therefore, that the second consul's name was not "Priscus" but "Priscinus."

There is then evidently an error in the reading of the *Agricola*, "Collega Priscoque"; and that error is an early one, for even E, the oldest manuscript and the source of all the rest, has this reading.[4] It is an error easy to understand, since the dropping out of "in" leaves still a Roman cognomen, and one much more common than "Priscinus." Possibly the error is due to abbreviation; "Priscino" might have been written "Prisc."[5]

It might be claimed that, since the manuscripts are at one in the reading "Prisco," the mistake is not that of a copyist, but of the author, Tacitus. Under the circumstances, however, this seems unlikely. Priscinus, as consul ordinarius in 93, must have been a man of some note, with whom Tacitus may well have been acquainted. Tacitus himself was a man in high station at the time; he had been praetor not long before, and was soon to be consul. Moreover, the *Agricola* was written only five years after the consulship of Priscinus.

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A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PARODY OF CATULLUS 4

There has recently come into my possession a duodecimo vellum-bound volume from the library of the Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, bishop of New Jersey from 1832 to 1859. The title-page pictures two cavaliers paying homage to a pedestaled ass, and bears the title: *Laus Asini tertia parte auctior: cum aliis festivis opusculis. . . . . Lugd. Batavorum, Ex Officina Elzeviriana. Anno MDCXXIX.* No author's name is given, but the catalogue of the British Museum (which lists four copies of this edition) assigns the book to Daniel Heinsius, beloved pupil of Scaliger, friend of

[1] *Fasti Consulares* (Bonn, 1909), p. 17.

[2] *Senatores Romani* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 63, No. 789. Rohden, *Prosopographia*, III, 96, Nos. 707 and 709, is quite uncertain.

[3] *AE* (1910), 75, *Bulletin de la Société Archéol. d'Alexandrie* (1910), pp. 39 ff. See also Mitteis-Wilcken, *Papyrusurkunde*, I. Hist. Theil, II. Hälfte, Chrestomathie, pp. 546 ff., col. III, l. 7, and L. Cantarelli in *Bull. Commiss. Archéol. Comun.*, XXXVIII (1910), 340 ff.

[4] See C. Annibaldi, *loc. cit.*

[5] A good example is found in the case of this very man. *CIL*, XI, 6689, 20, gives: "Ampl. Coll. et Prisc. cos."

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Johannes Dousa and Paulus Merula, and for half a century professor and librarian in the University of Leyden. It is attributed to Heinsius by the writers of the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*[1] and the *Biographie Universelle*,[2] as well as by Foppens[3]—all evidently following the *Athenae Batavae*[4] of Johannes Meursius, which includes the *Laus Asini* among the works of Heinsius.

The little book introduces the reader at once to the learned circle of the University of Leyden in the early seventeenth century. It is dedicated to Ewald Schrevel, professor of medicine, and to his colleague Adolph Vorst, son of the eminent physician Aelius-Everhard Vorst, and successor of his father as professor of botany and director of the Botanical Garden. Besides the satire which gives the book its name, and several shorter essays, the volume contains *epistolae*, one addressed *viro clarissimo Hugoni Grotio*, another *Dominico Baudio*, and seven pages of *iambi* to Baudius on the death of his wife.

But to the classical student, the most interesting part of the book is the poem of twenty-six lines in iambic verse, inserted between the preface and the table of contents, with the title: *Parodia Phaseli Catulliani, in Asini expressam hic effigem:*

Asellus ille, quem videtis, hospites,
ait fuisse quadrupes pigerrimus,
nec ullius stupentis ocium pecu
nequisse praeterire, sive Inertiae
opus foret litare, sive Murciae.
et hoc negat feroculae Bataviae
negare littus, insulasve proximas,
Sicambriam, trucemque Baetici sinum.
ubi iste, nunc screator, antea fuit
iners asellus. heic Salaciae in solo
rudente saepe sibilum edidit sono.
Bataviae ora, nobilisque Catta gens,
tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
asellus inquit. ultima ex origine
tuis natasse dicit in paludibus:
tuo imbuisse et ungulas in aequore.
et inde per tot alta littorum iuga
herum tulisse; laeva sive dextera
foret cruenta: sive agaso verbere
utrunque durus incidisset in latus.
nec ulla vota vapularibus diis

[1] *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XXIII, 791–93.

[2] Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, XIX, 64–66.

[3] *Bibliotheca Belgica*, I, 226–28 (Brussels, 1739).

[4] *Athenae Batavae, sive de Leidensis urbis antiquitatibus et viris claris, qui ingenio eam, aut scriptis, illustrarunt*, 1625.

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sibi esse facta, cum veniret a mare
novissimo, hanc ad usque musicam domum.
sed haec prius fuere: nunc ineptiis
vacat iocisque. seque dedicat tibi,
gemelle asellule, et gemelle aselluli.[1]

The verses are reminiscent both of Catullus 4 and of the imitation which has come down to us among the minor poems of Vergil (*Catalepton* 10). The construction *quadrupes pigerrimus* (2) recalls *mulio celerrimus* of the *Catalepton*, rather than *navium celerrimus* of the original; but in other places Heinsius follows Catullus more closely than does the Vergilian parody (11 *rudente . . . . sono;* 16 *tuo . . . . aequore;* 18 *herum tulisse;* 18–20 *laeva . . . . latus;* 22 *cum veniret a mare*). In making the transpositions *asellus inquit* (14, for *ait phasellus*) he is of course governed by metrical necessity.

The ablative *mare* (22) and the form *ocium* (3), neuter singular, as if from a positive *ocius*,[2] betray the Latin of a period when morphology was not yet firmly established. The vocabulary, however, is distinctly classical and shows intimate acquaintance with Latin writers of every age. *Feroculus* (6) is described by Harper's *Lexicon* as "very rare" and quoted only from Turp. *Frag. Com.* 107 R[3] and *Auctor Bell. Afr.* 16. 1. *Screator* (9), "a hawker" is given in the *Lexicon* as occurring only in Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 647, although *screo* is found in Plaut. *Curc.* 115, *screatus* in Ter. *Heaut.* 373, and the deponent *conscreor* in Plaut. *Pers.* 308. The adjective *vapularis* (21) is likewise a comic ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, quoted from Plaut. *Pers.* 22. *Rudo* (11), a common verb for all animal noises (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 16 lions; *Georg.* 3. 374 stags), frequently describes the braying of an ass (Ov. *Ars Amat.* 3. 290; *Fast.* 1. 433; 6. 342; Pers. 3. 9). *Agaso* (19), familiar from Plautus (*Merc.* 852) and Horace (*Sat.* ii. 8. 72) denotes the driver of an ass in Apul. *Met.* 7. 18; 7. 25. *Salacia* (10), if it is used literally in the sense of Neptune's bride, may be borrowed from Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5. 72 M, or from Servius on Verg. *Georg.* 1. 31; *Aen.* 10. 76; or, if in the transferred sense of "the sea," from Pac. *Frag. Trag.* 418 R[3].

The geographical list of lines 6 ff. is especially interesting. Catullus had followed the course of his yacht from Pontus, through the Thracian Propontis, past Rhodes, the Cyclades, and the coast of the Adriatic, *hunc ad usque limpidum lacum*. So, when the parodist mentions the shore of Batavia (Flanders), the near-by islands, Sicambria (the country of the Sugambri on the Rhine below Cologne; cf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4. 16 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* 4. 2. 36; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 26; 12. 39), the *Catta gens* (i.e., the Chatti, who lived in the modern Hesse and Thuringia; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 29, 30), and

[1] The original spelling and punctuation are retained.

[2] Possibly due to a misunderstanding of passages like Verg. *Ecl.* 7. 8–9: "'ocius,' inquit, / 'huc ades, o Meliboee,'"; or Hor. *Carm.* 2. 11.18–20: "quis puer ocius / restinguat ardentis Falerni / pocula praetereunte lympha?"

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Baetici sinus (the bay of the Baetis, now the Gualdalquivir, in Southern Spain?), he apparently traces in reverse order the journeyings of a Spanish donkey to his northern home.

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NOTE ON PLATO [?] *THEAGES* 124E

ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν ταύτης ἐπιθυμεῖν σὺ φῄς;
ΘΕ. Ἔοικέν γε ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ εἶπον.

All editions accessible to me read ἔοικε or ἔοικεν. The true idiomatic reading should, I think, be ἔοικά γε, which expresses the slightly humorous surprised acceptance of the personal application of the argument. Similarly in *Euthydemus* 296C, when Socrates is convicted by the sophist of knowing all things, he replies, ἔοικα. In *Gorgias* 519E, when Callicles ironically says, "And you would be incapable of making a long speech," Socrates replies, ἔοικά γε. In *Cratylus* 407C, when Hermogenes is asked if he did not mean by Hephaestus τὸν γενναῖον τὸν "φάεος ἵστορα," he playfully accepts the absurd etymology with ἔοικα. Compare also *Alcibiades I* 112D, 116D, φαίνομαι ὡς ἔοικα, and, though less strictly relevant, *Politicus* 277D, *Apology* 21D, *Laws* 837E, and possibly Aristophanes *Ecclesiazousae* 146.

PAUL SHOREY

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BOOK REVIEWS

Apuleius: The Golden Ass. Being the *Metamorphoses* of Lucius Apuleius, with an English Translation by W. ADLINGTON, revised by S. GASELEE. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. xxiv+608. New York: Macmillan, 1915.

In forming an estimate of a translation, one usually asks how accurately and sympathetically the original text has been turned into idiomatic English. Such an inquiry would be out of place here, for of course Adlington's translation is not an accurate rendering, and revising it with a view to making it accurate would require a complete change in its character. The problem which confronted Mr. Gaselee, therefore, was to keep as much of Adlington as can be kept without departing too far from the meaning of Apuleius, and the question narrowed itself down largely to a matter of personal taste and judgment, and to a matter of judgment for almost every sentence of the translation. Consequently, the reviewer, while expressing no opinion here about the wisdom of undertaking such a task, has not only kept in mind the nature of the revision aimed at, but he has also tried to make a generous allowance for the difference between his judgment in a given case and that of Mr. Gaselee. Any two scholars may disagree about the wisdom of changing some word or phrase in Adlington which does not properly convey the idea of the original; they may not agree on the propriety or wisdom of changing an expression in Adlington which is not strictly grammatical or idiomatic, because of course even Adlington nods now and then. But there are certain requirements which one who revises Adlington's translation may fairly be called upon to meet. It is easy to see what we may properly expect of him. He should not insert a word in the revision out of keeping with Adlington's English, or a word or phrase which leaves us with an awkward or unintelligible sentence. He ought to correct Adlington, where Adlington has radically misunderstood the meaning of Apuleius. He ought to omit from his revision a clause or sentence in Adlington which is not found in Apuleius, provided it can be omitted without doing violence to Adlington's English, and he should insert a translation of any Apuleian clause which Adlington has omitted.

In all these respects the revision is open to criticism in many places. Only a few illustrations of the points mentioned need be given here. To cite some cases of the first sort, on p. 35 Adlington's sentence is revised so as to read, "I am brought me to the gate of this city"; on p. 51, "os quoquoversum

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floridum," omitted by Adlington, is rendered "his blooming countenance in all points"; on p. 55 Gaselee revises Adlington's phrase "I was greatly delighted with the view of these things" to read, "I was greatly delighted with exploring the view of these things"; on the same page Apuleius' words "ceteros omnes sermone secreto decedere praecipit" appear in Adlington as "she willed secretly the residue to depart" and is revised to read, "she willed secretly the residue to depart from our secret conference"; on p. 59 we find in Adlington "with stirring and turning the same," in Gaselee "with such stirrings and turning the same"; on p. 63 the revision leaves us with an incomplete sentence, "O how well doth a fair colour and a brilliant sheen upon the glittering hair"! on p. 79 Adlington's "the Servitors waited orderly at the table in rich apparell" reads, "a crowd of servitors brought orderly the plentiful meats in rich apparel"; on p. 85 to Adlington's rendering "and am more quicke of sight than Lynx or Argus" is added "and must be all eyes," for the omitted phrase "et oculeum totum"; on p. 89 "the Matron weeping with her witnesses" is made to read, "the matron all blubbered (=*flens*) with her witnesses"; on p. 49 stands the awkward and obscure revised sentence "the birds which I heard chirping, and the trees without the walls of the city, and the running waters were changed from men into such feathers and leaves and fountains."

In the way of mistranslations, it is difficult to see how the first sentence on p. 50 can be rendered as Gaselee translates it; on p. 54, in the phrase "inter medias frondes lapidis Actaeon," "lapidis" is not to be taken with "frondes" as Adlington and Gaselee take it, but with "Actaeon"; on p. 94 "populum adorat" means "addresses the people," not "made reverence unto the people," as Adlington and Gaselee translate the words; on the same page to render "praesentem audaciam" as "present audacity" is hardly correct; on p. 97 "being lively indeed, howbeit buried in sleep" misses the strong contrast intended in "vivus quidem sed tum sopore mortuus"; on p. 96 "praemium non industriae, sed debilitationis consecutus" means "after getting a recompense, not for his diligence but for his mutilation." Adlington had rendered the sentence with substantial accuracy "for lucre of a little mony sustained losse of his members." Gaselee revises this to read, "for his diligence hath received no reward of money, but loss of his members." Of course Lucius did receive "a reward of money."

Two illustrations must suffice of cases where Gaselee has retained from Adlington clauses not found in Apuleius: on p. 87 Apuleius has nothing to correspond to "fell on the ground," and on p. 475 the sentence "there was no comfort in her, but continual weeping and sobbing" has been inserted by Adlington and should have been omitted in the revision. On the other hand, there are Apuleian phrases, like "certus erroris" on p. 163, which have been omitted by Adlington and could have been added in the revision, without breaking up the symmetry of Adlington's sentences. It is hard to understand at times how Adlington came to make omissions from the Apuleian

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text or additions to it in his translation. We can understand why the prophet is made to put the magical herb "three times" (p. 93) on the lips of the dead man, although Apuleius speaks of only one application, but, for instance, why the entire sentence "Vos . . . . perhibetote" (p. 84) or the two lines on p. 63 ("vel . . . . aspectum") should have been omitted is not clear. The omitted passages have probably not been overlooked and are not generally difficult to understand. Perhaps we should be right in conjecturing that Adlington inserted or omitted phrases solely with a view to improve the style of the narrative.

Mr. Gaselee has shown excellent taste in retaining as much of the flavor of Adlington's version as possible. We question a little, however, the wisdom of not substituting "temple" for "church," on p. 251, and "comedy" for "fable" on p. 475, and of retaining such phrases as "committed this fact" (p. 91), "she had been stricken with some clap of thunder, *with some storm*" (p. 357), "an ass of arms" (p. 473), and "lapping up the end of the table-cloth into an heap" (p. 81). Perhaps one can best understand the nature of the changes which Mr. Gaselee has made in Adlington's version and appreciate the relation which the text of Apuleius, Adlington's translation, and Gaselee's revision bear to one another by glancing at a typical passage from the three books. Take, for instance, the sentence at the bottom of p. 86. In Apuleius it reads: "Terga vortit et cubiculo protinus exterminatur: nec mora, cum me somnus profundus in imum barathrum repente demergit, ut ne deus quidem Delphicus ipse facile discerneret, duobus nobis iacentibus, quis esset magis mortuus: sic inanimis et indigens alio custode paene ibi non eram." Adlington rendered this (see Whibley's reprint, p. 56): "Then incontinently she ranne away, and when she was gon, I fell on the ground so fast asleepe, that Apollo himself could not discerne whether of us two was the dead corps, for I lay prostrat as one without life, and needed a keeper likewise." In Gaselee's revision this sentence reads: "Then incontinently she ran away, and when she was quite gone from the chamber, I fell on the ground so fast in the deepest depth of sleep that Apollo himself could not well discern whether of us two was the dead corpse, for I lay prostrate as one without life, and needed a keeper likewise, and had as well not been there."

These misprints have been noticed: on p. 3, l. 15, "achieved" for "arrived"; on p. 41, l. 10, "it" omitted after "lay"; on p. 67, l. 26, "it" omitted after "now," and on p. 79, l. 21, "hits" for "pits." On pp. 94–95 the alignment is not accurate.

A revision of Adlington's translation called for the exercise of unusual care, and in closing this notice the reviewer feels compelled to express the opinion that Mr. Gaselee has taken his very difficult task too lightly.

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A Study of Archaism in Euripides. By CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. Pp. 98. $1.25.

The Chorus of Euripides. By ARISTIDES EVANGELUS PHOUTRIDES. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXVII, pp. 77–170, 1913.

Hermann Deckinger began his dissertation on *Die Darstellung der persönlichen Motive bei Aischylos und Sophokles* with the following words: "Ueber die Technik der griechischen Tragiker liegen bis jetzt nicht sehr viele Untersuchungen vor. Ausser gelegentlichen Hinweisen, die sich da und dort, besonders in den kommentierten Ausgaben, zerstreut finden, sind für dieses Gebiet vor allem zwei Arbeite zu nennen, beide aus neuester Zeit: Adolf Gross, *Die Stichomythie in der griechischen Tragödie und Komödie* (1905), und Friedrich Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama* (1908)." If these words could be written by a German so recently as 1911, in what terms ought the indifference, not to say the unawareness, of American scholars with regard to these matters to be characterized? It is true that in the last few years not a few German monographs have been devoted to various phases of technique in Greek drama and that some response has been aroused in this country. Witness, for example, Stephenson's *Some Aspects of the Dramatic Art of Aeschylus* (1913). But this meritorious dissertation apparently caused never a ripple on the placid surface of aesthetic criticism and, so far as I have observed, enjoyed not so much as a single review! As an additional recruit, then, in the task of creating interest in this field on this side of the Atlantic Dr. Manning ought to receive our welcome.

Yet dramaturgy does not occupy the chief place in his dissertation, but figures most prominently in connection with the second half of chap. iii, "The Cause of the Entrance of the Chorus." Though this is a small matter, the fact that it is commonly ignored in our commentaries makes it worth investigating. The author finds that Aeschylus practically always provided his chorus with an entrance motive and that Sophocles frequently did not, at least not in the *parodus*. Euripides is more like Aeschylus in this, though his motivation is often trivial and unsatisfactory.

This section makes clear the meaning of Dr. Manning's title: the thesis develops the fact that in many particulars Euripides was more akin to Aeschylus than to Sophocles. Chapter i is entitled "The Structure of the Drama" and seeks to explain the absence of unity in many of Euripides' plays. When the tragedies in a διδασκαλία came to treat of utterly separate themes, there might be a tendency to put into each play enough material for a whole Aeschylean trilogy and for each to approximate the trilogic form by being capable of a tripartite division. The author detects these developments especially in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* and in the plays of

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Euripides' second period (430–416 B.C.). In the second chapter he cites Aeschylean precedents for Euripides' practice of including such extraneous matter in his prologues and epilogues, and partially corrects Krausse, *De Euripide Aeschyli Instauratore* (1905). Later on (p. 81), these conclusions are used to refute Verrall's theory that the prologue and the words of the *deus ex machina* are to be disregarded in interpreting Euripides' plays.

The first half of chap. iii and chap. v amplify the resemblances between Aeschylus and Euripides, as opposed to Sophocles, in the use of anapaests. In chap. vi it is maintained that, since trochaic tetrameter was the original meter of tragedy at a time when the characters were deities, it came to be used, except in Euripides' later pieces, to "mark the separation of human and divine and at the end of plays." Contrary to what one might expect, however, the tetrameter is associated with the human and the iambic with the divine. Until a satisfactory explanation for this reversal can be provided, the distinction must remain of doubtful value. The fact that in our earliest play there are human characters and iambics but no trochaics or divinities does not lessen the objection.

In chap. iv, "The Iambic Speeches of the Chorus," Euripides' choruses are found to express their opinions of actors and their conduct more clearly and boldly and to be more intimately related to some character than in Sophocles—another reversion to Aeschylean practice.

Chapters vii and viii consider the use which the three playwrights made of descriptions and dreams respectively. In connection with the last, I miss a reference to Stählin, *Das Motiv der Mantik im antiken Drama* (1912). The final chapter deals with their attitude toward Dionysus, Apollo, and Athena.

Dr. Manning is to be congratulated upon the philological craftsmanship which he displays. It would have been easy, however, to extend the list of particulars in which Euripides reverted to Aeschylean usage: for example, his use of stichomythy as described by Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 59, etc., and his employment of fear as an entrance motive for actors (cf. Harms, *De Introitu Personarum in Euripidis et Novae Comoediae Fabulis* [1914], p. 29).

Mr. Phoutrides' essay falls into three parts: "Defence of Supposed Faults," "Characteristics of the Euripidean Chorus," and "The Hypocheme." In the first of these he shows (*a*) that Euripides' choruses sing or speak an average of 21 per cent of the lines in each play as against 43 per cent in Aeschylus and 20 per cent in Sophocles, and that the poet ought to be acquitted of the charge of having shortened the choral parts. He grants (*b*) that in certain plays the choral participation in the dialogue is curtailed, but maintains that this is not an arbitrary innovation of Euripides but in true accordance with the character of the chorus in each case—an explanation which only restates the problem and does not solve it. In (*c*) he defends the relevancy of the odes, and in (*d*) denies that a gradual decline of the chorus can be traced in a chronological arrangement of the plays. I venture to think that the author has made his task more difficult in these two sections

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by refusing to take cognizance of my paper on Agathon's *embolima* in Vol. VII of this *Journal*. A reference to Professor Capps's article in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, X, 287 ff., has been inadvertently omitted both here and in ii (*c*).

The second part treats of the religion, humanity, and action of the chorus and Euripides' use of a second chorus. In the discussion of the last topic Gräber's *De Poetarum Atticorum Arte Scaenica* (1911), pp. 56 ff., ought to have been taken into account. On p. 113, note 2, Verrall's *The Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays* (1910) should be added to the bibliography cited.

In the last part, after a careful examination of the ancient *testimonia*, the author decides that a hyporcheme was "a *melos* adapted for at least two different orchestric movements, one subordinated to the other," that it was "essentially mimetic, and that its verses were composed in so rapidly moving rhythm that both song and dance rendered the moods of the participants restless and impatient" (pp. 146 and 154). In Sophocles' *Ajax*, vss. 693 ff., he recognizes a hyporcheme with certainty and by inference therefrom also in four other plays of Sophocles, in four of Aeschylus, and in five of Euripides.

The dominant note of Dr. Phoutrides' paper is the freshness of treatment, possibly due to racial sympathy. We never get the impression that we are dealing with "dead" literature or that Euripides is "with yesterday's seven thousand years." The Greek playwright is discussed as if he were no more ancient than Ibsen and as if his message were no less valuable. I cannot commend this feature too highly.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

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Pliny. Letters. In two volumes. With an English translation by WILLIAM MELMOTH, revised by W. M. L. HUTCHINSON. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: William Heinemann, 1915. Pp. xvi+535+440. $1.50 each.

The Loeb Classical Library has not always insisted upon brand-new translations for its issues, but never before have the managers sanctioned the reprinting of a version well on in the second century of its age. Lest it be imagined that this circumstance makes the present volumes a mere poor relation in the Loeb family of classics, it may be said that the reviser's work seems to have removed the obvious disadvantages of such an antiquated version, and, in the second place, that Melmoth was an ideal person to translate Pliny and his times ideal times in which to do it. Perhaps no modern translator could so closely imitate in English the artificial graces of Pliny's style; for Melmoth was just such a letter-writer as Pliny himself, and possessed of considerable talent; and, on the whole, it is better to let a citizen of those days, when letter-writing was esteemed an art, turn Pliny into the

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classical English form than, in the twentieth century, to attempt to reproduce the manner of the eighteenth. Melmoth, of course, had to be corrected. He wrote far too profusely, in the first place, and he often mistranslated. But as far as can be shown by comparison of several letters from various parts of the present collection with Melmoth's edition of 1757 (the first edition was in 1746), the reviser seems to have carried out his task wisely and well. Let it be hoped that through this popular translation many readers may find quiet amusement as they see through the thoroughly obvious affectation of this Roman gentleman, so anxious for estimation as a literary genius, the many amiable qualities of Pliny, and his really eminent place in history as a lawyer, financier, administrator, letter-writer, and friend of great men.

This edition cannot be expected to fulfil the demands for an authoritative critical and exegetical publication of the *Letters*, and Mr. Hutchinson very properly does not attempt anything of the sort. His critical and explanatory notes, his introduction, and the notice of the manuscript tradition are all calculated to fill the wants of the casual reader. It may be remarked that Codices R and F do not contain Books i–v entire, as he seems to imply; R extends only through v. 6. 32 (p. 127, 13 of Kukula's edition). The propriety of reprinting the Bipons text, too, in preference to Keil and Kukula, or to Merrill in the portions which the latter has edited, may be questioned, but the critical notes appended will probably offset whatever difficulty may be thus incurred.

FRANK EGLESTON ROBBINS

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Oidipus. Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im griechischen Altertum. By CARL ROBERT. Weidmann: Berlin, 1915. 2 vols. Pp. 587; 204.

The wealth of material and learning in this book makes it impossible to give it an adequate review. A hint may be obtained from the Table of Contents: i, "Die Kultstätten des Oidipus: Eteonos, Sparta, Attika"; ii, "Die Sphinx"; iii, "Oidipus, König von Theben"; iv, "Eteokles und Polyneikes und der Bruderkrieg"; v, "Das Epos"; vi, "Das Drama: Die thebanische Trilogie des Aischylos, Der erste Oidipus des Sophokles, Der Oidipus des Euripides, Die Antigone des Sophokles, Die Antigone des Euripides, Die Phoinissen des Euripides, Der zweite Oidipus des Sophokles"; vii, "Oidipus bei den übrigen Tragikern und in der Paradoxographie"; viii, "Oidipus in der Mythographie." The second volume contains notes to the eight chapters and an index to the whole work.

All scholars know the equipment of the author and therefore will be prepared for the elaborate treatment of the story of Oedipus which Robert has given us. He deals with religion, mythology, topography, poetry, both

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epic and dramatic, mythography, and archaeology. In the first chapter he discusses the places with which the cult of Oedipus was connected and decides that the "authentic" burial-place was not Colonos but Eteonos, a town situated on the north side of Citheron, where there was once actual worship of the hero, as we are informed by the scholiast to Sophocles, *O.C.* 91. The Spartan tradition the author connects with the settlement of a Boeotian family in that land; and he believes that the Attic tradition, which makes Colonos the hero's resting-place, can hardly be regarded as having a Boeotian basis. Apparently the death of Oedipus was localized on that hill toward the end of the sixth century, as the result of certain historial events. On the Areopagus the hero's grave was marked by an altar, but the tradition which was there represented is apparently later than that which named Colonos as his burial-place. Robert therefore concludes that Eteonos alone had any claim to a genuine cult of Oedipus. But the splendor of Sophocles' genius created for antiquity, as it has for us, the belief that Colonos was the authentic spot; yet to the mind of the author this is contrary to historic facts.

With regard to the Sphinx, Robert holds firmly to the familiar theory that she was originally a Phix, a local creature whose form was gradually developed under the influence of Egyptian types; connection between her and the riddle is apparently late, the poetic form of the riddle being derived from some lost epic.

In his treatment of King Oedipus, Robert deals somewhat vigorously with tradition. The hero was originally, according to him, a chthonic hero, belonging to Demeter's circle, who was, so to speak, drawn out of his lair and provided with ancestors for myth-making purposes. The story of the exposure of the babe is one familiar in the folk-tales of almost every people; and there was another tradition of the exposure of the child in a chest.

Into Robert's study of the topography of the country where Laius and Oedipus met, we may not go, but the whole question is discussed with fulness and care. The blinding and the exile of Oedipus, which play so important a part in the Sophoclean story, may perhaps not have been known to the Homeric poet, but they provided the necessary material for the drama. The story of the later struggles about Thebes may have grown out of an actual war between that city and Argos, or it may be a composite or moving picture of many wars during the second millennium before our era.

Nor will the limits of a review allow one even to summarize the long sixth chapter, in which most readers will find their chief interest. We can only note that the plays in which the Theban story is handled by the three great dramatists are discussed with great care and thoroughness. Especially interesting is the careful way in which Robert sets forth the development and the modification of the myth in the works of these tragedians down to the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. Here the story reaches its final literary form; for Sophocles in the *O.C.* adopts his rival's innovations.

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In the later chapters the story is traced through the other tragedians, the paradoxographers, and the mythographers down to the Byzantine period. The work throughout is well illustrated from vase paintings, photographs, and sculptures. Indeed it would be hard to find any material bearing on the Theban tale which Robert has not marshaled in full strength. In detail many will raise objections here and there, but all must recognize that the work is of the highest order, and that it must be considered by all who touch its theme.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Jews among the Greeks and Romans. By MAX RADIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1915. Pp. 421.

This is a study of the political and social status of the Jews in Greece, Rome, and Egypt from about 586 B.C. to the later Roman Empire. The author's task was made easier by the work of M. Théodore Reinach, who in his *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs au judaisme* collected and translated the fragmentary texts, with explanatory footnotes. Besides these fragments Mr. Radin depends on Philo, Josephus, whom he despises as a renegade Jew, but cannot do without, and the remains of the mass of literature in Greek which was written for Greek-speaking Jews, for example, the Apocrypha, in part, whether originals or translations from the Hebrew. The first half of the book deals with the Greeks, their religious and racial concepts, and the resulting attitude toward the Jews. In the account of Greek religious concepts, which is naturally very brief, I note that on p. 32 Mr. Radin speaks of the "solar-myth theory" of the Greek gods as confined to the nineteenth century, and in a note on p. 375 he says that the term is now rarely used. He will find that in recent literature, and notably in A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, almost every divine or heroic figure in Greek tradition is still likely to be explained as a "faded solar god." He gives only a bare outline of the history of the Jews down to the invasion of the East by Alexander. Then with the rise of the Ptolemies the Jews begin to be regarded as a separate nationality in extant Greek writers. Here then begins the tale of the Jewish struggle against, and lapses into, Hellenism and of the Greek dislike of what Hecataeus called their "inhospitable and inhuman way of living" as ordained by Moses. They were ridiculed for their credulity, strangely enough, by both Greeks and Romans—"Tell it to the Jews," says Horace—nor did this mean merely that they were superstitious, for that was orthodox enough; but they were accused of naïveté, a crime, and their religious ceremonies and abstentions were dull. It was unreasonable to spend "cold Sabbaths," ψυχρὰ σάββατα, as Meleager calls them. And to be unsociable, to hold aloof, was worse. Though this book is not apologetic or controversial, the author naturally

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explains away in some cases or softens the evidence, and with perfect justice as a rule. When we come to the treatment of the Jews by the Romans, it is obvious that they were persecuted no more than the other oriental sects and only when they seemed to make too many proselytes. They were never as popular in Rome as were the followers of the more emotional Syrian and Persian cults, but they were successful enough in their propaganda to be from time to time alarming, and were persecuted enough to be driven to revolt. Mr. Radin gives an account of the more serious Jewish revolts down to Severus, and ends with a sketch of their legal position under the later Empire.

The style of the book is good, and in the notes there are full references to the literature of the subject. On p. 93 for προσκονεῖν read προσκυνεῖν; on p. 375 for Zeno read Zeus; on p. 293, for Pausanius read Pausanias. On p. 138 the phrase στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα is more correctly ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων.

WILMER CAVE WRIGHT

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Spain under the Roman Empire. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1914. Pp. 200. 5*s*.

Syria as a Roman Province. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1916. Pp. 304. 6*s*.

Here are two volumes which possess considerable value for the student of Roman history. The author has divided the first volume into three parts: I, "History"; II, "Antiquities"; III, "Literature." Under "History" an introductory chapter deals with Spain down to the time of Augustus. The other chapters deal with Spain "From Augustus to Hadrian," "From the Antonine Age to the Gothic Conquest," and "Byzantine Andalusia." Under "Antiquities" the author treats of the "Native Races," "Natural Products," "The Arts," "Religion," and "Chief Cities." Literature is divided into "Spanish Writers of the Early Empire," "Christianity and Its Influence on Literature," and concludes with a chapter on "The Latin of Spain." A brief bibliography is given at the close of each chapter. The volume is small, but its author has gathered a great deal of information into its pages.

The method of treatment in the later volume is essentially the same as in the first, but without marking so definitely the divisions. It contains about twice as much material, but this naturally follows from the importance of the province of Syria. In the discussion of the chief cities, Jerusalem is omitted because of the mass of material readily accessible on that city. Of special interest might be mentioned the last chapters on "Early Literature," "Later Literature," "Religion and Architecture," and "The Arts." This volume contains a page of photographic reproductions of

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some of the provincial coin-issues which are valuable in illustrating the architecture and religion of the province. Information afforded by epigraphy is used. A bibliography is given at the close of the volume as well as references to many works in the footnotes. Each volume contains an outline map and an index which add to their value. A few typographical errors were noticed, but they need not be mentioned. While neither volume aims to be exhaustive, yet the two will prove of great value to students in history and in the classics of the middle and later empire when a general but brief account of either province is desired. The books are quite readable and should find a place along with other works on Roman history.

D. T. SCHOONOVER

MARIETTA COLLEGE

Das Griechentum in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung. By RUDOLF VON SCALA. Teubner, 1915. Pp. 105. M. 1.25.

Das Altertum in Leben der Gegenwart. By PAUL CAUER. Teubner, 1915. Pp. 131. M. 1.25.

Die Homerische Dichtung. By GEORG FINSLER. Teubner, 1915. Pp. 113. M. 1.25.

These primers of the Teubner series "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt" are, notwithstanding their inexpensiveness, firmly bound in neat linen covers and printed on good paper in a clear type which is a pleasure as well as a comfort to the eye; and, save for occasional roughnesses of style which appear when the overabundance of material rebels against undue compression, they are very lucid and readable.

Professor von Scala's book, after an introductory sketch of the *Kultur* of the Indo-Germanic stem, attacks at once the difficult subject of the pre-historic peoples of Greece. We may perhaps complain that in his discussion of the Minoans, Mycenaeans, Achaeans, etc., and their relations to each other he states somewhat dogmatically now and then what is at best probable conjecture; but many readers, for whom the multitudinous results of the excavations in Crete and elsewhere still whirl about in unrelated confusion, will be grateful to a competent scholar for revealing to them some order in this chaos.

The treatment of the Homeric age is too scanty even for so brief a book, but in the later pages, which bring the story of Greece down to the fourth century A.D., the balance and emphasis are admirable. The book is not a mere outline of Greek history for beginners, but an account of Greek civilization in the making which it is worth the while of any Greek student to read. The text is illustrated by a considerable number of half-tones.

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Professor Cauer's book is only incidentally what its title implies—a setting forth of "what we owe to Greece." It would more properly be called "Die Culturmission des classischen Altertums in unserer Zeit," which was the subject of a set of lectures out of which the book grew. But no single title is sufficiently elastic to stretch over its varied contents; it is partly a plea for the study of classical Greece in the pedagogy of German youth, but the place of ancient Rome in an ideal modern education is also emphasized at some length; it is, however, mainly a popular interpretation of the great achievements in literature, philosophy, politics, and art which Greek civilization offers as a stimulus and a corrective to the modern world. The book is everywhere marked by the clear thought, mature sanity, and wide knowledge which we should expect of the author, but it is directed to a general public and presents to the special student of the classics little more than a restatement of the obvious.

Finsler's previously issued studies of Homer are, I believe, well and favorably known. This little volume is condensed from his larger work on *Homer* and is mainly a recast of the chapter on "Homerische Poesie." It does not, however, read in the least like a digest; the author brings fresh enthusiasm to the briefer labor of love which at times glows with a restrained eloquence of style. Whether he has, as he hopes, improved upon his earlier efforts will depend on the reader's point of view; those who prefer an objective treatment of Homer such as Professor Seymour has given us will not welcome the more pronounced obtrusion here of the author's personal theories about the Homeric question. They are, however, rather conservative: the *Iliad* is the work of one poet, Melesigenes of Smyrna (Homer is a by-name), who completed and wrote down this epic about 700 B.C.; his attempt to fuse into a single whole materials from independent sagas and poems fails of unity in the Aristotelian sense; inconsistencies and "unevennesses" reveal the poet staggering under the weight of his material; of course he archaizes (a chapter shows his "Streben nach Altertumlichkeit"), not only consciously, but painstakingly, and, with inevitable minor lapses, succeeds marvelously in setting a living picture in an ancient frame. The *Odyssey*, too, represents a fusion of distinct stories, but into a more perfect unity, by a single author who is simply "Der Dichter," not Melesigenes-Homer.

Both epics are, however, drawn upon indifferently for the later chapters on the Homeric view of life and on the style and composition of the poems. The material of these chapters is crowded under too few captions and is not always arranged in logical sequence; the last chapter, "Heiterkeit der homerischen Welt," makes an attractive conclusion but should not be separated from his chapter on Homeric life by the intervening treatment of composition and style.

GEORGE NORLIN

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Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters. By ERNST R. FIECHTER. München: C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914. 4to, pp. vii + 130 (text and index) + 86 (illustrations), 132 in all.

Of the theaters of the fifth and fourth centuries too little remains to make possible a satisfactory discussion of their architectural features. The reconstruction of the early theater rests largely upon literary tradition. But as the author is an architect, a comparison of the ruins with the literary documents is not attempted. Any adequate account of the archaeological development of the ancient theater must begin with the Hellenistic period. And for this the skênê at Oropos with its five *θυρώματα* (*ἱερεὺ[ς γενόμενος τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ θυρώμ]ατα*) furnishes the clew. These openings were not closed by doors or panels, but formed with the space behind them a sort of portico, an inner stage, whose back wall was pierced by two or three (?) doors and was variously decorated to suit the needs of the dramatic performances. When desired, the *θυρώματα* could be closed by means of curtains. The outer stage was the podium of the proscenium. Before the Hellenistic period the Greek theater had no proscenium. This was an importation from abroad, probably from Southern Italy, introduced after the chorus had ceased to be a vital part of the drama.

The presence of *θυρώματα* in the theater at Ephesus and their more or less conjectural traces at Priene, Miletus, and possibly Pergamon suggest that the Hellenistic skênê regularly conformed to the type represented by the theater at Oropos, a view that is supported further by a consideration of Hellenistic wall-paintings from Pompeii and Boscoreale (Figs. 43–45, 47–50), as well as of the mosaic from the casa del poeta tragico at Pompeii (Fig. 51).

In the Roman theater the elaborate scaenae frons developed through successive modifications from the pillared scaenae frons and inner stage of the Hellenistic theater. Dörpfeld's view that the columned front of the proscenium was the forerunner of the Roman scaenae frons is wrong. The proscenium in the Hellenistic theater was stage, not background. Vitruvius' *theatrum Graecorum* is identical with the Hellenistic theater.

The reconstruction of the skênê of the pre-Hellenistic period is more difficult. Great obscurity shrouds the early and the middle portions of the fifth century. But about the year 427 (cf. Bethe, *Proleg.*, pp. 204 ff.) an imposing stage building appears to have been erected at Athens, probably of wood like the Odeum of Pericles and with deep paraskenia. These must have enclosed a stage, albeit a low stage. Aesthetic considerations permit no other conclusion. The appearance of the scaenae frons at this period is unknown, but it probably resembled that of the later theater at Oropos, minus the proscenium.

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Thus the Hellenistic skênê is the earlier skênê of the theater at Athens with or without paraskenia and elevated some 10–12 feet to accommodate the imported proscenium.

An adequate criticism of this thesis and its supporting arguments would require a treatise. The author, who is a professor of the history of architecture in the Technical College at Stuttgart, frankly acknowledges his slight acquaintance with the literary evidence and is apparently ignorant of much of the recent literature upon the subject of the ancient drama. Opposed to Dörpfeld, he supports Puchstein and especially Bethe, whose *Prolegomena* is cited again and again with evident approval. Indeed, Bethe is his chief, not to say sole, authority for the history of the Greek drama, and his own views are colored accordingly.

There is a useful chronological table of the best-known theaters of Greece and Asia Minor (pp. 24–27), and a comprehensive discussion, with numerous excellent illustrations, of the vases, wall-paintings, reliefs, and mosaics which are supposed to reflect the architectural features of the Hellenistic and Roman stage-buildings. The list of the Roman theaters is a welcome summary. In point of illustrations this is the most elaborate single publication upon the ancient theater since Wieseler's *Theatergebäude*.

JAMES TURNEY ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Birds of the Latin Poets. By ERNEST WHITNEY MARTIN, Associate Professor of Greek. Stanford University, California: Published by the University, 1914. Pp. 260. $1.00.

This subject has now and then been touched by writers on natural science; witness Conrad von Gestner (*Historia Animalium*, 1551–58). Systematic cultivation of the field, however, dates from recent years. Prominent among the investigators are Professor W. W. Fowler, whose publications on birds began to appear in 1895, and Professor D. W. Thompson, who put forth in the same year *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, which now ranks as a standard work.

Professor Martin's book, which is similar in plan to the one just mentioned, gives us a "picture of the Roman attitude toward bird life as reflected in their greatest poets." The subject-matter takes the form of a check-list, each bird being made the subject of a separate article. At the outset of an article the author deals with the bird's name, listing the Latin, Greek, and English forms, as well as the modern scientific name and, if there be such, American literary parallels; e.g., "redwing" for blackbird or "redbreast" for robin. As regards identification of species, nothing new has been attempted. Next appear the titles of certain English and American poems

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bearing more or less closely on the bird under discussion. The article concludes with a collection of Latin and English poetical quotations. Those in Latin are sometimes translated into English. Occasionally a whole poem is included. If the quotations are numerous, as under names like *cycnus* or *columba*, they are subdivided into groups according to subject-matter. We find now and then references to Latin prose authors and to modern journals. At the end of the book there are three rather full notes dealing with certain general aspects of bird life, and one on the derivation of *ruscinia*. The work is equipped with an explanatory preface, with bibliography and an index of citations from Roman authors. The quotations from modern literature, as a rule, show the names of the writers, but do not indicate the works from which they are drawn. One often misses the full citation. Misprints unfortunately occur: e.g., *Amor.* II, 37 for *Am.* II, 6, 37 on page 192; *Am.* 6, 29 for *Am.* II, 6, 29 on page 193. *Trist.* I, 6, 169 on page 218 is a false reference. The book is marred here and there by a lax English sentence and falls somewhat short of the ideal in logical arrangement.

On the whole, however, Professor Martin has rendered a good service and we shall profit by his work. He is an enthusiast and his observations are interesting. To the old question, for example, why the ancients often associated sadness with the song of birds, he answers:

> This prevalent Roman feeling is due, in my judgment, to the widespread ancient belief in the metamorphosis association. Their favorite birds were not thought of merely as birds *per se*, but rather as human beings who had been changed into the birds in question. The nightingale and swallow were still Philomel and Progne. This is probably the clue to the rather curious choice of the swan and halcyon as typical song birds. This Roman point of view is the key to the interpretation of the rather frequent literal descriptions of actual metamorphoses scattered through the Latin poets. Horace, assuming before our eyes the form of a swan, is an example of this peculiar usage.

LEON J. RICHARDSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Studi di Letteratura e Filologia Latina. By ETTORE STAMPINI. Torino, 1917. Pp. 447.

Ettore Stampini, the veteran Turin Latinist, has collected in this volume, which is to be followed by others, his opuscula dating from the beginning of his professional career in 1880 and continuing to 1916. In the present volume ten articles are reprinted: four on Virgil, three on Lucretius, and one each on early Latin meters, the *Carmina Triumphalia*—their ribald character being apotropaic—and on the painter Plautius. In an appendix are several interesting Latin letters of congratulation, mostly in the name of his university, that are interesting for the ingenuity of the expression of modern terms in the classic language. The most valuable article is the one on the suicide of Lucretius, originally published in 1896, which is still the best and

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most detailed discussion of Jerome's brief biography of the poet, with criticism of all the theories founded on its interpretation. The other two Lucretian articles are on textual questions. The first Virgil article is on the old question of the poet's name—Vergilius in Latin and Virgilio in Italian: is it conceivable that an English poet could speak of Vergil? Politian was the first to write Vergilius, Stampini patriotically declares. Another paper is a detailed estimate, verse by verse, of the philological work done on the *Bucolics* down to 1905; the discussion of the Fourth Eclogue is especially full and valuable.

It is interesting to an American student to see how well acquainted the author is with the results of German, French, and English scholarship, and that our American contributions are appreciated by him. One gets the impression that in Italy Stampini's is a *uox clamantis*, and American scholars can sympathize with him. We are too likely to forget that the cause of sound learning, like righteousness, has always been in peril everywhere and at all times. *Facilis descensus* holds of education as well as of everything else human. There has been no Golden Age of culture. The torch has been handed on from age to age, often in weariness and despair. But classical culture will last as long as our Western civilization in spite of systematic and subsidized depreciation.

W. A. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Selections from Catullus. Translated into English Verse with an Introduction on the Theory of Translation by MARY STEWART. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1915. Pp. 71. $1.00.

The book under review contains verse translations of thirty-five to forty of the shorter poems of Catullus, prefaced by an introduction in which two points are of particular interest. The first is the author's theory of translation. She believes that "even if it were possible for all of us to learn Latin and Greek well enough to read the great epics, it would scarcely be worth while for all of us to do it." Of course there is implied here a saving reservation, but the words can easily be overinterpreted. I have tried to teach Latin literature by means of English translations, and it is in the case of this very Catullus that I felt the greatest despair. The point of an epigram of Martial is so apparent that an approximate translation is possible, but the subtlety of Catullus is often untranslatable. That does not mean that there is no place for translations, merely that they must be taught to know their place. Miss Stewart rightly distinguishes between the literature of information and the literature of beauty, and for the latter she sets forth two principles that should guide the translator: (1) the translation should interest the generation for which it is written and should be in idiomatic English without any concession to the language of the original; (2) it must

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preserve the spirit of the original. But theory is one thing and practice is another. The second point of particular interest in the introduction is the attack on the literalists who believe that "a particular flesh-and-blood Phyllis jilted the poet on the particular morning in May on which he sings," and who "otherwise honest will turn their imaginations loose on 'internal evidence' and deduce therefrom the most egregious lies in the shape of specific facts." Miss Stewart argues that many poems are the result of love denied, that "the satisfied lover needs no poem of ecstasy; his beloved is his poem. The despairing lover needs no verse of woe; his broken heart is his cry." There is a great deal in all this, but opinions will differ as to the amount. Judging from these words and from the fact that in the two Juventius poems in the book (48, 99) Miss Stewart substitutes the name of Lesbia for that of Juventius, it would seem that she doubts the reality of the affair with Juventius. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought.

The translations themselves vary considerably in excellence. Some are good throughout, others are good in spots; some are fairly faithful, others are mere paraphrases. A translation may be faithful without being literal: "sweet bird" is fine for *passer* (2), and "So many kisses, not one less" (7) is splendidly faithful, though the last three words have no parallel in the original. But the jest in "And men of feeling everywhere | Forget to smile—until tomorrow" (3) is mere concession to rhyme, as is "Jove's shrine of mystic gloom" for *Iovis aestuosi* (7). It is difficult to criticize when the reviewer differs from the author in the application of principles. Is a given line or word the result of misinterpretation, misprint, or deliberate choice? Shall one object to Veranus for Veranius (9), Caecii for Caesii (14), to Hortalus in the text and Ortalus in the note to 65? What shall one say of constant expansion of Catullus' neatly phrased thought? In poem 34 Catullus' twenty-four lines are expanded to thirty-six, while the eighteen lines of poem 35 are dragged out to forty-six, with change of order and insertion of new ideas. Shall one find fault with "You've scarcely any nose at all" for Catullus' *nec minimo puella naso* (43), and with "lips as parched as last year's peas" for *nec ore sicco?* Is it intentional that in poem 51 "greater than the gods is he | Whom they permit to sit near thee" the application of the words *si fas est* is transferred? By the way, Miss Stewart is altogether too certain that the last stanza belongs to a different poem.

But with all this implied criticism, it should be said that if we cannot always find Catullus himself in this little volume, his spirit hovers about it. A better title for most of the poems would be "Echoes from Catullus." The poems that are most faithfully rendered are 2, 5, 9, 13, 31, 38 (the omission of verbs by the sick poet is well preserved), 70. The handsome appearance of the volume makes one regret the misprints, few though they be. A curious one is "incite" for "insight" (p. 18).

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Auswahl aus den Iliasscholien zur Einführung in die antike Homerphilologie. Von WILHELM DEECKE. Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen. Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann, Nr. 111. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912. Pp. 90. M. 2.40.

In this small pamphlet the editor attempts to give a contracted but faithful conception of the meaning, wealth, and sources of the Homeric scholia. First, ten scholia are selected which show the material with which the Alexandrian scholars worked, such as the city manuscripts, *αἱ κατὰ πόλεις*, and private manuscripts, *αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα*. Whence these manuscripts came is shown by scholia containing such phrases as *ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ, ἡ Ἀργολική, ἡ Σινωπική*, κτλ.

Six pages are given to scholia illustrating the work and methods of Zenodotus, two pages to Aristophanes, while to Aristarchus, as the most important, twenty pages are given. Practically all the references to Aristarchus are from Ven. A, and accordingly show the traditional Aristarchus of Lehrs and Cobet. Two pages are given to Didymus, and a like number to Aristonicus. Herodian's work in prosody and accentuation is illustrated by four pages of carefully chosen scholia, and five pages show the importance of the studies of Nicanor in the matter of Homeric punctuation.

Six pages are given to the comments of Porphyrius, and two lengthy quotations illustrate the rationalistic theories of Heraclitus. Fairly full and complete quotations from *ABTD* to I, 223–51, give some notion of the mass and variety of learning preserved by the early commentators. Two pages are devoted to the scholia found in the newly discovered Geneva manuscript, G. The pamphlet ends with Eratosthenes' discussion of the origin and names of the Pleiades.

Although the space given to the different scholars whose work has found a place in the scholia is limited, yet the selection is made with such fine discrimination that it gives a fairly accurate representation of the traditional views. This abridgment is to be warmly commended to the attention of those who cannot find the time to read the complete scholia.

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Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos libri VIII, ediderunt W. KROLL et F. SKUTSCH in operis societatem assumpto K. ZIEGLER. Fasciculus alter libros iv posteriores cum praefatione et indicibus continens. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. Pp. lxvii+559. M. 12.

At last we have a complete edition of the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus which meets the requirements of modern scholarship. And it was time that Firmicus, the chief extant Latin writer on astrology, should be restored to

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us in a worthy form. Considerable portions of the third, fourth, and fifth books were published as early as 1487 as part of a work entitled *Opus Astrolabii plani in tabulis*, but the editio princeps of the complete work was brought out at Venice in 1497; two years later the Aldine appeared. On this last were based the editions of 1503, 1533, and 1551. For over three centuries the work was neglected until Sittl brought out his unfortunate text (Part I) in 1894. Then Kroll and Skutsch undertook the task of preparing a new edition, of which the first volume was published in 1907; in 1908 Ziegler was associated with the two older editors, and since Skutsch's untimely death he has borne the chief burden of completing the work.

The editors deserve the gratitude of scholars for the care and skill which they have devoted to their difficult task. No less than thirty-four manuscripts have been taken into account, many of them sadly interpolated or defective; the best of these are three of the eleventh century: Montepessulanus H 180, Parisinus 7311, and Vaticanus reginae 1244. But it is impossible here to summarize the tradition, and reference must be made to the editors' valuable praefatio. Four elaborate indices are given; the last of these is apparently a complete index verborum, for which all classicists interested in the history of the Latin language will be grateful.

The growing interest in the history of ancient astrology makes this edition of the chief Latin work especially welcome. How much the student of civilization in the fourth century may learn from the *Mathesis* has been already suggested by Thorndike's article, "A Roman Astrologer as a Historical Source: Julius Firmicus Maternus," *Classical Philology*, VIII, 415 ff. Into the various questions connected with the text and content of the *Mathesis* this is not the place to go, but we may expect to see a number of studies stimulated by this trustworthy edition.

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De l'aspect verbal en Latin ancien et particulièrement dans Térence. By D. BARBELENET. Paris: Champion, 1913. Pp. vi+478.

This study is based on the *Persa* and the *Poenulus* of Plautus, the six plays of Terence, selected parts of Caesar, Cicero, Varro, Lucretius, Vergil, and the letters of Caelius. Aspect is "en somme la durée définie ou indéfinie prêtée à l'action par le sujet parlant" (p. 25; i.e., *Aktionsart*). There are in Latin two aspects, and two only: the imperfective and the perfective; the imperfective "exprime l'état permanent, l'action uniforme indéfiniment prolongée" (p. iii); the perfective "exprime l'action en tant qu'elle met fin à une situation antérieure." (p. iii; cf. p. 451). Cf. Varro, *L.L.* ix. 96–98. Other words used by the author for subdivisions are duratives, iteratives,

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frequentatives, consecutives. Two classes of verbs do not admit of aspect: (1) technical terms; (2) those that, having a strong prepositional sense, do not show any iterative (p. 429). Nearly all perfectives are compound verbs.

M. Barbelenet strives throughout to avoid "judgments purely subjective" (p. 25); yet there are many cases where he cannot decide between the two aspects. He proceeds in orderly fashion, and at great length, to discuss the matter under such headings as imperfect indicative, historical infinitive, present participle, present perfective (including an elaborate theory to show why *dum* takes a present tense, chap. vi), compounds with *con-*, *ex-*, *de-*, etc., etc. (pp. 425–27). He then applies his principles to the explanation of selected passages, of some length, from Terence, Plautus, Caesar, Cicero, Caelius, Lucretius (pp. 429–49).

The author sums up his work on pp. 451–52. The contrast between imperfective and perfective "ne recouvre nullement l'opposition du présent et de l'aoriste en grec ou en indoiranien" (p. 451). In the matter of aspect, Terence and Caesar are each *puri sermonis amator* (p. 441); but Plautus and the other authors studied show less and less accurate feeling for aspect as time goes on; yet it would be hard to determine just when aspect ceased to be felt. A comparison of certain passages in St. Luke with the translation of the Vulgate shows that aspect did not exist in Latin in the time of St. Jerome (p. 15). M. Barbelenet surmises that certain related phenomena in French may be inheritances from Latin, rather than recent inventions (p. 452). In certain tenses, one of the two aspects seems, from the nature of things, to show a considerable predominance (p. 451). He thinks that the whole matter is decidedly obscured by the fact that the notion of aspect has not, in Latin, an adequate morphological expression. It is in Latin only an accessory phenomenon; it is far from playing the same part that it does in Greek or in Slavic.

The book shows an immense amount of labor and of painstaking, though many glaring misprints betray careless proofreading. It practically amounts to an attempt to give a more or less scientific commentary on the common observation that, in general, compound verbs are more frequent than their corresponding simple verbs. As aspect is in Latin rather an "accessory phenomenon," in many cases the author's painstaking fails to lead to solid and clean-cut results; he is often forced to use the expressions "aspect indécis," "aspect peu net"; and he does not make it wholly clear why his two classes of exceptions do not admit of the idea of aspect. It is a very suggestive book, as breaking ground in a practically new field of Latin study; but it leaves the reader with a strong feeling of regret that the results obtained are not more in proportion to the pains and energy devoted by the author to his work.

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Case Usage in Livy. III, The Accusative. IV, The Ablative. By R. B. STEELE. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1912 and 1913.

The title of these papers suggests a purely syntactical treatise on the accusative and ablative in Livy. As a matter of fact, however, the study is to a certain extent semasiological; and the writer himself apparently views the whole as essentially stylistic. The material is presented for the most part merely in selection, as it is the author's purpose to give a general bird's-eye view of the whole field, without special scrutiny of details. Such a plan is not without its advantages, but viewed from the strictly scientific standpoint it limits seriously the value of a work.

Thus, in the papers here under discussion, the syntactical reader will not be particularly interested to learn that the great mass of accusatives and ablatives in Livy can be brought within the categories commonly recognized by the grammars; and he will not linger long over the abundant illustrations given under these heads. On the other hand, he would much appreciate just what the author does not profess to give, namely, a complete and critical account of the particulars in which Livy's usage differs from that of other historical prose writers.

The student of semasiology and the thoroughgoing stylist will have a similar experience in reading these articles. It is a matter for regret that the writer, after having taken the trouble to amass such a store of material, should not have extracted more data of interest to the specialist. For the general philological public he has produced very readable papers. The occasional confusing lack of commas, and other minor infelicities are doubtless to be accounted for largely on the basis of the fact that the printer was so far beyond the author's reach.

H. C. NUTTING

Clio Enthroned: A Study of Prose-Form in Thucydides. By WALTER R. M. LAMB, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1914.

The purpose of Mr. Lamb's book may be found in this statement (p. 7): "An examination of the literary movements of the fifth century should throw some fresh light, not only on the works of Thucydides and his contemporaries but also, perhaps, on some of those discussions in which the eloquence of Plato appears as the genuine, if rather ungrateful, heir of the sophistic inventions." So he proceeds to a search first among the fragmentary relics of the early prose writers for the steps by which the style of Thucydides was formed. But before entering directly upon this search he makes, after discussing "The General Aim of the History" in chap. i, a digression in chap. ii entitled "Allurements of Urania," to take issue with Cornford's thesis set forth in *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. "The 'myth-historic theory,' says Lamb,

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raises a suspicion concerning the mind of Thucydides which casts a lurid doubt upon the accuracy of the whole picture"; and the main grounds for this suspicion in the body of the narrative are then examined. "The skeleton of a connected dramatic design," which Cornford has set up for Thucydides, resulting in the conclusion that "after all, Thucydides was only an amateur tragedian," is examined from other points of view, but with especial reference to the Sphacterian episode and the Mytilenaean debate, as also in a later chapter on the "Melian Dialogue." To this reader—and the majority of unprejudiced readers will probably agree—the objections to Cornford's theory seem valid. The concluding words of the chapter I heartily endorse: "The conflict that we shall watch for and consider will not be one in which the servant of truth appears constricted by the rules and trappings of mythic drama; it will be the most obvious and measurable part of the issue joined by luminous art with laborious fidelity. In a certain limited sense, the decision will be seen to fall in favor of dramatic effect; but the settlement, if not perfect in formal harmony and smoothness, may yet claim to present the lively lineaments of a genuine history."

Chapter iii, on "The Mind of the Writer," seeks to determine the natural cast of Thucydides' mind, in order to enable us better to understand how he came to develop his peculiar style.

In chap. iv, on "Narrative Prose," as promised at the start, an examination is made of fragments from various earlier and contemporary prose writers. After some discussion of fragments of Hellanicus and certain passages of Herodotus, the most interesting part of the chapter is the discussion of Hippocrates, as promising ground in the search for the formative influences on Thucydides' style. But this discussion is neither so interesting nor so convincing as the next chapter, called "The Rhetorical Invasion," where along with Democritus, Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias, chief attention is given to the influence of Gorgias and Antiphon. The general result, so far as Gorgias is concerned, may be gathered from the following: "The fact remains that Thucydides grasped the importance of Gorgias' artifices for the progress of literary art. The chief benefit resulting to us now is the establishment of balance in the constitution of a sentence; though our properly tempered use of epigram has only been evolved by a continual warfare between brilliancy and common sense. Antithesis was bound to lead from a small to a large form, when practice in the craft was able to answer the calls of fuller thought; and from Gorgias came the impulse needed for the early stages of the process." After Gorgias, Antiphon was the next most important influence upon the style of Thucydides, though it may be doubted whether a study of Antiphon helps so much to a conception of his influence upon Thucydides as to an understanding of Gorgias' influence upon both of them. The chapter is the longest and best in the book, at once suggestive and interesting. The sophistic movement is given fair credit for its influence in the development of literary style here and elsewhere in the book.

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If the chapter on "Personification" is somewhat disappointing, that on "Intonation" makes up for it. There the examples of formal resonance and rhythm—"deliberate appeals to the ear"—are very striking, showing for what effects Thucydides sometimes consciously and successfully strove, though seeking these poetic aids only at casual moments of intensity. How frequent are his appeals to the ear through trochaic, iambic, paeonic, and especially heroic endings will probably be a surprise to most readers, as certainly to me. "A careful search throughout the history provides no ground for suspecting that Thucydides attempted any elaborate metrical scheme, such as may be attributed to Isocrates. In large portions of the book there is no more sign of a recurrent scheme of feet than in the main substance of Herodotus. It is only because these occasional chimes—most markedly in the heroic cadence—are the sole indications of a care or inclination for rhythmic as distinct from assonant balance in Thucydides, that they deserve further attention."

The chapter on "Interpolation" is added because it is clear that "no just account of his different modes of expression can ignore this matter of interpolation, at least so far as concerns the larger 'adscripts' which are alleged to have crept into the text." One especially of the conclusions of this chapter seems sensible: "We must be prepared to find that, as his peculiar brevity exposed him to accretions of scholastic annotation, so his hope of being used by persons remote from his time and outlook has frequently moved him to insert his own explanatory allusions."

Inasmuch as the modern world will have to depend mainly upon translations for what it knows of Thucydides, a few lines from the "Conclusion" may be quoted here: "These references have perhaps suggested already the thorough-going infidelity of the current translations of the History. None of these bears traces of any adequate attempt to give Thucydides his proper rank and significance in literature: they give hardly a sign of his experimental ardour, as it appears in the chief varieties of his style. Too constantly the translator has endeavored to set forth, not the author's taste and dexterity, but his own."

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Classical Philology

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HESIOD'S DESCRIPTION OF WINTER

(*Works and Days*, lines 493–560)

BY ALBERT J. CARNOY

All those who have read Hesiod's *Works and Days* know that the charm of the short poem resides mainly in a few delightful episodes and descriptions interrupting the long series of exhortations to the frivolous Perses. One of those digressions is the description of winter (ll. 493–560). It is picturesque, full of striking comparisons, and leaves a strong impression. Unfortunately for the glory of the Boeotian sage, this piece of masterly work is precisely one of which the authenticity has been most generally contested. Twesten, Lehrs, Goettling, Schoemann, Fick, Paley, all reject the passage. Sittl, Flach, and Rzach accept it, while Waltz proposes to preserve a few portions of it. The able author of the last English translation of the Hesiodic poems, Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White, has recently placed himself among those who do not concede to Hesiod the paternity of the description (*Classical Review*, XXX, 209). According to his theory, only a few lines of the introductory passage (ll. 493–503) are genuine and should be considered as the prototype of later amplifications. The words:

> ὥρῃ χειμερίῃ, ὁπότε κρύος ἀνέρα ἔργων
> ἰσχάνει, ... (ll. 494–95)

have suggested to a versifier of the Boeotian school the idea of introducing here a more vivid evocation of the winter season and of taking advantage of such a splendid opportunity, so surprisingly

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missed by Hesiod (ll. 524–35). A poet of the Ionian school, unsatisfied with the Boeotian picture, rewrote it to suit the taste of his own school. The tradition preserved both compositions, the Ionian *rifacimento* being intercalated between Hesiod's short mention and its later amplification, occupying thus ll. 504–23. In this way the conceits ἀνδστεος (*octopus*), ὑληκοῖται (*ferae*), τρίπους (*senex*), supposedly typical of the Hesiodic art, though they would be denied to Hesiod himself, would be preserved by his school, while the Ionian features of a part of the description would also be accounted for.

It remains an injustice, however, to deprive Hesiod of the paternity of the description, unless cogent reasons are adduced to show its spuriousness; and, I am sorry to say, the close examination to which I subjected Hesiod's text while conducting the exercises of the Greek seminar in the University of Pennsylvania in 1916–17 has brought me to conclusions very different from those of Mr. Evelyn-White and of most of the commentators. In the consideration of that old problem I have tried to resort as much as possible to fresh evidence.

The main positive reason why the text should be rejected is, of course, its alleged Ionian appearance. "Both in tone and in color," says Mr. Evelyn-White, "ll. 504–23 stand out strongly from the background of the main part of the *Works and Days*."

Before proceeding any farther, one may wonder whether this fact, if it were actually established, should deter us from regarding the passage as authentic. The indebtedness of Hesiod to the Homeric and to the older Ionian school of poetry is known to be very great. The Boeotian moralist, though he puts himself in opposition to the levity of the Ionian works of fiction, has conceived the idea of his poem under their influence and has adopted their dialect and their terminology. For Hesiod, poetry means Homeric or Ionian poetry. Whenever he wishes to write real poetry, he adopts an Ionian tone, as is, for instance, so conspicuous in the prologue to the *Theogony*. His task is to make out of popular, moralizing, Boeotian poetry a real poem recalling Homeric poems, but with another spirit and another purpose. A close examination of Hesiod's poetical style reveals in the didactic portions an overwhelming abundance of alliterations, rhymes, and repetitions of words, all of which are processes of

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a mnemonic character found in the proverbs of all nations, and which he raised to the dignity of poetical features. In the descriptive episodes, as, for instance, the picture of the ages of the world, though they are not absent they are much more moderately used, because there he means to write, not exhortations, but what in his mind is real poetry, and he shows that, if needed, he can be a good practicer of the traditional poetical art.

A few Ionisms would thus hardly go beyond showing that in these passages Hesiod had Ionian verses in his memory. Mr. Evelyn-White thinks that he has made clear that the short description of the maiden, restful at home, while the cold wind is blowing out of doors:

> καὶ διὰ παρθενικῆς ἁπαλόχροος οὐ διάησιν
> ἥτε δόμων ἔντοσθε φίλῃ παρὰ μητέρι μίμνει
> οὔπω ἔργα ἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

is a reproduction of ll. 1–32 of the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite.

In fact, the resemblances are only what one expects them to be in that type of poetry which works so extensively with commonplaces and with set epithets.

There is in both works an allusion to a girl who has not yet conceived any desire for the ἔργα Ἀφροδίτης. It takes three lines in Hesiod, while it is a long development in the hymn. Considering the great popularity of Hesiod's poems, there is, therefore, much more probability that his verses and expressions were obsessing the memory of the composer of Aphrodite's hymn. παρθενικὴ ἁπαλόχροος is found in both passages, it is true, but it is obviously a set expression and Hesiod has ἁπαλός in *Theog.* 3, while παρθενική, which is found in *Op.* 63, is a Homeric word, no more surprising in Hesiod than in the hymns.

The same argument applies to πολύχρυσος Ἀφροδίτη, for which Hesiod also says χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη (*Op.* 65). Here, again, there is no reason to believe in any indebtedness to the hymn. Hesiod, curiously enough, does not mention Ἔρος or Ἀφροδίτη without accompanying them with graceful and erotic expressions as is the case, e.g., in the episode of Pandora (*Op.* 65 f.):

> καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην
> καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοκόρους μελεδώνας

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or in the *Theogony*, when amidst the horror of the cosmogonic myths, he indulges in saying (ll. 120–22):

ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
λυσιμελής, πάντων δὲ θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν

while in connection with Aphrodite's myth he makes a long description of the pleasures of love (ll. 200–206). The ideas and the expressions are strikingly similar to several of those in the prologue of Aphrodite's hymn (ἐδαμάσσατο [l. 3], φιλομμειδής [l. 17], [cf. *Theog.* 205, 989], ἵμερον [l. 2], [cf. *Theog.* 201], etc.). Has anyone, however, ever thought that on all those passages the Ionian influence of Aphrodite's hymn has been active?

One sees, also, how dangerous it would be to point to a certain weakness or softness discoverable in the description of the maiden taking some care of her body at home, and to infer from it that one is confronted here with a sample of Ionian customs. The emphasis on the girl's delicate skin (λοεσσαμένη τέρενα χρόα . . . . [l. 522]) is fully justified by the context. The entire preceding passage was describing the effect of a bitterly cold wind upon the skins of various animals. It can pierce the hides of the wild animals and of the cows. What then of the delicate skin of a maiden, unless she wisely stays at home by the hearth? This short picture of the girl provides, moreover, a very natural transition between the description of the effects of wind on the skin and that of the plight of all beings in cold weather. The girl at home escapes the torments both of wind and of cold. She lacks the thick protecting hide of the cows and the deer, but she is not frozen in a fireless house as is the octopus. Then, very naturally, comes the description of the sufferings of "the horned and unhorned denizens of the wood, with teeth chattering pitifully," etc.

But the editors of Hesiod claim to have found in the passage words that are unmistakably Ionian. There is notably the name of the month Ληναιῶνα. The same month in Delphi, so it is said (Cosm. Indic. 1702), was called βουκάτιος, "killer of oxen," but Hesiod does not write in Boeotian nor in Phocian. His verses are in the language of the Homerides, and it is not at all unlikely that in writing his description of winter Hesiod was under the influence of similar

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descriptions made in Ionia, in which Ληναίων had become a synonym of winter, as in French, *l'août* is a synonym of "the harvest." Now it is very remarkable that μῆνα δὲ Ληναιῶνα is explained in Hesiod's verse by βουδόρα πάντα. It seems that the name of the month in his own dialect was present in his mind while he was using Ληναιῶνα, so that βουδόρα appears there as a commentary for the use of the Boeotian peasants' "The month of Lenaeon which, as we say, skins [or kills] the oxen." A compromise of that kind is exactly what a man is expected to make when he is using a literary language to speak to people whom he regularly addresses in a local dialect.

More serious, at first sight, is the objection derived from the presence of Πανελλήνεσσι in l. 528:

ἠέλιος βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαείνει.

It is alleged that the designation of the Greek world by such a general expression is surprising in Hesiod's time. Now, I think the difficulty arises from a false interpretation of the word. Πανέλληνες is an old expression. One has it in *Il.* 2. 530.[1]

[Αἴας] ἐγχείῃ δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς·

A comparison with *Il.* 2. 683 sq. in the same book:

Οἵ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῖντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,

shows that what is meant by Πανέλληνας is a group of Thessalian Greeks.

The expression does not seem to have had a long life. It is still found in Archilochus frag. 47 in the eighth century. Later it changed its original meaning. There is every reason to believe that in Hesiod's line it refers to Northern Greece. This interpretation gives a very good meaning, indeed. It introduces a clear contrast between the South, the land of the κυανέων ἀνδρῶν, and the North, the land of the Thessalians, where in winter the sun especially βράδιον φαείνει.

Finally, a proof of spuriousness is found in the abnormal repetition of a negation in:

πώεα δ' οὔ τι
οὔνεκ' ἐπεγναὶ τρίχες αὐτῶν, οὐ διάησιν [ll. 516–17],

[1] The passage has been held to be spurious, but without any other reason than the very reluctance to accept Πανέλληνας as a possible old form.

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but this is obviously due to the long distance between verb and subject. The repetition of *οὐ* before *διάησιν* provides a useful parallelism with the ending of l. 515: *οὐδέ μιν ἴσχει*, and of l. 519: *οὐ διάησιν*.

I therefore conclude that neither the tone nor the words of the description of winter oblige us to believe that it is post-Hesiodic. Its relative independence in the poem is no surer mark of its spuriousness. One should not lose sight of the exigencies of the genre to which Hesiod has devoted himself. Didactic poetry is almost a contradiction in terms. Poetry is the product of imagination. Didactic literature appeals to reason. In that type of poems, therefore, the tendency is in all times to regard versification as an ornament of reason. It is a device to render teaching more attractive; hence, a propensity to refinement and niceties in the structure of the verse or in the expressions. That display of ability replaces the inspiration, which necessarily is commonplace, since moral truths are universal. One knows how far such tendencies were pushed in the mediaeval *Chambres de Rhétorique*. Those features, as we will emphasize later, are far from absent in Hesiod's versification.

Moreover, the necessity of speaking to our imagination as well as to our reason in order to make the teaching attractive and somewhat poetical almost invariably results in the introduction of allegories and parables. This device is essentially human and inherited from the folklore. It is constantly used in the *Roman de la Rose* and other works of the same period in the Middle Ages. It is no less conspicuous in the *Works and Days* (allegory of the two *ἔριδες*, fable of the eagle and the nightingale, tales of Pandora and of the ages of the world, etc.).

Irrespective of the moral value of such episodes, they have a great literary importance. Hesiod has undertaken to adapt the Homeric poetry of imagination to truth. He conceived the idea of a poem on work and of another one on the origins of gods and the world (if one accepts the tradition which ascribes the *Theogony* to the same poet as the *Works and Days*). He soon felt that his matter was dry and monotonous, and he resorted, therefore, very naturally to the introduction of episodes, not only allegorical but descriptive and narrative as, e.g., the chorus of the Muses or the fight against the Titans in the *Theogony*.

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The description of winter provides a badly needed interruption in the long enumeration of the farmer's occupations all through the year. In spite of much humor, spirit, and variety in the expressions, the second part of the poem would have been too uniform an address without that single lengthy description. The very reason, therefore, why at first sight the passage might seem to be interpolated, if considered in connection with the exigencies of this special type of poetry, becomes a proof of its authenticity.

This shows, of course, how dangerous it is to apply indiscriminately general standards to some literary work instead of basing one's argument on the special features of the peculiar genre or of the individual writer. This fault unfortunately has been only too often committed by the immense majority of the critics and commentators of classical works.

Another instance of it is the argument based on repetitions of words and expressions in the passage. In later works this might point to *remaniements*. In Hesiod, on the contrary, this is the very thing expected. We try to avoid repeating the same words or the same ideas in our works. For the early Greek poets or prose writers, as Hesiod and Herodotus, the repetition of the same words was a device to emphasize the symmetry of the style or the structure of the argument. This is especially observable in Hesiod's prologue to the *Works and Days*, where it has an antithetic character (cf. ll. 1–10, 20–26, etc.). Generally, it is emphatic (ll. 80–82, 150–51, and especially in ll. 295–319) for ἔργον, ἄεργος, ἐργάζω, etc.

A somewhat attentive reading of the text will reveal such repetitions all through the poem. Their use to accentuate a parallelism is especially apparent in the "Ages of the World"; cf. the repetition there of γένος, μέροπες ἄνθρωποι, ἐσθλός, κατὰ γαῖα ἐκάλυψεν, μάκαρες θεοί, ὀλυμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες, etc. Every new race of men is introduced practically with the same formula. Mr. Evelyn-White is shocked by the reproduction in ll. 525–35 of at least two features of the first picture (ll. 503–20): the bowed appearance of the aged and the mention of the βῆσσαι, "woody glens." But in the first case the aged man is actually represented as suffering from the *wind* (τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησιν), while in the second case it is a mere comparison —the cold bows down the wild animals as the wind does the aged.

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In the first section the wind bends the proud oaks and pines in the mountain glens; in the second, the *cold* affects the inhabitants of the same glens. The effects of the wind (in which the idea of *skin* predominates) and those of the cold (in which the *home* is the important feature) are thus treated as two sides of a diptych painting, and the poet very pertinently tries to emphasize the parallelism by recalling in the second section expressions of the first. The symmetry between the comparison of the girl at home and of the octopus in its hole enhances the same parallelism in a striking manner, so that it would be irrational to cut off the first without suppressing the second in which Mr. Evelyn-White finds Hesiodic traits. The only reasonable policy is, therefore, to preserve both, the more so since, as said before, they provide the natural transition between the two symmetrical descriptions.

That double picture is followed by practical conclusions: against wind, have good clothes to protect the skin; against cold, give good food to men and beasts and wear thick garments. Another caution is to avoid getting wet, which introduces the idea of rain as another aspect of winter, and the third section of what is a triptych rather than a diptych. That conclusions are interwoven with that third part of the description is perhaps a literary weakness, but it is quite typically Hesiodic. One has a very striking instance of it in ll. 225–37, in which the description of the good effects of the righteousness of the βασιλεῖς degenerates into a general picture of prosperity, extending even as far as the production of acorns by oaks. On the other hand, the reproduction of a preceding development with only a slight change in the subject—as is the case here for wind, cold, rain —is also very Hesiodic. Among the considerations concerning Justice, one finds, e.g., in ll. 220–24 that Justice complains aloud when it is wronged, while in ll. 256–62 the same Justice with as much emphasis accuses the unjust βασιλεῖς at the throne of Zeus. In ll. 237–47 the injustice of one man is represented as bringing a punishment upon the whole city. Lines 248 ff. describe how a punishment is inflicted upon the unrighteous princes, while the conclusion of the whole passage, in ll. 282–84, again announces a punishment; and when Hesiod, after the general preaching, begins to give private and intimate advices to his brother, in a more familiar tone,

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he enlarges again on a very similar idea, but in a more personal manner: Your bad conduct will bring misfortune upon you. There is a great similarity, also, between the description of prosperity procured by Justice (ll. 225–63) and the demonstration that the respect of divine law alone gives desirable riches (ll. 320–41).

If, therefore, on such grounds one rejects the description of winter or portions of it, one must also hold in suspicion two-thirds of the poem. However, the exclusion of all the passages that seem more or less similar to preceding ones could be made only arbitrarily because the same Hesiodic features are found in them all, and even the sequence of ideas is easily discovered in the whole poem, provided one remembers that, although it is a poem of reason, it aims, as does popular oratory, to impress an idea *par coups répétés*, by reproducing the same considerations in another tone or under another slightly different aspect, so as to create a state of mind, rather than by a persuasion based on a strict argument.

Even this broad view of the poem, however, cannot stand in the presence of contradictions, and Mr. Evelyn-White thinks that he has found two in the description of winter. He is shocked by the fact that the daughter of a farmer is lying down in daytime (*καταλέξεται ἔνδοθι οἴκου ἤματι χειμερίῳ*), but *ἦμαρ* of course has a very broad meaning with poets. It is used for destiny: *ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ, νηλεὲς ἦμαρ*; and in the *Iliad* the very expression *ἤματι χειμερίῳ* is used in 12. 279 as an equivalent of "in winter," as *ἤματι ὀπωρινῷ* in *Il.* 16. 385 means "in late summer." There are popular tales in France beginning on "*Un jour, c'était pendant la nuit . . . .*" More subtle is the second objection of this kind (l. 494): Hesiod advises Perses to shun the *λέσχαι* where time is wasted and to stay at home in winter. In ll. 535 ff. he indicates various cautions to be taken by a man who, in winter, goes to work out of doors. I confess that I am not struck by any contradiction here. The bits of advice are given in very different connections. It is better to stay at home than to lounge as a loafer in public houses, but, if one has to go out in winter for some serious purpose, one should wear a thick coat. Idle talk in *λέσχαι* is to be avoided, but idle rest at home when there is work out of doors would not be advisable either. We never are more consistent in our talks, let alone in our preachings.

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There are, on the other hand, positive reasons for believing in the Hesiodic character of the whole description. There is, e.g., in l. 575 of the *Works and Days* the expression, *ὥρῃ ἐν ἀμήτου, ὅτε τ' ἠέλιος χρόα κάρφει*, which makes a perfect parallelism with *μῆνα δὲ Δηναιῶνα, κακ' ἤματα, βούδορα πάντα*, and the following account of the action of the cold wind on the skin—i.e., precisely the portion of the description of winter which is most strongly suspected to be Ionian. Moreover, the prologue of Aphrodite's hymn contains hardly any alliteration of a striking character. It has no more rhyming words or repetitions of words than any Greek epic passage. The description of winter, on the contrary, in its entirety abounds in such devices. Although casually Hellenists have noted the mere existence of alliterations in Hesiod, the attention of the philologists has never been seriously attracted by this striking peculiarity of his style.

Obviously, in Greek proverbs, as in those of all peoples, those mnemonic processes were in current use. Only Hesiod, who found them in the popular poetry, has consciously used them as an element of poetical style. The ten verses of his prologue to the *Works and Days* contain more than twelve sure instances of those repetitions of sounds, and a somewhat attentive reading of the whole poem will reveal them by hundreds. They are so clear, so numerous, that even the most skeptical observer would exclude the possibility of a mere coincidence.

In the description of winter remarkable alliterations are found, e.g., in:

L. 497 (*π*): *συν πενίῃ, λεπτῇ, δὲ παχὺν πόδα χειρὶ πιέζῃς πολλά. . . . .*

Ll. 509–11 (*π*): *πολλαὶ δὲ δρῦς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας*
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃς πιλνᾷ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἐμπίπτων, καὶ πᾶσα βοᾷ τοτε νήριτος ὕλη.

L. 522 (*λ*): *εὖ τε λοεσσαμένη τέρενα χρόα καὶ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.*

Ll. 523–24 (*χ–μ*): *χρισαμένη μυχίῃ καταλέξεται ἔνδοθι οἴκου*
ἤματι χειμερίῳ . . . .

Ll. 535–36 (*κ* and *χ*):
. . . . ἔρυμα χροός, ὥς σε κελεύω,
χλαῖναν τε μαλακὴν καὶ τερμίοεντα χιτῶνα.[1]

[1] The *aspiratae* and the *tenues* constantly alliterate together in Hesiod's verses, as shown, e.g., in ll. 25–26 (*πτ : φθ*):
καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

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L. 533 (τρ): καὶ γλάφυ πετρῆεν· τότε δὲ τρίποδι βρωτῷ ἶσοι.

Ll. 541–43 (π–φ):

ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶ πέδιλα βοὸς ἶφι κταμένοιο
ἄρμενα δήσασθαι, πίλοις ἔντοσθε πυκάσσας
πρωτογόνων δ' ἐρίφων, ὁπότ' ἄν. . . . .

Ll. 551–58 (χ): . . . . μεὶς γὰρ χαλεπώτατος οὗτος
χειμέριος, χαλεπὸς προβάτοις, χαλεπὸς δ' ἀνθρώποις.

Internal alliterations are no less common:

Ll. 555–58 (αλ): . . . . ἀμφικαλύψῃ
χρῶτα δὲ μυδαλέον θήῃ κατὰ θ' εἵματα δεύσῃ
ἀλλ' ὑπαλεύασθαι· μεὶς γὰρ χαλεπώτατος οὗτος, etc.

Ll. 548–49 (ερ–ορ): . . . . ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστεροέντος
ἀὴρ πυροφόρος τέταται μακάρων ἐπὶ ἔργοις.

Ll. 529–30 (υλ–λυ): . . . . ὑληκοῖται
λυγρὸν μυλιόωντες.

In a few verses there seems to exist an alliteration of *digammas:*

Ll. 525–26: ἐν τ' ἀπόρῳ ϝοίκῳ καὶ ϝήθεσι λευγαλέοισιν
οὐδέ ϝοι ἠελιος.

L. 521: οὔ πω ϝέργα ϝιδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Curiously enough, it is not rare to find a word in the midst of a verse alliterating with a word at the same place in the following line:

Ll. 517–18: οὔνεκ' ἐπηεταναὶ τρίχες αὐτῶν, οὐ διάσιν
ἷς ἀνέμου Βορέου[1]· τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησιν.

L. 521: οὔπω ἔργα ἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
εὖ τε λοεσσαμένη τέρενα χρόα καὶ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.[2]

Besides those very clear cases of alliterations of various sorts, there are a great many alliterations of a less striking type, which, however, can hardly have been unintentional, as, e.g., in ll. 493 (χ, κ), 494 (ερ), 497 (π), 500 (κ), 502 (δ), 505 (πηγ-πιγ), 507 (τρ), 512 (ρ), 514 (δ), 516 (α), 520 (μ), 521 (ϝ), 522 (λ), 528 (παν), 531 (φ-π), 533 (κ-χ), 535 (λευ), 547 (π), 548 (α), 557 (λ), etc.

[1] The original text probably had Βορέω for Βορέω.

[2] In the same kind are, e.g., ll. 145–46:

ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον· οἷσιν Ἄρηος
ἔργ ἔμελεν στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες· οὐδέτι σῖτον.

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This will suffice to demonstrate that not only is there no stringent motive to regard the description of winter as a late interpolation in the *Works and Days*, but that there is every reason to consider it as a decidedly Hesiodic composition. Far from being a *hors-d'-œuvre*, it is an almost necessary part of the poem. Its apparent repetitions or so-called inconsistencies are in reality typical features of Hesiod's manner. Moreover, the consideration of the very curious and typical forms of Hesiod's style gives us a new and valuable criterion for distinguishing Hesiodic verses from other poetry. I hope that its application to this old problem may have helped to solve it.

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AELIUS GALLUS AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE IRRIGATION SYSTEM OF EGYPT UNDER AUGUSTUS

By W. L. Westermann

The physical character of the Mediterranean world, its great shore line and its peninsulas, its relatively narrow width in relation to its great length—these are the fundamental factors which made possible the development of the urban character of Greco-Roman civilization. The peninsulas jutting southward make the connections easy, north to south as well as east to west. The early direct connections of Egypt and Crete evidenced in the reliefs from the tomb of Sen-mut at Thebes[1] are proof enough of this. For this space between Egypt and Crete is the longest open-sea sail which is necessary in the Mediterranean, even presupposing that it was made westward along the shore of Africa to some harbor on the Libyan littoral and thence directly northward. Even so, it is longer than the sail from Carthage to Sicily or that from the Phoenician colonies in Northern Africa directly northward to Spain.

Despite this fact—that easy sea transport and cheap freightage gave the impetus to, and furnished the background for, the city life of the ancient Mediterranean—it is evident that the question of the food supply for the larger cities was always a difficult one for the ancients to solve.[2] Individual business initiative, probably because of the want of sufficient capital in single hands and the lack of a developed credit system,[3] could not meet the requirements of the situation. In the early Mediterranean absolutistic states the rulers, that is, the state, were the great handlers and exporters of grain. In this rôle the Hellenistic kings followed their oriental predecessors; and they used the power of their grain control to further their political aims. The distance and insecurity of the grain import from lower

[1] W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Carnegie Institution (Washington, 1906), I, 12 ff.

[2] M. Rostowzew, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyklopädie*, VII, 139–40, *frumentum*.

[3] Westermann, "The Economic Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture," *Am. Hist. Review*, XX, 743.

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Russia, the privateering of the Greek mercenary captains in the fourth century B.C., the arbitrary and prohibitive tolls imposed by cities in favorable positions like Byzantium, the unrestricted piracy of the first half of the first century B.C.—all of these were additional elements which militated against the natural advantages for urban life supported by cheap and effective water transportation which the Mediterranean world possessed.[1] Freightage of grain by land was exceedingly slow and difficult as compared with modern rail transportation, and therefore costly. Here the advantage of the modern urban life over the ancient is obvious.

Throughout the history of the Roman Republic we catch echoes of the difficulty of supplying the citizen consumer at Rome with a sufficient supply of grain at a reasonable price. In the last century of the Republic the trouble apparently became more urgent. In 57 B.C. Gnaeus Pompey was placed in charge of the *cura annonae*, in the special sense of the food supply of Rome, for a five-year term. In 44 B.C. Julius Caesar instituted the two *aediles ceriales* to take care of this task.[2] It is evident from Augustus' own account in the *Res gestae* that he regarded seriously the obligation of the ruler in respect to the city's grain supply. In 23 B.C. he made twelve distributions of grain for which he supplied the funds out of his private means.[3] In 22 B.C., when there was a notable scarcity of grain at Rome, he took over the *curatio annonae*, which he so handled that in a few days the people was freed from fear and danger.[4] After 18 B.C., whenever the state revenues failed to come in, he made large and apparently frequent contributions in grain and in money out of his own property.[5] It is clear that Augustus regarded his activities in relation to the city food supply as a not unimportant part of his executive career and as worthy of mention in this important document which he was leaving to be read before the Senate and published before his tomb for the Roman people to see.

[1] See Rostowzew, *op. cit.*

[2] A sketch of the *cura annonae* under the Republic, by Rostowzew, will be found in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyklopädie*, I, 2317–18. The facts are well known.

[3] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, chap. 15: "consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum."

[4] *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, chap. 18. In the shattered condition of the Latin text in this place the Greek version is the safer guide to the meaning of Augustus.

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Even Dio connected the peculiar care which Augustus displayed in his treatment of Egypt with its revenues and its importance for the grain export.[1] In fact, Augustus set Egypt aside as a land especially devoted to the *annona civica* of Rome; and this obligation rested upon the Nile fields as a new and heavy burden during the Empire.[2] In view of this situation the report of Suetonius[3] in regard to Augustus' activity in cleaning out the irrigation ditches of Egypt assumes a significance already thoroughly recognized by Wilcken.[4] Suetonius says:

> After Egypt had been brought under provincial organization, in order that he might make it more available for the city's [i.e., Rome's] grain supply,[5] with the aid of the soldiery he cleaned out all the canals into which the Nile empties, which in the course of years had become silted up.

The use of the soldiery on this fatigue duty is sufficient proof of the large and organized scale upon which the work was conducted. The necessity of this large enterprise presupposes gross neglect of the irrigation system under the lax administration of the later Ptolemies.[6]

A statement of Strabo[7] gives us positive evidence of the successful results of the cleaning out of the irrigation system undertaken under Augustus' orders. Strabo says that before Gaius Petronius became Roman prefect of Egypt the greatest productivity occurred when the Nile rose fourteen cubits, but when the river rose only eight cubits famine resulted. During the prefecture of Petronius when the Nilometer measured a rise of twelve cubits, the grain production of Egypt was at its maximum; and when the Nilometer measured but eight cubits, no complaint of famine was heard. Strabo's statement rests upon facts, and his readings were taken from the Nilometer at Memphis.[8] This reduction of the maximum overflow necessary to obtain "bumper crops" from fourteen to twelve cubits represents a deepening of the canal beds throughout and especially at the mouth, or Nile entrance, of each canal. The shoveling by hand necessary to

[1] Dio Cassius 51. 17: *τήν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα.*

[2] U. Wilcken, *Papyruskunde, Grundzüge*, I, No. 1, 186–87, 368–69.

[3] Suetonius *Augustus*, chap. 18. [4] Wilcken, *op. cit.*, I, 186.

[5] Suetonius, *op. cit.*: *ut feraciorem habilioremque annonae urbicae redderet.*

[6] Wilcken, *op. cit.* [7] Strabo xvii. 1. 3.

[8] L. Borchardt, "Nilmesser und Nilstands-marken," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie*, 1906, p. 50.

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accomplish this could be carried on only at such a time as would least discommode the peasants in the agricultural work of the year. This would be from the period of the harvest up to the high flood of the following agricultural year, that is, roughly calculated, from the end of April to September.[1] It would seem, therefore, to have been a task of more than one year's duration.

The reorganization of the canal system under Augustus was assigned by Dio to Augustus himself during his stay in Egypt in 30 B.C.[2] The statement of Strabo, however, shows that Dio has here no chronological value. For, if the work had been done in 30 B.C., the change in the required rise of the Nile necessary to produce good crops would have appeared in the prefecture of Cornelius Gallus in 29 B.C. The project is usually placed by modern historians in the prefecture of Gaius Petronius.[3] This is done because of Strabo's statement that the rise of eight to fourteen cubits produced satisfactory to excellent crops in the time of Petronius' prefecture (*ἐπ' ἐκείνου δὲ ἄρξαντος τῆς χώρας*). Strabo, however, nowhere ascribes the actual work to Petronius. For reasons which follow I am convinced that the actual supervision and responsibility of the cleaning of the canals fell, for the greater part, upon Aelius Gallus when he was prefect of Egypt.

When dealing with the alluvial plain of the Tigris-Euphrates basin about Babylon, Strabo shows an unusually clear knowledge of the whole process of river irrigation.[4] He has a perfectly clear conception of the paramount difficulty which arises in maintaining such a system in a low alluvial plain—namely, silting. He first makes a brief statement about the Tigris-Euphrates basin, to the effect that Alexander destroyed the barrages erected by the Persians in the Tigris and Euphrates rivers:

He also gave his attention to the canals. For the Euphrates overflows at the beginning of the summer, commencing to rise from the springtime

[1] The danger to the dykes from the high Nile begins in Thoth (September) (*P. Lond.*, I, 166 f.). Thereafter the year to Pachon (May) is filled with repairing dykes, irrigating, weeding, etc. The dyke-tax receipts of the papyri show that this government work was carried on from Pachon into Thoth—May into September.

[2] Dio Cassius 51. 18. 1.

[3] It is so placed by L. Cantarelli, *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto* (Rome: Reale Accedemia dei Lincei, 1906), pp. 17–18, and by Borchardt, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[4] Strabo xvi. 1. 9, 10.

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when the snows of Armenia melt. Necessarily, therefore, the arable land would become swampy and be submerged if someone did not divert the overflow of the stream and the excess of water by making ditches and by canals, just as is done with the water of the Nile in Egypt.[1]

This statement is followed by a fairly scientific disquisition upon the silting up of canals.[2] It is general in tone, but more applicable in its particulars to the Nile Valley than to the Tigris-Euphrates basin.[3] Moreover, the likening of the situation in the Babylonian region to that of the Nile focuses the reader's attention thereafter rather upon Egypt than upon Babylonia.

Strabo realizes and expresses clearly the difficulties. The first is the continual process of silting up of the ditches. As a result of this, the lowlands of the delta, *τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ πεδία*, become swampy and overgrown with reeds. "It is not perhaps possible to prevent such flooding altogether; but it is the part of good governors (*ἡγεμόνων*) to render as much aid as they can." Strabo goes on to state that the methods of preventing inundation are two: first, to check superfluous overflow by diking the river in (*ἐμφράξει*); secondly, to prevent the filling up of the canals which the current causes, by cleaning them out and opening up their mouths. Where did Strabo get his accurate understanding of the methods of river irrigation and its difficulties? Since no knowledge has come down to us of any ancient scientific treatise upon the subject, the answer must be found in his trip through Egypt with Aelius Gallus, one of the prefects during the first decade of Egypt's existence as a Roman province. Aelius Gallus was Strabo's friend and companion. Strabo was with him when he was prefect of Egypt and traveled southward with him as far as Syene and the boundaries of Ethiopia.[4] He also records that he visited the vicinity of Thebes and listened to the "vocal Memnon" when traveling in the train of Gallus.[5] The natural presumption is that personal observation in Egypt when traveling with his friend

[1] *Ibid.*, § 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, §§ 9, 10.

[3] In fact, Herodotus, i. 193 tells us that the Tigris and Euphrates do not of their own accord overflow the grain lands. On the contrary, the water must be lifted either by hand or by machines.

[4] Strabo ii. 5. 12: *ἀνὴρ φίλος ἡμῖν καὶ ἑταῖρος Αἴλιος Γάλλος.*

[5] Strabo xvii. 1. 46: *κἀγὼ δὲ παρὼν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ φίλων τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν περὶ ὥραν πρώτην ἤκουσα τοῦ ψόφου.*

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Aelius Gallus gave him his intimate acquaintance with the work which a good ruler must do in cleaning out a canal system. This presumption is strengthened by two indications in his general treatise on irrigation quoted above. He speaks of "the river" (ποταμόν, xvi. 1. 10), not "the rivers," as would be the case were he dealing with the Babylonian district. Furthermore, ἡγεμών is the term regularly used by the Egyptian subjects in speaking of their prefect of Egypt and points strongly to an Egyptian source.

Strabo's knowledge of the activities required of a good governor in connection with an irrigation system (he has in mind the Nile system) and his presence in Egypt with Aelius Gallus seem to me to stand in a clear relationship. The credit for the actual guidance of the work of reorganizing the system I am constrained to ascribe, for the greater part, to the prefect Aelius Gallus.

The results of this reorganization appeared in the prefecture of Gaius Petronius, as is clear from Strabo's statement. The order of the prefects would therefore be Aelius Gallus followed by Gaius Petronius. Our results bring an independent confirmation of Mommsen's decision,[1] made on the basis of other evidence, that Aelius Gallus preceded Petronius, as against the older chronology (based upon Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XV, 307), which placed Petronius before Gallus. The chronology now generally accepted for the first three prefectures is as follows: Cornelius Gallus, 29–27 B.C.; Aelius Gallus, 27–24 B.C.; Gaius Petronius, 24–? B.C.[2] The unsuccessful Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus occupied both him and the soldiers of Egypt for about ten to twelve months in 25–24 B.C.[3] The bulk of the work of canal reorganization, since Suetonius expressly states that it was done with the aid of the soldiers, must be placed in the years 27–26 B.C., with the possibility of adding 28 B.C. under Cornelius Gallus for the beginning of it, and the year 25 B.C. for its completion, probably with Egyptian corvee labor. In the last half of 24 B.C., when Petronius became prefect, the surplus crop of the Egyptian agricultural year of Choiak to Payni (November–May)

[1] Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, 2d ed., pp. 106–7. For the literature upon this question see Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1891), II, 447 ff.

[2] Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 106; L. Cantarelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18. The end of the prefecture of Petronius is uncertain.

[3] See Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, and Johannes Schmidt, *Philologus*, XLIV, 465.

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of the year 25–24 was at his disposal for the sale of grain made to his friend Herod in the second year of the famine in Palestine.[1] The need of the east seems to have swallowed up the surplus left in this year after the requirements of the native population of Egypt and the Roman legions in service there had been supplied. Therefore in 23 B.C. Augustus was compelled to *buy* grain for the twelve largesses made in that year.[2] In 22 B.C., when the food situation at Rome was such that it could be called a "danger" and regarded with "fear," Augustus accepted the *curatio annonae* and relieved the situation "at his own expense" (*ταῖς ἐμαῖς δαπάναις*) within a few days.[3] The expenditure of 23 B.C. is listed in the account of money expenditures in chapter 15 of the *Res gestae*. This one of the year 22 is not so listed, though it was "at my expense." Available for Augustus in the granaries of Ostia would be the surplus of the Egyptian rentals in grain of the harvest of 24–23 B.C., which would be collected in Egypt during the summer and fall months of 23 B.C., when the flood was on, the canals full, and the transport from the villages to the Nile granaries possible. The grain would be in Alexandria some time in the fall and thence shipped to Rome late in the year 23 B.C. Again it must be the rentals in kind from his Egyptian properties which were the source of his contributions of grain in the grain and money *συντάξεις*, made sometimes to 100,000 people, sometimes to more, and occurring at intervals after 18 B.C.[4] So the cleaning of the ditches in Egypt meant to Augustus the possibility of steadying the city grain supply at any time. It is small wonder that he considered it expedient to make travel in Egypt for his family and for senators especially difficult and that he gave the land a peculiar place in his organization.

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[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XV, 307.

[2] *Mon. Ancy.*, chap. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, chap. 18, *ὅτε ὑπέλειπον αἱ δη[μό]σιαι πρόσοδοι, ἄλλοτε μὲν δέκα μυριάσιν, ἄλ[λοτε] δὲ πλείοσιν σειτικὰς καὶ ἀργυρικὰς συντάξεις ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔδωκα.* Mommsen's assumption that these grain and money contributions were paid to 100,000 or more individuals in the provinces (*Res gestae*[2], p. 77) at various times, to cover their inability to meet the tribute payments, is absolutely inadmissible. On the same page Mommsen suggests the correct explanation—namely, that these contributions must be connected with the *cura annonae* of 22 B.C.

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ODYSSEUS AS A SUN-GOD

By John A. Scott

The theory that Odysseus was originally the sun-god seems especially attractive to those who wish to find some mystical meaning in the story of the *Odyssey*. Creuzer in his *Symbolik*, III², 173, advocated the theory that Odysseus was the year- or the sun-god, and he has been followed by many of the leaders in Hellenic scholarship, so that his suggestion has passed over into such a standard work as Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, I, 100, as a simple and unqualified fact.

Professor Menrad, München, 1910, gives a survey of the literature and sees in the earliest form of the poem, *Der Urmythus der Odyssee*, the description of the manner by which the sun-god after many struggles reached the earth, and he names this earliest form *Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt*. Penelope in his theory is the earth, and Odysseus is the sun-god kept back from his bride, the earth, by the cold and the storms of winter, while his wife is beset by the suitors, who are really the days of the winter. Menrad supports his theory by composing a poem of nearly two thousand verses on this theme, which poem he regards as resembling the *Urmythus der Odyssee*.

The fact that the number twelve is so prominent in the *Odyssey* is the main prop by which this theory is supported. Odysseus sails with twelve ships, representing the twelve months which accompany the god of the year as he moves through the seasons, and when he returns he destroys the suitors, the days of the winter, and shoots through the twelve ax-heads, which represent the twelve months of the year, while his arrows are the rays of the sun.

Odysseus returns as a beggar, since the poet regarded the sun-god as weakened by the powers of winter. The following quotation from Altenburg, quoted by Menrad approvingly (p. 7), gives the essence of the matter:

> Seine Gemahlin, eine Erdgöttin, werde von 118 Freiern und deren Begleitern bedrängt, das seien die 118 Wintertage, die mit 3 multipliziert, das Mondjahr bilden. Aber der Sonnengott Odysseus erscheine, freilich

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vom Winter geschwächt, daher in Bettlertracht; er siege über die Freier und erlöse die Erde vom Winter. Der Meisterschuss durch die 12 Äxte bezeichne des Sonnengottes sieghaftes Vordringen durch die 12 Monate oder die 12 Bilder des Tierkreises. Die getöteten Freier werden in den Hades geführt, d.h. die Wintertage veschwinden in der Unterwelt.

It is evident that, if the twelve ax-heads are the twelve months of the year and the sun-god passes through these twelve months, he will be in precisely the same position he occupied when he started; hence, if the god were weakened by the forces of winter before he started through the circle of the months, he would again be in that condition and still be unable to enjoy the summer with his wife. Worse than this is the fact that Odysseus, if the sun-god, slew his own companions, since it was the sun-god who went to Zeus in order to beg destruction for the companions of Odysseus, and he was the most faithless of all leaders, since their sin was largely his fault, for just at the moment of their greatest temptation he went to a secluded place and took a nap.

It is not so much the absurdities of such theories which I wish to attack as their gross ignorance of Homer and the repeated misstatements of simple and easily ascertained facts.

Menrad, p. 26, discusses the meaning of Circe and assumes that the twelve companions of Odysseus are the twelve months and that the animals into which they are changed are the signs of the Zodiac. On p. 42 he repeats the statement that Odysseus with twelve companions visited Circe: "Die Mondgöttin Kirke, die vergebens an seinen zwölf Gefährten und an ihm ihren Zauber erprobt."

Here Menrad need be in no doubt as to the number of followers with Odysseus when he visited Circe, since this is one of the few passages in which Homer is definite—in fact, the one passage in the *Odyssey* that gives us a clue to the number of followers on the same ship with Odysseus. When Odysseus and his companions had met with repeated disasters, they decided not to run the risk of going in a body to search for the cause of the smoke which Odysseus had seen rising in this unknown island; they therefore divided themselves into two groups, one of which was to remain, the other to make the search. Homer explicitly says that the group which went had twenty-two men and the leader Eurylochus (κ 208). If the other

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group was as large, then the entire number with Odysseus, when he came to the island and during the year with Circe, was forty-five. Thus it seems that Odysseus must have had about sixty men on his ship when he left Troy, and this is what we might assume from the Catalogue of the Ships.

What can we say for the care and accuracy of a writer who calmly passes over these definite figures and bases an argument on the twelve followers who accompanied Odysseus to the home of Circe?

Again, while discussing the Sirens, he assumes that Odysseus, the year-god, and his twelve companions, the twelve months, passed the Sirens (p. 32): "Der Sonnengott vermochte ihren Gesang schadlos zu hören—das Anbinden war gar nicht nötig—aber seine 12 Genossen als niedrigere Wesen waren taub für solche Musik." Here again the number twelve is a pure assumption, since it could not be that Odysseus had still twelve companions if he had had twelve companions when with Circe, since the poet tells in detail of the death and burial of Elpenor, the poor fellow who while intoxicated had fallen from the roof. The whole story of Odysseus shows that he had a fairly large following at the time he sailed or rowed by the Sirens, since he soon lost six of his men to Scylla, and there seems to have been a large number with him when the cattle of Helius were slain and when his sailors were shipwrecked. If he had forty-five companions, as Homer says, when he visited Circe, then he had forty-four when they passed the Sirens, and thirty-eight at the island of the sun. These numbers seem to fit the entire narrative.

Polyphemus, according to Menrad, is the raging storm of winter; the rams and the goats are the hail and the snow. The six companions eaten by the monster are the six months of winter (p. 36): "Er verschlingt sechs seiner Genossen, d.h. sechs Monate des nordischen Jahres gehören ihm, und erst mit Hilfe der sechs Sommermonate gelingt es dem Sonnengott den Unhold zu bewältigen, ihm das eine Auge zu blenden." Here again the poet is ignored, since it is definitely stated that Odysseus was helped by four companions when he blinded the monster: ι 335, *τέσσαρες, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πέμπτος μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέγμην*. The bald assumption that Polyphemus and the Cyclopes belong to the far north is not in accord with the plain language of Homer, for he pictures their country as one of semi-

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tropical fertility where flocks find abundant food growing wild, where wheat, barley, and vines flourish without the aid of man. The poet then imagines what the land might do under proper cultivation, since the vineyards might flourish the entire year through and be imperishable. All this has nothing to do with a land where winter rules absolutely one-half of the year.

To quote one more statement (p. 7): "Seine Gemahlin werde von 118 Freiern und deren Begleitern bedrängt; das seien die 118 Wintertage, die mit drei multiplizert, das Mondjahr bilden." Homer, however, is very definite in his statement of the number of suitors and gives the number as 108 (π 247). It seems strange indeed that a theory which risks its all on numbers should give so little heed to what these numbers really are! I have no desire to be severe on Professor Menrad beyond others, since he is simply putting in compact form the arguments of a whole series of higher critics, and higher criticism is only vaguely connected with a knowledge or appreciation of Homer; hence, when once an error is started, higher criticism is helpless to correct it, for how could it be corrected unless one read Homer?

This paper would end here except for the fact that this sun-god theory has crept into histories and handbooks and therefore demands a more extended treatment.

The number twelve, which is the one great fact of this theory, is peculiarly well fitted for dactylic poetry, since it is found in each of the following forms: δυοκαίδεκα, δυοκαίδεκ', δυώδεκα, δυώδεκ', δώδεκα, δώδεκ'; and it is constantly used for a vague or indefinite number. The wide use of this numeral is not confined to Odysseus and the *Odyssey*, for a glance at Gehring's *Index* will show that it is used more often in the *Iliad* than in the later poem.

The gods spent twelve days with the Aethiopians (A 425). Ajax had twelve ships (B 557) and Odysseus had a like number (B 637). The Trojans vowed twelve oxen to Athena if she would be merciful and save them from the Greeks (Z 93, 274, 308). Agamemnon offered twelve horses to Achilles if he would forget his anger (I 123, 265). Diomede slew twelve of the sleeping Thracians (K 488, 560). The corslet of Agamemnon had twelve stripes of gold (Λ 25). Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, came to assist the Trojans with twelve

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ships (Λ 228). Neleus, the father of Nestor, had twelve sons (Λ 692). Ajax in defending the ships slew twelve of the Trojans (O 746). When Achilles appeared and shouted from the trench, twelve warriors perished in the ensuing panic (Σ 230). Achilles vowed to slay twelve young Trojans before the pyre of Patroclus (Σ 336). The twelve steeds already promised to the angry warrior if he would relent were brought into the presence of Achilles (T 244). The mares of Dardanus bore twelve colts to Boreas (T 225). Achilles seized the twelve Trojan youths whom he vowed as an offering at the pyre of Patroclus (Φ 27). Lycaon was twelve days at Troy when he fell into the hands of Achilles (Φ 81). Achilles slew the twelve Trojans according to his vow (Ψ 22, 175, 181). Achilles insulted for twelve days the body of Hector (Ω 31, 413). When Priam prepared to take with him a ransom for the corpse of his son, he took 12 *χλαίνας*, 12 *τάπητας*, 12 *φάρεα*, 12 *χιτῶνας* (Ω 229). Niobe had twelve children (Ω 603). Achilles agreed to a truce for the burial of Hector and that there should be no fighting until the twelfth day (Ω 667, 781). Odysseus is connected with but a single one of all these references to the number twelve, and that is with the reference to his twelve ships; but he is not peculiar in this, since Ajax and Iphidamas have a like number. Achilles, as can be easily noted, is connected with nearly half of these references.

Clearly there is little warrant for assuming that Odysseus was regarded as a sun-god in the *Iliad*.

Twelve is hardly more freely used in the *Odyssey* than the number twenty and is no more significant. Athena advised Telemachus to get a ship and twenty oarsmen and to go in search for tidings of his father (α 280). The nurse, Eurycleia, was purchased by Laertes at the price of twenty oxen (α 431). Telemachus demanded of the suitors that he be given a ship and twenty oarsmen (β 212). When Telemachus prepared to go in search for tidings of his father, he ordered the nurse to get ready for him twenty measures of barley (β 355). When the Ithacans gathered in the assembly, the seer predicted that Odysseus would return in the twentieth year (β 175). Menelaus was detained for twenty days in the island Pharos (δ 360). Aegisthus awaited the returning Agamemnon with an ambush of twenty men (δ 530). The suitors with twenty men laid an ambush

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for Telemachus, planning to slay him as he returned from searching for his father (δ 778). Zeus foretold that Odysseus should reach the land of the Phaeacians on the twentieth day (ε 34). Odysseus felled twenty trees from which he made the raft with which he sailed from the presence of Calypso (ε 244). The wine by means of which Odysseus intoxicated the Cyclops required twenty measures of water to one of itself (ι 209). The staff of the Cyclops was as large as the mast of a twenty-oared vessel (ι 322). A person with twenty hands and twenty feet could neither mount nor stand upon the rock inhabited by Scylla (μ 78). Twenty suitors came from Zacynthus (π 250). Twenty geese were eating grain in the yard of Odysseus (τ 536). Twenty servants went to the spring in order to fetch water at the command of Eurycleia (υ 158). It was proposed by Eurymachus that the suitors appease the anger of Odysseus by each bringing to him the value of twenty oxen (χ 57). No refrain is so often heard in the *Odyssey* as that Odysseus will or has returned in the twentieth year.

The hero, it is true, had twelve ships, he took with him twelve companions to the cave of the Cyclops, and he shot through the twelve ax-heads, but he was gone twenty years, he put to sea on a craft made from twenty trees, he reached the land of the Phaeacians in twenty days, his son went to search for him with twenty companions, and twenty men lay in ambush for the returning Telemachus; hence it is unreasonable to say that the number twelve in the *Odyssey* has any peculiar importance. If an argument for the belief that Odysseus is a sun-god is to be based on the *Odyssey*, it must rest on some other foundation than that of numbers.

Do the adventures of that hero give any warrant for the belief that Odysseus is a sun-god or Helius himself?

He sailed from Troy with twelve ships, and these ships are assumed to be the twelve months; then each ship should carry the days of the month as its crew and there should be something like thirty on board. But, since his own ship still had forty-five and the hero himself when they came to the island of Circe, it is clear that no juggling can arrive at a number fitting such an hypothesis.

When Odysseus and his companions were shut up in the cave of the Cyclops, the poet tells how "wailing they awaited the divine

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dawn," and how during the day the monster drove his herds to pasture, and how as evening came on he drove them back to their fold. Thus the sun set and day came and went, even though the sun-god, the god of day, was shut up and helpless in the cave. We are told how, after Polyphemus had been blinded, Odysseus and his companions groaned as they awaited the coming of the day—a strange thing for a god to do, since he is the very god who brought the day.

While Odysseus and his companions, in obedience to the commands of Circe, were on their way to Hades, they came first to the land of the Cimmerians, a land to which the rays of the sun have never come (λ 14):

> ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε,
> ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς
> ἠέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν,
> οὔθ' ὁπότ' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
> οὔθ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται.

This is a strange conception if Odysseus is only the sun-god making his yearly course to Hades, since this visit is then merely the poetic expression for mid-winter, and so he must pierce to the land of the Cimmerians twice each year with his beams, once when going to Hades and once when returning. If Homer had taken especial pains to make impossible the sun-god theory, he could not have used plainer language, for how could the sun-god in his yearly course visit those people whom he never visits?

At the meeting of the mother and son in Hades, the mother urges him to return with all speed back to the light: λ 223, ἀλλὰ φόωσδε τάχιστα λιλαίεο. The poet knows of no other source for the light, the day, than the sun, and, if Odysseus is the sun, the earth has no light, for the light of the earth has gone down to Hades. His mother does not urge him to hasten back *with* the light, but to hasten back *to* the light; thus the light exists where he is not, is independent of him, and he is not connected with the light, hence is not the sun-god.

When the companions of Odysseus slay the cattle of the sun, Helius at once demands vengeance and threatens to go down to Hades and shine among the dead if the crime committed by the companions of Odysseus is not fully avenged. But Odysseus has

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just come from Hades, and if he be the sun-god he is threatening as a last extremity the very thing he has already done, and the thing he does every year. It should be noticed that the threat involves, not only his going down to Hades, but his shining there; yet no verse in the *Odyssey* can be construed so as to make Odysseus shine with light while he was in Hades.

And finally, if Odysseus is another form of Helius, then he brought destruction on his own followers, and had Zeus slay his veteran and faithful companions for deeds due to his own negligence, and he beyond all others deserves the motto *αὐτὰρ μῆλα κακοὶ φθείρουσι νομῆες*.

The sun-god theory violates the most simple teachings of Homer and is founded, for the most part, upon misapprehensions and misstatements of facts and numbers clearly expressed and easily understood.

The first word of the *Odyssey*, *ἄνδρα*, shows that the poet had no intention of telling the story of a god and that in his thought Odysseus was thoroughly human.

No field of research or imagination is so easy to work or so free from limitations as the field of myths and of origins. One man writes a book to show that Odysseus was once a wolf, another to prove that he was the sun, so that I make no apology for starting in another field this theory of my own—a theory which does not depend on misuse of numbers or on assumed facts.

Our own Civil War is only a sun-myth, being the popular expression for the struggle of the seasons, the white troops representing the days, the colored troops the nights. The four years are the four seasons; during the first three, the autumn, the winter, and the spring, the South held back the North, but failed during the fourth—that is, during the summer. The sun-god is none other than General Lee, whose invasion of Pennsylvania is the poetic expression of the northward movement of the sun. The three days' battle at Gettysburg represents the three days of the summer solstice when the sun moves neither north nor south; these days of battle were the first three days of July, while General Lee's retrograde movement began on the fourth. These dates may seem disturbing, but they flood the theory with light, for if we change them from the Gregorian to the

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Julian calendar we shall find that Lee started southward June 22—, that is, on the very day when the sun turns from the Tropic of Cancer. This also gives a definite clue to the time when General Lee, or the sun-god, was first worshiped, since his retreat must fall on the day when in the Julian calendar the retrograde movement began; hence his worship began about two thousand years ago, or at about the time of the introduction of the Julian calendar. Later, sacred days were set apart for his worship and in many places images[1] were erected in his honor by those who had forgotten the story of his divine origin. When the twenty-second of June began to draw away from the time of the summer solstice, owing to the error of the Julian calendar, men lost the feeling for the nature of this sun-god, but it was the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar which finally and fully obscured the divine origin of this national hero.

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[1] It is to be noted that all these images are whiskered, the whiskers, of course, representing the rays of the sun. See also Miss Jane Harrison's discussion of "The Head of John the Baptist" in recent numbers of the *Classical Review*.

This "refutation" refutes little or nothing. (cf. Am Historian, Nr 39 (1911), 13-30, a compelling paper 6 yrs. prior) to which Scott conveniently fails to refer.

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THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN RESTRICTIVE *QUI* AND *QUOD* CLAUSES

By Jefferson Elmore

We have first to note the use of the simple relative in the sense of an indefinite or generalizing one. This idiom, familiar in Greek, has been somewhat neglected in Latin. It is well illustrated in the language of law, of which it is, indeed, a characteristic. If one examines the texts contained in Bruns's *Fontes*, he finds that *quicumque* and *quisquis* appear, comparatively speaking, but rarely, their places being taken by the forms of *qui*. This is shown in Lex agr. 71: "quam pecuniam qui agrum publicum emit . . . . populo dare debet,"[1] and in Lex Cornelia i. 33: "quam in quisque decuriam lectus erit, is in ea curia viator esto."[2] In Lex Ursonensis xciii. 20: "quicumque duovir creatus erit quive praefectus ab duoviro . . . . relictus erit,"[3] we have *qui* repeating a preceding *quicumque*, showing the equivalence of the two words. So with *quod* in Lex Acilia 58: "ab eo quod quisque petet . . . . id praetor . . . . iudices aestumare iubeto."[4] In the literary sources this usage is noted by the grammarians[5] for different periods, but details showing its precise range and the conditions under which it appears have not, as it seems, been worked out.

A somewhat special form of the idiom is the use of the pronoun with a dependent genitive. Cases of this occur in literature, but, like the construction in general, it receives its best illustration in legal texts where clearness and precision of language are the special aim. I will give a few examples with *qui*, the first showing that the construction was not unknown in Oscan: Leges Oscae Tabulae Bantinae 23, "allo famelo in ei(tuo) sivom, paei eizeis fust, ... tovtico estud," which in the Latin translation is, "cetera familia, et pecunia tota, quae eius erit . . . . publica esto";[6] Lex Acilia 27, "ea nomina quei petiverit . . . . quei eorum volet, ... describendi is praetor potestatem facito";[7] Lex Falcidia 1–2, "qui cives Romani

[1] Bruns, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[5] Cf. Kühner, 849, 12.
[6] Bruns, p. 52.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

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sunt, qui eorum . . . . testamentum facere volet . . . . ius potestasque esto";[1] Lex Malacitana lxiv. 30, "omnes . . . . qui eorum liberati non sunt, erunt . . . . obligati sunto"; *ibid.*, lx. 41, "per quem eorum de quibus iivirorum quaestorumve comitiis suffragrium ferri oportebit, steterit quominus recte caveatur, eius qui comitia habebit, ne rationem habeto."[2] To these may be added some examples with *quod:* Lex Acilia 67, "quod eius is reus non solverit, ab iis praedibus . . . . pecunia exigatur";[3] Lex agr. 5, "ager publicus, ... quod eius extra urbam Romam est, quod eius in urbe oppido vico est, quod eius iiivir dedet adsignavit . . . . publicus esto";[4] Lex agr. 26, "pro eo pecore, quod eius in callibus vieisve publicis pastum impulsum itineris causa erit nequid populo neive publicano dare debeto";[5] Lex agr. 39, "id sententia pronuntiato quod eius . . . . maxsume verum esse comperrit";[6] Lex agr. 95, "quodque in eo agro vini oleive fiet";[7] Lex Antonia i. 17: "quodque earum rerum ieis consulibus iei habuerunt . . . . habeant"; Edicta praetorum x. 6, "in integrum restituam quod eius per leges . . . . licebit";[8] *ibid.*, xliii. 13 *c*, "si de ea re satis datum est, quod eius cautum sit . . . . vim fieri veto."[9]

In these examples it is to be noted that the genitive represents a whole (a thing, a group of things or persons) of which the relative expresses a part. Considered in their relation to the sentence it is the function of these clauses to limit the application of the predicate to a certain section of the subject. Thus in the passage from Lex agr. 5 the legal provision which the predicate embodies does not relate to the whole of the *ager publicus*, but only to such parts as are marked off by the *quod-eius* clauses. This limiting function, though assisted by the presence of the genitive, depends ultimately on the relative and the fact that it is used in this indefinite or generalizing sense. The clauses thus form a special category both in form and in function.

To this category, in my view, are to be referred the clauses which are usually called restrictive. In some of these the relative still appears with a dependent genitive as in Cic. *Fam.* v. 8. 5, and *Att.* xi. 12. 4, "tu tamen velim ne intermittas, quod eius facere poteris,

[1] Bruns, p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 88
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

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scribere ad me." So we have in Lex Ursonensis lxxx, "rei rationen decurionibus reddito . . . . quod eius fieri poterit";[1] and in Edictum Augusti 25, "quod eius sine dolo malo fiat."[2] It is thus practically certain that this genitive (whether expressed or only felt) was originally a part of all the restrictive clauses. It follows from this that the relative itself must in all these cases have had a generalizing force, since otherwise it would not naturally admit of a dependent genitive. Moreover, the function of the two sets of clauses is virtually the same. The idea of restriction is merely the limitation of the predicate of the sentence to the range of the restrictive clause; its affirmation is valid only within this range. This is the purpose of *quod possum, potero, potui, quod in me est, fuit, quod ad me attinet, quod sciam, quod audierim,* and the like; it is also the purpose of the *quod-eius* clauses in such sentences as "ager publicus, quod extra urbe Romam est . . . . privatus est,"[3] and in "integrum restituam quod eius per leges . . . . licebit."[4] Nor is there any essential difference (except the mode) between the relative clauses in "omnium oratorum quos quidem ego cognoverim acutissimum"[5] and "omnes . . . . qui eorum liberati sunt . . . . obligati sunto."[6] The relation I am here pointing out has been obscured by the fact that the stereotyped phrases have for the most part lost the genitive of the personal pronoun, but it also makes clear that, considered with respect to their function in the sentence, the restrictive clauses constitute a much larger class than the grammarians have given us to understand.

We are now in a position to deal with the subjunctive which with one exception[7] occurs in all the stereotyped forms. If the view is correct that the introductory relative is indefinite or generalizing, it follows that all these clauses are conditional, and that all of them have the possibility of the subjunctive. This fact at once accounts for the subjunctive in a large number of restrictive clauses, especially those relating to the future. I will give some examples. An excellent one is Cic. *Fam.* xvi. 4. 2, "sumptu ne parcas ulla in re quod ad

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 129; cf. Lex Ursonensis lxx and lxxi, p. 127.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 250. [3] Lex agr. 5. [4] Edicta praet. x. 6. [5] Cic. *Brut.* 48. 180.

[6] Lex Mun. Mal. lxxiv. 30 (Bruns, p. 152).

[7] *Quod ad me attinet;* Hale's view that the indicative only is found with certain predicate is erroneous.

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valetudinem opus sit," where *quod opus sit = si quid opus sit.* To be understood in the same way is Lex agr. 2, "qui . . . . agrum . . . . sumpsit . . . . quod non modus maior siet quam quantum unum hominem . . . . ex lege . . . . sumere . . . . licuit."[1] Here belong the *quod-fiat* clauses, as in Cic. *Att.* xiv. 16. 4, "et ipse, quod commodo tuo fiat, cum eo loquare";[2] and in Lex Acil. 69, "quoi pecuniam ex hac lege, quod sine pequlatu fiat, praetor . . . . darei iusserit . . . . dato";[3] and Lex Antonia i. 10, "itaque ieis omnibus sueis legibus . . . . utei liceto, quod advorsus hanc legem non fiat."[4] Similar to these are the two following examples: Cic. *Fam.* i. 1. 3, "decrevit ut regem reducas, quod commodo rei publicae facere possis," and Cic. *Fam.* iii. 5. 4, "sed quod commodo tuo fieri possit . . . . magni interest ut te videam." A passage somewhat out of the usual order is Lex Ursonensis lxxxii. 38, "Quique iis rebus fructue erit, quod se emisse dicat, is in iuga singula . . . . HS C . . . . dare damnas esto."[5] One of the best illustrations is Cato agr. 148. 1, "quod neque aceat neque muceat, id dabitur." These quotations with varying predicates illustrate the working of the less vivid condition in restrictive clauses.

We may now go a step farther and apply this explanation to *quod sciam*[6] in sentences relating to the future. As shown by the development of the other clauses *quod sciam* represents an original *quod eius sciam, quod* being not a cognate accusative, but a so-called outer object in a kind of limited apposition with the subject, object, or general idea of the sentence. Its use in a future relation is illustrated in Plaut. *Capt.* 265, "non ero falsiloquos [i.e., nihil falsum dicam] quod sciam."[7] This is only another way of saying, "If I

[1] Cf. Lex agr. 13; Collegium aquae 6 (Bruns, p. 394).

[2] Cf. Cic. *Fam.* iv. 2. 4; xiii. 2. 1; xiii. 23. 2; xiv. 5. 1. *Att.* xiii. 11. 2.

[3] Bruns, p. 70.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 93; cf. Lex Acil. 45; Lex Mun. Salpensana 27; Edictum Augusti 25; Lex Luci Spolatini 8; Lex arae Augusti 14; Paul. *Dig.* xi. 5. 2. 1, quoted (and wrongly interpreted) by Kalb, *Wegweiser*, p. 124.

[5] Bruns, p. 129.

[6] *Quod scio* seems not to occur. Expressions of similar meaning with the indicative appear sporadically. Thus we find *quae* (=as far as) *mihi conscia sum* (Ter. *Eun.* 457) *quod puto* (Cic. *Att.* 15. 2. 2.), *quod sentiunt* (Lex Furfensis v. 10), and *quod video* (Juvenal vi. 395), but I have found no case of *quod scio.* That it was not current speech seems further evidenced by the French *que je sache.*

[7] Cf. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, p. 295.

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should know anything of the matter to be false, I will not utter it." The same idea of a future contingency is in the restrictive *qui* clause used by Cicero in *Cat.* iv. 16, "servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat." In fact, it seems to be true that in all restrictive clauses relating to the future the subjunctive where it appears is sufficiently accounted for by the conditional character of the clause.

We have still to explain the presence of restrictive clauses with the subjunctive in sentences relating to the present or the past. How does it come that *quod sciam* appears in these contexts with apparently a purely indicative meaning? (Cf. Cic. *Att.* xvi. 2. 4, *sed non venerat, quod sciam.*) One way of approach is to suppose that we are dealing here with a different kind of subjunctive. I must confess that for a long time this appealed to me strongly, and I made every effort to find some original use of the subjunctive which could be adjusted to this particular situation. I was especially hopeful of the potential subjunctive as expressing possibility, but I found that my attempts to apply it to these clauses resulted in a fundamental contradiction. In fact, it might have been seen from the beginning that it was improbable a priori that two different uses of the subjunctive should be represented in the same construction.

If this be the case, there remains only the hypothesis that *quod sciam* relating to the present and past is the outcome of its use in the future. Fortunately, this hypothesis, reasonable in itself, can be supported by several considerations. It implies (1) that *quod sciam* originated (and perhaps became stereotyped) in future contexts in sentences of the type of "omnem rem tibi narrabo, quod sciam," (2) that later it became transferred to other ranges of time, (3) that in adapting itself to the new environment it virtually lost its original modal significance. The first point offers no difficulty whatever; it is, indeed, what we might expect, seeing that the subjunctive here is perfectly appropriate and normal. The second step would be facilitated by the general requirements of everyday speech and in particular by the absence of *quod scio.* The mode itself, if felt merely as giving a tinge of uncertainty to the clause, would not be altogether out of place. Still, it must be recognized that in time the clauses became indicative in meaning, but this modal transformation

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is by no means strange. "Mood," as a recent student of the subject points out, "varies with its surroundings; the meaning suggested by the context predominates. . . . . Of all the inflectional variations of the verb it is the least definite in character and yields most readily to outside pressure."[1] In Latin one has only to recall the relative clause of characteristic, which, though retaining the subjunctive form, has come to be a mere statement of fact. In clauses with *priusquam* and the like, where the action is anticipated and prepared for, Hale calls attention to the frequent use of the subjunctive to represent a real event. After Cicero's time and as early as Livy the distinction between the subjunctive and indicative in this construction broke down.[2] Hale has also called attention to the use of the subjunctive in the second person singular in general statements of fact. Here, so far as meaning is concerned, a subjunctive has passed into an indicative, the change affecting both dependent and independent clauses.[3] A similar process is illustrated in the change which has taken place in the *velim* and *vellem* forms.[4] These forms, through being subjected to new influences, have in certain cases become essentially indicative in meaning. There seems then to be no reason why a similar change under the circumstances should not have taken place in *quod sciam*, and also in other types of the restrictive clause when placed under like conditions.

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[1] McWhorter, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Association*, Vol. XLV, p. xxv.

[2] *Lat. Gram.*, 507, 4, n. 1.

[3] *Class. Phil.*, I, 21 f.

[4] Morris, "The Subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus," *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XVIII, 133, 275, 285, 383. See also the present writer's *Syntax of Certain Latin Verbs of Desire*, p. 76.

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ON A VENETIAN CODEX OF PLINY'S *LETTERS*

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill

In St. Mark's Library at Venice is a manuscript volume of miscellaneous content written on paper by various hands of the fifteenth century and officially designated as *Lat. class. XI. cod. XXXVII.* An inscription of presentation on the last original page of the book (the binding is comparatively recent) professes to date from 1467,[1] but the parts of the book may well have been written and put together at a considerably earlier period in the fifteenth century.

The contents of the book are as follows:

foll. 1–51, *Orationes M. Tullii Ciceronis;*

foll. 52–62, *Quoddam principium Antonii Lusci super orationes tullii;*

foll. 63–67, *Thimeus tullii;*

foll. 67–69, *eiusdem de fato;*

foll. 72–91, *C. Plinii Secundi Veronensis oratoris clarissimi nonnullae epistolae Ad Secundum et alios feliciter incipiunt* [Plin. *Ep.* I–II. 17.17 *aestate nam ante*, where the writing breaks off at the end of page and fascicle, but with the catch-word *meridiem* in the lower margin, showing that once the text was, or was meant to be, farther continued];

foll. 92–93, *C. Plinius Romano suo salutem. Post aliquot annos . . . centum milia contulerim* [Plin. *Ep.* II. 1–4.2, without title of work or book. The writing ends at the bottom of a *recto*, and the *uerso* is left blank];

foll. 94–102, *Breuis añotatio de duobus pliniis ueronensibus oratoribus ex multis hinc collecta per Iohañem Mans. Veñ.*, followed by a columnar index of addresses in Plin. *Ep.* I (*Ad septicium*, *Ad arrinium*, etc.), flanked by a four-line metrical epitaph on either Pliny, and this succeeded by the text of the first book, without inscription for either work or book. At the end of letter 22 (letters 8, 12, 23, and 24 are omitted in both index and context) follows the colophon *c. plinii secũdi epistolarum liber primus explicit. Incipit liber secũdus.* Then follows *Incipiunt capta libri secũdi*, with a columnar index of addresses of letters in the second book, but no text;

foll. 106–121, *Cronicae martirorum pars.*

[1] See note in Dora Johnson's article, "The Manuscripts of Pliny's *Letters*," in *Classical Philology*, VII (January, 1912), 71.

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The intermediate folios for which no contents are noted are left blank. Four blank leaves also precede the first written folio, and fourteen blank leaves follow the last. I first examined the book and made excerpts from it in 1899, and a few years ago my pupil, the late Miss Dora Johnson, at my suggestion collated the Pliny parts for me.

With regard to the letters of Pliny on foll. 72–91, I need say merely that the text is of a poor and contaminated type common enough in the fifteenth century and of no critical value. It may therefore be disregarded. But the text on foll. 92–102 (in a different—very crabbed—hand from that of the preceding text and on different paper) stands on quite another footing and deserves attention. With this alone the present article is concerned, and this extract is herein designated as **m**, the mark that I have assigned to it also in my critical edition of books I–IX of the *Letters*, the printing of which by Teubner was suspended midway in its course on the outbreak of the present war.

I am inclined to think that **m** is, at least for Book I, an independent, uncontaminated, and moderately accurate copy of that Veronese archetype of the eight-book family of the *Letters* which Guarino carried off from Verona to Venice in 1419. This opinion of mine was recorded by Miss Johnson in her preliminary classification of the MSS of Pliny's *Letters* referred to above (note on p. 259). That **m** is an immediate copy (that is, made from the Verona MS itself, and not from a copy of it), I should hardly venture to affirm; but at most only one copy probably intervened between **m** and the *Veronensis*.

Of the Veronese tradition of the *Letters* I have treated in an earlier article in this journal,[1] and I have indicated there and elsewhere[2] that there is no other source for the extant eight-book tradition of the *Letters* than this one MS, which had been lying in the chapter library at Verona since at least the tenth century.[3] But

[1] "On the Eight-Book Tradition of Pliny's *Letters* in Verona," in *Classical Philology*, V (April, 1910), 175-88.

[2] E.g., in my article on "The Tradition of Pliny's *Letters*," in *Classical Philology*, X (January, 1915), 8-25.

[3] It may not be out of place to remark here that this conclusion was frankly out of accord with the published impressions of Professor Remigio Sabbadini, to whose

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Guarino found that it needed much critical revision, and to this he set himself with great zeal. He put off his eager friends, who wanted a glimpse of the new wonder that had brought to light more than twice as many letters of Pliny as had heretofore been known, and when he finally did lend his MS around, I think there is good reason to judge from his own correspondence, and from the condition of the now extant MSS of the eight-book class, that it was his corrected copy and not the original that was supplied. The eight-book text that was spread abroad during the rest of the fifteenth century had generally as its basis the Guarinian recension of the Verona archetype and not that archetype itself.

But a few copies of the Verona MS appear to have been made that show no trace of the revising hand of Guarino. One of these gives us **m**, which is unfortunately but a fragment; a second is **D** (*Dresdensis D 166*), which is complete; a third is, according to Miss Johnson's belief, *Holkhamensis 396*, about which I am not yet ready to express a judgment. It is of course possible that some or all of these, and perhaps other copies not now traceable, were made before Guarino acquired the MS; but antecedent probability is rather against this, and (though I am not a competent palaeographer) I should not be readily inclined, in the lack of expert opinion, to believe that so fine a piece of calligraphy as **D**, in the restored style of the fifteenth century, could have been executed before 1419, or was likely to be until the Veronese MS had assumed a position of importance.

That **m** gives the tradition of the text in general agreement with **D**, but is from a common source with **D** instead of being a copy of **D**, is readily to be deduced from an inspection of their comparative readings. A full statement of these is manifestly too long to be included here; but a classified selection will probably be regarded as sufficient to establish the point, if I may be trusted in the affirmation that no evidence looking in any other direction can be detected in the complete *uaria lectio*. In the first part of the ensuing statement I intend to confine myself to the text of Book I only, reserving

attention I called it. I am now interested to note that in the new edition of his *Storia e Critica* (Catania, 1914) he has revised his judgment, and is assured that the letter of Guarino announcing his acquisition of the MS was written from Verona in April–May, 1419, and not from Venice.

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to a later position in this article some consideration of the readings of II. 1–4.2, the text of which (on foll. 92, 93) immediately precedes in the Venetian codex the *Breuis Adnotatio de duobus Pliniis* and the text of Book I, with the indices.

As a preliminary it should be noted that **m** omits in both index and context I. 8, 12, 23, and 24, being herein in agreement with **D**, but differing from many other MSS of the eight-book class which in this as in other respects display manifest signs of interpolation from the **F**-tradition.

My first purpose is, then, to show that **D** and **m** are in striking agreement in details of text as against all other MSS noted in my *apparatus criticus* (**BFMVIiLH**, etc.), except in some degree those (**oux**) of the eight-book family which are more or less contaminated from the **F**-tradition. And in order to mark the distinction between the MSS of pure eight-book descent (**Dm**) and the interpolated MSS of the same family (**oux**), I have limited the statement of identical readings to those in which **Dm** stand entirely apart even from these interpolated relatives of theirs, thus excluding from the lists even the very numerous instances in which the reading of **Dm** differs, indeed, from readings of MSS of other families, but is concurred in by one or more of the group **oux**. (In this excluded class of readings the agreement of one or more of **oux** with **Dm** is of course to be explained as due to the retention by **oux** in the given cases of the genuine reading of the Veronese eight-book archetype in preference to the available interpolation from the **F**-tradition.)

In order further to strengthen the proof of the close and exclusive relationship of **D** and **m**, the readings to be cited are confined to those where the agreement of the two MSS is upon manifest errors. It will be remembered that the examples are all taken from Book I of the *Letters*. Citations are by page and line from Keil's critical edition of 1870.

In the following instances **D** and **m** agree as against all other MSS (even **oux**) in wrongly omitting from the text the word or words indicated (I have already remarked that they agree in omitting altogether I. 8, 12, 23, and 24):

4.8	nostri	5.6	tamen
4.19	sed sane blandiantur	5.8	possident–9 partiuntur

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5.10 possident–12 enim
5.14 hoc otium (*om. et Flor. Mor. Auct.*)
8.12 nostri
9.2 expecto– prudens
9.25 Ioui–26 ἀνένευσεν
10.4 nostrae
14.20 magis miror quia magis
15.16 an–17 licet
15.21 me
18.17 iubent
18.27 a
19.24 Macrinus
20.1 enim
20.26 uale
21.11 uale
22.8 ut (*post* ipsius)
23.1 nostro
23.8 L.
23.9 et
24.11 et (*altero loco*)
26.4 non
26.23 mihi
27.14 illa
27.21 et magnifica
28.2 quia
29.25 eius
30.5 ipsam
30.17 est

In the following list of readings **D** and **m** agree in error as against all other MSS (even **oux**):

3.7 curatius
4.10 acrius enim non tristius
4.17 misimus
4.20 commendantur
5.3 tuum
5.4 platanum opacissimum
5.17 sortiuntur
5.19 enitere] conice
5.23 cursulano
6.5 deueneris
6.15 tectior coepit (cepit **m**)
6.18 appellata dicit
7.1 a domitiano erat relegatus
7.7 soleant
7.8 iam quidem de
7.10 quidem (quid **m**) est fas
7.15 fabium rusticum iustum rogat
7.16 subtiliter timet] sim et
7.18 ferre diutius sollicitudinem
7.20 coimus] quo imus
7.23 regulo nuntiandum (–c– **m**)
8.1 nundum
8.6 inhaereret (–he– **m**)
8.11 potuisse] puto esse
8.15 Modesti] domestici
8.18 credulitatem
9.4 constauit
9.6 dicta factaque
10.9 in praesentiam
10.12 cui] cum
13.20 ille ad inuocationem
13.21 rogauit ita et quo
14.5 musion
14.23 tamen mihi datur cernere multa
15.7 honor
15.9 par] parum
15.10 attentius
15.22 esse et hanc philosophiae quidem
16.7 at] aut
18.23 recitationi
18.24 quisque] quis
19.1 non tardat
19.14 laudibus laudandus affecerit
19.18 qui] et
19.21 nam ita a me institui
20.5 patauis

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20.9 industriam
20.10 ac iam] acia
20.16 imaginosum os
20.20 hic] his
20.24 inuenio
21.3 fericulo
non minus mile
21.4 comoedes (–med– **m**)
21.6 caditanos
21.7 certe an mihi
21.8 nos lus.] uoluissemus
21.9 cautius
21.11 excuses
21.17 quasdam causas
nec] non
21.24 in historia tibi magis
22.3 lepores dulcedines amaritudines amores
22.4 mollibus leuibusque
22.15 requireremus
22.17 at] ad
22.21 Icciano
22.22 adhoc
23.3 est experiri (experr– **D**)
23.6 potest] post
idem] item
23.15 paucos
23.19 tu] tuam
24.5 id] at
rescribere
24.13 aduersitas
24.17 equitis
24.23 est ualde uale
25.1 permittit
25.3 infingenda
25.5 ictu] situ
25.8 sane] in se
25.12 meliorem est quisque
25.14 denique pictorum multorum animalium
25.15 multitudo
25.20 rationibus
26.5 exemplum
26.7 in Verrem] enumeraret
26.14 nisi ut in
26.16 mouit
26.17 iudicia hominum
27.2 panta denique
27.16 delicate
27.17 is demum] idem
27.18 quae aeque (e– **m**) de
28.8 illud
auespoene
28.12 illam plenam
28.19 auctoritati tuae credere debeam
28.22 confirma
28.23 erraro
29.4 ne] non
29.5 est] et
29.11 iam] tam
30.1 aliorum] alienum
30.5 sapientia
30.14 nam iam impetu

These two incomplete lists of exclusive errors by *lacuna* or by distortion in **Dm** within Book I alone are amply sufficient to establish the close kinship between them as against all other MSS. If the lists had been made complete, or if there had been included an enumeration of the errors that are concurred in by one or more of **oux**, and if a list were also subjoined of the few right readings that are found only in **Dm**, the presentation would be even more striking (e.g., **D** and **m** alone have in 22.3 *re uera quales Catullus aut Caluus*, which is indubitably right, though the nine-book tradition fails us here).

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D and **m** therefore are closely related in a common tradition. Either one is a copy of the other (or at least in direct descent from it), or they are both from a common source. But **D** cannot be descended from **m**, for (1) the make-up of the volume in which **m** is contained discountenances such a hypothesis (**m** probably never had more of the *Letters* than it now contains), and (2) **D** on careful investigation shows no signs of contemporary conjectural emendation, nor of interpolation from any of the MSS extant at the period of its production,[1] while yet there can be cited a number of readings in Book I of **D** that are simply missing in **m**. For example:

4.11	me	8.1	a me
6.4	me	8.26	potest- 9.1 infida est
6.10	magis	9.11	ipse (*ante* non)
7.10	ne	27.6	latius

There are also a number of cases where SVO or S. is omitted in **m** in the addresses of letters, but these might possibly have been corrected in copying even by unconscious habit, and they are therefore disregarded here. The foregoing list of other *lacunae* in **m** properly filled out in **D** is, to be sure, short (though 8. 26–9. 1 is very striking), for **m** is a tolerably accurate copy of its original; but in the lack of any indication in **D** of any recent tendency to conjectural emendation or to interpolation from other extant sources, it is good evidence that **D** was not copied from **m**.

Under this postulate of no contemporary emendation by conjecture or interpolation, corroborative evidence that **D** was not copied from **m** may be found in the consideration of some readings where **m** shows the wrong and **D** the right text, and happy chance can hardly be assumed to have been responsible for the result in all or most of the cases. The reverse cases of right readings in **m** and wrong in **D** must of course be disregarded, since such errors in **D** might as well have originated in copying from **m** as from any other MS. Readings in point are:

6.22	molestus **D** modestus **m**	8.8	cui **D** cum **m**
7.3	sentias **D** sententias **m**	8.9	saeculi **D** secundi **m**
8.7	iudicio **D** offo **m** (officio r)	9.13	proximo **D** proximum **m**

[1] For the later inserted **F**-readings do not obscure the original text, and may be disregarded.

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9.16 agitatione **D** cogitatione **m**
10.9 quid uir (*corr. ex* quidum) **D** qui uir **m**
14.2 rumoribus **D** timoribus **m**
19.22 ex **D** et **m**
19.23 multum adhuc **D** adhuc multum **m**
20.15 eius **D** etiam **m**
21.10 aliis **D** alii **m**
21.20 mire **D** michi **m**
27.22 tonat **D** sonat **m**
28.24 necessitatem **D** necessitate **m**
30.24 laetioribus **D** latioribus **m**

Therefore, **D** cannot have been derived from **m**. The same manner of proof may be adduced to show that **m** cannot have been derived from **D**. Following are readings in **m** that are simply missing in **D**:

6.6 nos
9.21 uale
15.4 hoc
19.3 his
19.5 ne
22.11 cum (*ante* scripsi)
22.19 uale
23.27 et siquid carius patria
26.15 quod
27.10–11 *Graeca om. in lac.* **m**, *om. sine lac.* **D**

Some of the pertinent instances where **D** has the wrong reading and **m** the right (see the remarks above on the converse case) are as follows:

4.11 uolebamus **m** uolebam **D**
4.14 nostro **m** non **D**
5.15 excude **m** exclude **D**
5.16 gestatio **m** uectatio **D**
6.23 regulus **m** regulis **D**
8.8 satrio **m** satiro **D** satrius **m** satirus **D**
13.23 quot **m** quot *corr.* m^2 *ex* quod **D**
14.13 nostra liberalibus **m** nostra non liberalibus **D**
19.6 auditor **m** aditor **D**
19.8 reposcatur **m** reponatur **D**
20.11 illi **m** sibi **D**
20.28 septitio **m** septio **D**
21.25 et **m** uel **D**
22.17 prauum **m** paruum **D**
27.7 fallacia **m** fallatiaque **D**

It is to be noted that if the scribes of **D** and **m** had had any tendency to emendation, or to interpolation from the well-known **F**-tradition, the processes would surely have gone far enough to show patent evidences of their action, and the lists given above would accordingly have had a very different appearance.

D and **m**, then, are entirely independent the one of the other, and owe their close likeness to the fact that each is a copy from the Veronese archetype of all the eight-book MSS. The text of **m**

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accordingly not only aids in the reconstruction of the lost Veronese text in the first book, but tends to establish confidence in the integrity, even if not in the impeccability, of **D** in the following books, which are not included in **m**. For the overwhelming number of extant eight-book MSS are, like **oux**, or even more so, the product of the Veronese archetype greatly modified in the fifteenth century both by conjectural emendation and by direct substitution from the **F**-text. But as the resulting product of this scholastic process is, at least in its better forms, more nearly "correct" in the total than the lost Verona MS could have been, a student might, with some degree of reason, have regarded the interpolated tradition as the authentic one (however lacking in practical value at the present day for the reconstitution of Pliny's autograph), and **D** as a blundering variation of it (cf. the history of *Notitia* and *Curiosum*).

This error is no longer possible; but it was one to which my own judgment was inclined to succumb in the earlier period of my study of the eight-book text. Keil, to be sure, had rightly distinguished the three families of MSS of the *Letters*, and had designated **D** as the type of its class; but Keil had not examined many other eight-book MSS, and was in the main content with collations of the early printed editions (**prς**), now known to exhibit a badly contaminated text. That he pitched upon **D** in addition seems to be due to a happy accident rather than to a mastery of the complex problem. **D** was a beautiful and striking *codex*, and it lay almost under his hand in Dresden. Other examples of the class were less accessible. The problem, indeed, could not have been thoroughly grasped until the researches of Sabbadini into the activities of Guarino and his fellow-humanists were published, and this was later than Keil's day, and than the earlier years of my own studies in this field.

It remains to discuss the text of Plin. *Ep.* II. 1–4. 2, which is contained on foll. 92, 93 of the Venetian codex, preceding the text of Book I (foll. 94–102) that I have treated above. Miss Johnson, as I have remarked elsewhere, was of the opinion in 1911 that this fragment was an integral continuation of the copy that follows it in position, and that the two leaves had been accidentally misplaced in the binding of the book. To me, on the other hand, it appeared in 1899 that the texts of these two parts were too dissimilar in the

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marks of tradition to permit the judgment that they could have been copied from the same MS. I am still of that opinion, but I had no opportunity to discuss the matter with Miss Johnson.

The determination of the case is of course embarrassed by the brevity of the fragment of Book II, but yet this is long enough to render judgment reasonably certain. I much regret that in my notes made in 1899 I can find none on the resemblance of the hands in the two parts, and none on the make-up of the fascicles of paper in the bound volume; nor do I find any remark on these questions in Miss Johnson's notebook on **m**, which is now in my possession. When, in 1909, I went to Venice in the hope of repairing some of my sins of omission, I was so unfortunate as to arrive on the very day when the Library was closed for its annual vacation of a fortnight, and I could not remain in the country to await the reopening. The outbreak of war interfered with a projected later visit.

At the time of the acquisition of the Veronese archetype by Guarino (1419), no other tradition of the text of Pliny's *Letters* than that of **F** was known in Italy, nor did any other become known there till much later in the century. Therefore the text of **m** in the portion now under discussion may be expected to agree substantially with that of the Verona MS (as exhibited in **D**) or with that of **F**—that is, to be at basis either an eight-book or a ten-book text; but it might be, like so many of the Pliny MSS of its period, an eight-book text contaminated (1) by error, (2) by conjectural emendation, (3) by interpolated readings from the **F**-tradition.

Inspection shows immediately that it is at basis an eight-book text; it agrees substantially with **D** and not with **F**—witness such instances as the following, where it concurs with **D** in errors as against **F**:

33.2	ipsum *om.*	33.23	nuntiasset (–ci– **m**)
33.7	repararet	33.28	consulares (*om.* –que)
	coit (*corr.* m^2 *in* coiit)	34.19	sit (*fortasse* sic **m**; *corr.* m^2 *in* si)
33.23	accurrit		

But it shows in its original text a number of **F**-readings, where these are different from those of **D**, and are manifestly wrong. For example:

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34.4 fleri **Fm** fiere **D**
34.8 una *om.* **Fm**, *add.* **D**
34.10 recentibus *om.* **Fm**, *add.* **D**
35.3 iam igitur **Fm** amicitur **D**
35.8 crebri *om.* **Fm**, *add.* **D**
35.22 at *om.* **Fm**, *add.* **D**
36.16 aliqua etiam **Fm** alii quam **D**

Accordingly **m** displays in II. 1–4. 2 an eight-book text interpolated from **F**. But this is not all, for an apparently later hand has changed still other readings to make them into accord with **F**. These, however, I need not cite (a number of such alterations were similarly disregarded in my discussion of the text of Book I). Moreover, **m** farther departs from the following of the eight-book text in admitting readings that are due to such errors or conjectures as were perpetuated in the two earliest printed editions of the interpolated eight-book type, **p** (1471) and **r** (1474). For example:

34.10 uariis **mp** uanis **FD**
35.15 uero **mp** enim **FD**
35.22 ut audias ueni **m** ut audias huc ueni **r** ut hunc audias ueni **FD**
36.3 si **mp** sed **FD**
36.9 ferunt **mr** fertur **FD**

Therefore, **m** in this part must have been copied from some MS of the contaminated type that became common after Guarino and his compeers had worked their well-intentioned but lamentable will on the text of Pliny's *Letters*. The text of Book I in **m** shows no such signs of recent contamination. The texts of the two parts could not have been copied from the same MS. I accordingly hold that my judgment in 1899 was correct; that I am right in including in my forthcoming *apparatus criticus* the readings of Book I in **m**, and in excluding those of the fragment of Book II; and that *Marc. Lat. class. XI. cod. XXXVII* ought to be credited in the catalogue of St. Mark's Library with containing three distinct parts of Pliny's *Letters* instead of two. The bookbinder did not blunder.

A few remarks may be appended concerning the text of the *Breuis Adnotatio de duobus Pliniis* contained in this *codex*. Since I printed (*Classical Philology*, V, *op. cit.*) this interesting screed by Iohannes de Matociis, a number of other MSS of it have come within my knowledge, viz.: *Marcianus lat. XI. 37* (**m**) and *X. 31; Vrbinas lat. 1153; Vaticanus lat. 1952* and *1955; Escorialensis N.*

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III. 10; Mutinensis T. 6. 15, Q. 8. 13, and *Q. 5. 23; Sangallensis 896* (?). Doubtless numerous further additions can be made to the list. Of all the MSS at my present command **m** seems to afford the most sincere text; and on the reasonable possibility that it is, in the *Adnotatio,* an immediate copy of the author's autograph, I might make on its (not unsupported) authority one or two small changes in my text, such as *hinc* for *hic* in the title, and *inuenitur* for *inuenerit* in the context (p. 188, l. 12). A point of interest to me is that **m** reads *natura* for *materia* of other MSS and printed texts (p. 188, l. 4), *natura* being an emendation that I had suggested in this place from conjecture ($\overline{\text{na}} > \overline{\text{ma}} = \text{materia}$).

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DEMOSTHENES' AVOIDANCE OF BREVES

By Charles D. Adams

In the second edition of the *Attische Beredsamkeit* (1893) Friedrich Blass gave his final statement of the "law" of the avoidance of a succession of three or more short syllables in the speeches of Demosthenes. He pointed out certain classes of apparent exceptions to the law, which he would remove by punctuation, change of spelling, elision, and similar means; he formulated other classes of exceptions which he held to be real, but permissible, and in some cases unavoidable. After eliminating these classes of exceptions, Blass showed how few cases of *breves* remained even in so long a speech as the *De corona*. But here, as in the formation of his Teubner text and that of his edition of the *De corona*, he assumed the right to use the rhythmical law as a determining factor in many cases of textual criticism. If the reading of S gave *breves*[1] in any given case, while the vulgate reading or a quotation in an ancient author offered a reading without the *breves*, or if the bracketing of an unnecessary word or phrase would remove the series of short syllables, Blass did not hesitate to accept the inferior manuscript authority, or to emend the text. This freedom in textual emendation in favor of his "law," and the vagueness of the formulation of some of his permissible exceptions, have tended to react against confidence in the law itself.[2]

It has seemed to the writer that it would be well to attempt to establish the range of this law more definitely. There is no question that the strictness of the application of the law, or principle, or rule, or tendency varies in different speeches of Demosthenes, and in different parts of the same speech. A detailed examination should begin with a speech of the highest rhetorical perfection, carefully revised for publication by Demosthenes, and of sufficient length to give variety of style. All this is found in the *De corona*. If we can

[1] In the following, the word *breves* and its abbreviation, *brr.*, are used for a series of three short syllables in the restricted sense defined by Blass.

[2] In a review of Fuhr's Teubner text (*Classical Philology*, X, 473), I have discussed at length the application of this law to textual criticism.

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determine the range of the avoidance of *breves* in this speech, we may fairly use the result as a norm to be applied to other speeches, and perhaps to some extent as a test of genuineness in the case of speeches of disputed authorship. As a text for such a study of the *De corona* we must not take one which, like Blass's Teubner text (1884), has been revised under the dominant influence of the very theory that is under investigation.[1] Butcher's Oxford text (1903) furnishes precisely what we need: a text which follows the authority of S steadily unless the evidence, aside from all rhythmical considerations, is conclusive against it. While Butcher usually introduced such regular elision and punctuation as would eliminate *breves* which were only apparent, he never pressed even this practice into the service of a theory, and he never recognized rhythmical considerations as justifying the acceptance of inferior manuscript readings. His text is therefore a safe one for our investigation. It is to be remembered, however, that even the best manuscript testimony as to elision and the use of *ν* movable is of no value, and is properly ignored by Butcher. S itself is utterly inconsistent in such matters.

Blass's law of the avoidance of a succession of short syllables as formulated in the *Attische Beredsamkeit* (3. Abt., 1. Absch., 2. Aufl., 1893, "Demosthenes," pp. 105–12) is, "Dass die Anhäufung von mehr als zwei kurzen Silben möglichst vermieden wird, wobei natürlich solche Silben, die durch Elision in Wegfall kommen, nicht mehr zählen." Blass defines the following classes of "apparent exceptions":

1. *Breves* caused by writing in one form a word which should be written in another form. Here belong words which should lose a short syllable by elision, or lengthen a final short syllable by the use of *ν* movable (before a word beginning with a consonant). Other words should be differently spelled, as *εἵνεκα* for *ἕνεκα*, *αὐτοῦ* for *ἑαυτοῦ*, *ἠβουλόμην* for *ἐβουλόμην*. Sometimes a slightly different form of the word is to be assumed, as *πότερ'* for *πότερον*, *πᾶς* for *ἅπας*.

2. *Breves* where the third short syllable comes before a pause (where we may always assume lengthening in delivery) or where a pause breaks the series.

[1] It is also true that Blass's Teubner text suffers from his attempts to secure rhythmical correspondences of *kola* according to a theory which he himself soon greatly modified.

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3. *Breves* that are removed by crasis or aphaeresis.

4. *Breves* that are contained in a quotation, a citation, the address to the reading clerk, i.e., any matter that falls outside the speech proper.

The apparent exceptions under 1, 2, and 3 disappear in proper delivery. Much more important are Blass's "real exceptions":

1. A series of short syllables lying wholly within a word and not including its final syllable must be permitted if the word is to be used at all; many such words must be used. (The series should not include the final syllable, for a short final syllable may be lengthened by proper arrangement of words.) Blass further says (p. 108): "Ob dann zu dem hiermit gegebenen Tribrachys noch von den benachbarten Worten Kürzen hinzukommen, ist gleichgültig, falls nicht etwa damit noch eine zweite Hebung aufgelöst erscheint." This statement is not justified; the *breves* within the word cannot be avoided; the addition of other short syllables preceding it can be, for the most part.

2. *Breves* are permissible in a preposition and its noun, the two being almost like one word; the same is true of article and noun, and of article followed by preposition and noun.

3. *Breves* of which ὅτι is a part are permissible.

4. *Breves* are permissible in certain compact phrases, for the same reason as within a single word; so οὗτος ὁ νόμος, τρίτον ἔτος.

5. *Breves* are permissible when two words are amalgamated by elision, or brought together in hiatus with shortening of the final syllable of the first word. Blass gives no grounds for this exception, and none can be given. Such grouping of short syllables is not necessary; when it does occur it is a real violation of the law.

In the following pages I give the instances of groups of three or more short syllables in the *De corona*, as a means of determining the extent of the permissible exceptions to the law of *breves*, and the extent and character of the violations of the law, after these exceptions have been eliminated. I have not recorded the *breves* occurring within a word unless they include its final syllable nor *breves* occurring at a pause that is marked by punctuation in Butcher's text, as neither group is significant for our purpose. We shall find that even a text prepared by an editor who recognized Demosthenes' tendency to

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avoid *breves*, and who often used elision and punctuation with this in view, still contains a considerable number of passages with apparent *breves* that are to be removed by elision or punctuation.

The following abbreviations are used:

p. A pause to be assumed, whether marked by punctuation or not.
sp. Use different spelling or a variant form.
ν. Use *ν* movable.
e. Elide.
aph. Use aphaeresis.
cr. Use crasis.
ext. The *breves* are in matter that is external to the speech proper, as in quoted words, directions to the clerk, etc.

Gd., Goodwin's edition; Bl., Blass, Teubner text; H., Humphreys' text; F., Fuhr's Teubner text (1914).

"Bl." at the left of a reference in the column of real exceptions means that Blass in the *Attische Beredsamkeit*[2] (1893) recognizes this as a real violation of his "law." In all other cases "Bl." refers to Blass's Teubner text (1884). In his *Attische Beredsamkeit* Blass did not always follow the readings of his Teubner text, hence in the column of real exceptions some of the *breves* recorded as recognized by Blass as real violations of the law are cases that in his earlier (Teubner) text he had removed by one means or another.

De corona. xviii

[The asterisk marks an instance that is not to be counted in reckoning the *minimum* number of *breves*. See p. 283.]

1.1—13.10. First 100 Oxford Lines

Real Exceptions	Apparent Exceptions
*4. περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ	2. cr. τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ
5. πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι (vulg.; πάντας after ὑμᾶς S, L, Gd., H.)	3. p. μὲν | ὅτι οὐ (, Bl., H.)
*7. περὶ ἁπάντων (S, L, al.; περὶ πάντων vulg.)	9. p. δίκαιον ἅμα | βράχε' (, Bl.)
9. εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην	10. e. κοινὰ ὑπέρευ(κοίν' Bl., H., F.)
*10. περὶ ἐμοῦ	10. cr. χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ (κἀμὲ Bl., H.)
*13. γράφοντα παράνομα	

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13.11—25.6. Second 100 Oxford Lines

Real Exceptions	Apparent Exceptions
14. *μέγαλ' ἔχουσαι*	19. p. *πολέμου* | *οἱ τότε* (, Bl., H.)
16. *γὰρ ἀδικίας*	20. p. *ὀργιζόμενοι* | *ἑτοίμως* (, Bl.)
17. *καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον* (vulg., Gd., H.; om. *ἓν* A^1, al.; *καθ' ἓν ἕκαστ'* S.; *καθ' ἕκαστ'* Bl., F.)	21. cr. *ὁ ὑποκριτής*
*17. *μετὰ Φιλοκράτους*	21. p. *ἐπὶ ταῦτα* | *Φιλοκράτης* (, Bl., H.)
Bl. 20. *ἀμφότερα ταῦτ'*	24. p. *κατεψεύσατό μου* | *οὐδὲν* (, F.; om. *μου* Bl., H.)
Bl. 23. *οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ*	
25. *πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος*, (Syr., vulg.; *τε τὴν εἰρήνην συναγω—* S, L^1; om. *πάντα* Bl., H., F.)	

25.7—41.2

26. *ἠλπίσατε τὴν* (om. *τὴν* B, al., Bl., H.)	28. sp. *ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν* (*χρῆν* Bl.)
*32. *μὴ ἅπιμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας*	31. sp. *τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· (τοιοῦτ'?)*
	31. p. *ἀεὶ* | *ὁμολογῶ*
	34. p. *κεχρημένου* | *ἀνάγκη* (, Bl., H.)
	36. cr. *καὶ ἔτι* (*κἄτι* Bl., H.)
	40. ext. *ὅτι "ἐγὼ ταῦτα . . . ."*
	40. sp. *ἐκεῖνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ* (*αὐτῷ* Bl., H.)

41.3—57.5

41. *γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς* (*ὅτι, σὺ* Bl.)	44. p. *ἐκεῖνος* | *ἐπολεμοῦντο* (, Bl., H.)
Bl. 42. *πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς* (*εἰς τὰς* V^1, Bl.)	49. p. *ἴδοι* | *ὅτι* (, Bl., H., F.)
42. *τί ἐγένετο;*	49. p. *πατρίδα* | *καὶ* (, Bl., H.)
43. *ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε*	52. sp. *πότερον ὑμῖν* (*πότερ'* Bl., H.)
*48. *ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ*	
Bl. 48. *τί κακὸν οὐχὶ* (*κακῶν* Bl.)	
49. *ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα*	
Bl. 49. *δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ* ([*δωρ-*] Bl.)	
49. *πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλειτε*	
57. *ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν* (vulg., Bl., F.; *ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγ-* S, L^1, Gd., H.)	

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57.6—71.7

Real Exceptions		Apparent Exceptions	
*57.	περὶ ἐμοῦ	63. sp.	πότερον αὐτὴν (πότερ' ?)
*59.	περὶ ἁπάντων (πάντων A, V^1, al., Bl.)	64. sp.	πόλιν ἐβούλετ' (ἠβουλ- Bl.)
63.	ταῦτα περιδεῖν	64. p.	γιγνόμενα | ἐπὶ τῇ (, Bl.)
66.	αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ'	69. p.	ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα | πᾶσιν (, Bl.)
68.	χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ	69. sp.	ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν (χρῆν Bl., H.)
		70. e.	γέγονεν οἶδα (γέγον' Bl., H.)

71.8—89.5

*75.	εἶτα Φιλοκράτης	76. sp.	αἰτιᾶται ἔμ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ (μ' Bl.)
79.	[εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφεν·]		
Bl. 81.	αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος	82. p.	οὐδέποτ' | ἐὰν (, Bl., H., F.)
*82.	περὶ ἐμοῦ	83. sp.	ἔμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις (μ' Bl.)
*87.	χάρακα βαλόμενος (χαράκωμα $S_{γρ.}$ A: χαρακώματα L^3, F.)	89. p.	πόλεμος | ἄνευ (, Bl., H., F.)

89.6—103.5

93.	Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ	93. cr.	προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ
98.	κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι	97. sp.	καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς (αὐτοὺς Bl.)
*99.	ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος		
99.	τότε τριηράρχων (S, L, H.; τριηράρχων τότε vulg., Bl.)	103. cr.	καὶ ἀπέφυγον, (κἀπ- Bl.)
Bl. 102.	τοὺς δὲ μέτρι' ἦ	100. e.	ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι (-θηθ' ὑπο- Bl., H., F.)
		101. p.	τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν (πόλιν, Bl., H.)

103.6—119.3

Bl. 107.	αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη	104. cr.	δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου
Bl. 107.	δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι	105. ext.	ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ
Bl. 108.	τἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν ([συνεβ-] Bl.)	105. ext.	κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν
Bl. 111.	βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ	109. cr.	πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς (πολιτεύμασιν F.; [πολ-] Bl.)
113.	ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ	111. *v.*	ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν (ἔλεγεν Bl., H., F.)
113.	διά γε τοῦτο (S, L, B, F, al., Gd., H., F. (τοῦτ'); δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο L^3, A, vulg.; διὰ τοῦτό γ' Bl.)	111. sp.	αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην (ἠδυν- Bl., F.)
		111. p.	ὁμολογῶ | ὧν (, Bl., H., F.)
*113.	περὶ ἐμοῦ	118. ext.	μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς
Bl. 119.	ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα		
119.	τὰ διδόμεν' ὁμολογῶν (διδόμενα ὁμολ- Bl.)		

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119.4—132.4

Real Exceptions	Apparent Exceptions
120. ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ	120. p. λογίσασθαι | ὅτι (, Bl., H., F.)
*125. πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον	
128. λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε (ἠρυθρίασεν Bl.)	121. ext. τινας ὁ δῆμος
130. δηλονότι ταύτης	123. p. εἰς ταῦτα | ἀπὸ (, Bl., H.; ταυτ' F.)
	124. aph. ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν (ἢ 'μὸν)
	127. ext. καὶ ἀρετή
	127. ext. τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται
	130. e. ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν (ἔτυχ' Bl.)
	130. e. ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον (ἐποίησ' Bl.)

132.5—144.5

Bl. 133. ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ([ἂν] Bl.)	134. p.	Δήλῳ | ἀπὸ τῆς (, Bl., H., F.)
Bl. 134. σύνδικον ὑπέρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ	135. ext.	καὶ ὅτι
136. Φίλιππον ἐξήλεξα φανερῶς (ἐξήλεγξα τὸν Φ. φανερῶς Hermog.; ἐξ. Φ. φανερῶς Bl.)	137. ext.	καὶ ὅτι
	143. ext.	πόλεμον εἰς
	143. ext.	πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν
137. ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ		
137. τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν		
138. ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι (ἐγὼ νῦν ἔτι vulg., Bl.)		
*139. ἐμῷ ὕδατι		

144.6—161.4

151. κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας (S corr., pr. L, A; ἅπαντ. κατ. F., vulg.: om. ἅπαντας S^1, Bl.)	147. ν.(p.)	Ἀμφικτύοσι | καὶ (-σιν Bl., F.)
	160. p.	ἀψαμένῳ | εἰς (, Bl. H., F.)
160. μάλιστα δ' ὅτι (δέ, ὅτι Bl.)		
161. παρ' ἑκατέροις		

161.5—177.9

161. γένοιτο παρατηρῶν (S, L^1, Gd., H.; γενήσεται παρατ. A, vulg., Bl.)	162. aph.	μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ (μοῦ Bl.)
	169. cr.	ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
	170. ext.	τίς ἀγορεύειν
Bl. 162. πρότερον ἢ (προτέρων Bl.)	174. e.	ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, (ἐτύγχαν' Bl.)
163. ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ		

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Real Exceptions		Apparent Exceptions	
Bl. 168.	θόρυβον ἴστε	174. p.	ἔχει' | ἔφην
	ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες (θόρυβον, ἴστε μὲν πάντες Bl.)	175. p.	τὰ ὅπλα | τοὺς (, Bl., H.)
171.	ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ	177. p.	ὑμέτερα | ἐξ (, Bl.; ὑμέτερ' ἐξ, F.)
Bl. 171.	ἀμφότερα ταῦτα	177. p.	πατρίδα | πάρεσθ' (, Bl.)
*172.	ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος (ἔπραττε Bl.)		
Bl. 173.	οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ (οὗτος τηνικαῦτ' ἐγὼ Bl.)		
173.	ὅτι μόνος τῶν		
174.	ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ		
174.	μέντοι ἵν' ἕτοιμα		
Bl. 177.	εἶτα μεταθέσθαι		

177.10—196.3

Bl. 177.	βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ	179. ext.	ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον
		180. p.	Κρέοντα | ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολυττῷ (, Bl., H.; Κρέοντ' F.)
178.	τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ ([τῷ πραγ.] Bl.)	191. ext.	τίς ἀγορεύειν
178.	προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν (προσώσχετε S^1; πρόσσχετε Bl.)	192. sp.	τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν (ἤμελλ' Bl.; ἤμελλεν S, H., F.)
180.	ὅσα προσῆκε (ἃ προς. A, al., Bl.)	193. cr.	καὶ ἐπιμελῶς (κἀπι- Bl.)
	τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην	196. cr.	καὶ ἀκροωμένους (κἀκρο- Bl.)

196.4—208.10

Bl. 197.	ὅσον ἐγὼ	197. p.	ὀκνήσας ἴδιον | οὐδ'(, Bl. H.)
*Bl. 202.	πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν (προτέρων ἰσ, Bl.)	197. cr., e.	καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος (ἅμ' Bl., H., F.)
203.	αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε	Bl. 201. p.	πρὸς Διὸς | ἐωρῶμεν
*Bl. 204.	ἂν ἀγάσαιτο (ἂν ἀγασθείη Cobet, Bl.)	201. e.	ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι (ἀγῶν' F.)
204.	στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι	203. e.	πάτρια οὐδ' (πάτρι' Bl., H., F.)
205.	ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς	205. p.	δουλεύουσαν | ἀποθνήσκειν (, Bl.)

208.11—219.3

*209.	ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ([ ] Bl.)	209. p.	παριόντα | τὸ τίνος φρόνημα (, Bl., H., F.)
211.	ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' (S, L; ὅθεν εἰς ταῦτα cett.; ἐπάνειμ' οὖν ὅθεν ἐξέβην Bl.)	210. p., e.	συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν (συμβόλαι' H., F.); συμβόλαια, ἐπὶ Bl.)
213.	διὰ τὸ τὴν		
213.	'πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου	213. cr.	βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα ([καὶ ἀνδρ. καὶ . . . .] Bl.)
213.	καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ		

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Real Exceptions		Apparent Exceptions	
213.	διαπτασθησόμεν' ὑπὸ τοῦ ([ὑπὸ τοῦ] Bl.)	216. p.	στρατοπέδου | οὐδείς (, F., Bl.)
215.	τρί' ἐν ἐκείνῃ		
Bl. 219.	Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος		

219.4—234.7

221.	ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ	219. p.	ἑαυτῷ | ἅμα (, Bl.)
223.	τὸν Ὑπερείδην	222. cr.	Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ
227.	καθαραὶ ὦσιν (L, vulg.; καθαιρῶσιν S^1, Bl., Gd., H., F.)	222. ext.	ψηφίσματα τὰ ἀποπεφευγότα
228.	περὶ ἑκατέρου	223. e.	γέγραφεν οὑτοσί (γέγραφ' Bl., H.)
*229.	μετὰ Φιλίππου		
Bl. 230.	πόλεμον εἶναι	230. cr.	ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν
Bl. 230.	στάδι' ἀπὸ τῆς	231. e.	προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς (προστίθημ' Bl., H.)
231.	περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο (περιβαλλ. πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλ. vulg., Dionys. Hal., *Thucyd.* 54).		
232.	ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα		
*234.	οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε		

234.8—248.5

238.	διπλάσια τῶν	236. cr., p.	μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί (-σιν F.)
239.	εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς (ἐνεδεχ. perhaps gloss from ἐνῆν Weil.)	241. ext.	θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν
		243. ext.	ἂν ἀπέθανεν
*244.	παρὰ Φιλίππου	246. p.	ἀρχόμενα | καὶ (, Bl.)
244.	οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν (οὐδὲ S, L, Gd.: οὐ cett., Bl., H.)	246. cr.	καὶ ἔτι τὰς
245.	τε μαλακίαν		
*247.	τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.		
*248.	περὶ ἐμοῦ		
248.	καὶ ἐορακὼς (ἑωρακὼς codd., Bl.)		

248.6—260.5

252.	ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ	249. p.	μανία | οὔτ' (, Bl.)
Bl. 258.	τινὶ κέχρησαι	249. p.	ἐστι | καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
259.	δὲ γενόμενος τῇ	252. p.	οἰόμενος | οὐκ οἶδεν (, Bl.)
		252. p., e.	θεωρήσατε | ὅσῳ (, Bl., F.; -σαθ' H.)
		254. cr.	τὸ ἐπίβαλλον
		257. cr.	ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
		259. cr.	καὶ ἀπομάττων (κἀπο- Bl., H.)

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260.6—276.1

Real Exceptions	Apparent Exceptions
267. *πάντες ἀπολέσειαν*	266. p. *τήμερον* | *ἐγὼ* (, Bl.)
269. *εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι*	269. *ν.* *ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν* (*ἐστιν* Bl., F.)
	273. e. *γὰρ ἐπὶ εὐνοίᾳ* (*ἐπ'* Bl., H., F.)
	273. p. *δηλονότι* | *καὶ*

276.2—288.11

284. *ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ*	276. aph. *μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ* (*'μοι* Bl., H.)
288. *οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ* (S, L, Gd., H.; [ ] Bl.)	278. cr. *καὶ ἀγαθοῦ*
Bl. 288. *αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς* ([*ἐπὶ τὰς . . . .*] Bl.)	279. p. *ἀνηλωκέναι* | *ἰδίας* (, Bl.)
288. *τὸ περίδειπνον*	282. p. *ῥήτορος* | *ἢ εἰ* (, Bl.)
	284. cr. *τὰ ὀνόματα*
	288. p. *ἀδελφοὶ* | *οἱ ὑπὸ* (, F.; [*οἱ . . . .*] Bl.)

288.12—302.1

288. *μάλιστα διέφερεν,*	288. ext. *τὸ ἐπίγραμμα*
*288. *ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων* (*πάντων* Bl., H.)	291. p. *ἑαυτοῦ* | *ὅτι τοῖς* (, Bl., F.)
291. *ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ* ([*ἐμοῦ*] Bl.)	296. p. *πατρίσιν* | *ὥνπερ* (, Bl., F.)
293. *ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ'*	298. p. *μέγεθος* | *οὔτ'* (, Bl.)
297. *μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου* ([ ] Bl., Butch. after Dobree)	298. p. *οὔτε φόβος* | *οὔτ'* (, Bl.)
298. *ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα*	298. p. *προηγάγετο* | *ὧν* (, Bl., H., F.)
	298. p. *πατρίδι* | *οὐδὲν* (, Bl., H., F.)
	298. cr. *καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου* (*κἀδι-* Bl., H.)

302.2—316.6

Bl. 303. *οὐδὲ προεθέν θ'* (*προεθέντα* S, A, Y; *προδοθέντα* vulg.; *πραθέντα* Dobree; *πραθέν θ'* Bl.)	303. p. *κακία* | *ἢ* (, Bl., H.)
	305. ext. *τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν*
	305. ext., cr. *κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα* (*τἀμὰ* Bl., H.)
Bl. 307. *δέ τις ἰδίᾳ*	310. e. *ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν* (*ἔδωχ'* Bl., H.)
Bl. 312. *εἶχες ἔρανον*	
Bl. 316. *τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας* (S, L, al.; *προτέρων* vulg., Bl.)	

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316.7—324.6. 58 Lines

Real Exceptions	Apparent Exceptions
317. γὰρ ὅτι καὶ [Bl. 317. τοὺς [δὲ] πρότερον γεγεν-]	321. p. λέγοντι | ἀνεπιφθονώτατον (, Bl.)
320. ἐξέτασις ἦν (om. ἦν S, L, Bl., Gd., H., F.)	323. p. ἐπαινοῦσι | καὶ ὅπως (-ουσιν Bl.)
*321. περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ	

By the list above we find, in the 2,258 Oxford lines of the *De corona*, 137 real exceptions to the law of the avoidance of three or more successive short syllables, and 106 apparent exceptions, after eliminating 20 instances of *breves* in extraneous matter.

I. THE APPARENT EXCEPTIONS

Of the apparent exceptions, 53 (just half) are removed by recognizing natural pauses in delivery. Most of these pauses might well be marked in our texts by the comma, as Blass has done in his Teubner text. Humphreys does not go as far as Blass in the use of the comma, but he recognizes the propriety of using it in many cases where Butcher does not; in this respect his text is the better of the two. Goodwin, apparently giving little attention to Demosthenic usage as to rhythm and hiatus, marks the pause in only one of these passages (*παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα* § 209), although his failure to do so not only leaves the misleading groups of *breves*, but such harsh hiatus as *κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη* § 34; *ὁμολογῶ ὧν* § 111; *λογίσασθαι ὅτι* § 120; *Δήλῳ ἀπό* § 134; *ἀψαμένῳ εἰς* § 160. We must not, of course, assume that every pause that would be sufficient in delivery to prevent a succession of *breves* is to be marked by punctuation in our texts; we are dealing here with rhetorical considerations; the printed punctuation takes account both of rhetorical and of grammatical demands. We should hardly punctuate in such expressions as the following, although there is a clear rhetorical pause: *ὀργιζόμενοι \| ἑτοίμως* (*brr.* and hiatus) § 20; *ἀεὶ \| ὁμολογῶ* (*brr.* and hiatus) § 31; *ἀδελφοὶ \| οἱ ὑπὸ* (*brr.* and hiatus) § 288.

The assumption of the use of crasis removes 23 more of the apparent exceptions. We have no means of proving how far an orator used crasis in delivery, but we must assume that it was used frequently.

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We are certainly to assume the free use of elision also in delivery, as Butcher does in his printing as a rule; yet even in his text 15 cases of *breves* appear where elision should be reognized in the printed text. Humphreys prints 9 of these with elision, Fuhr, 7 of them. Goodwin's text seems to have been prepared with no reference to the effect of elision on *breves;* in the first 200 (Oxford) lines of the speech, Goodwin's text shows 11 cases of *breves* that would be removed by elision,[1] and are so treated by Humphreys, and by Butcher with one exception (*κοινὰ ὑπέρευ* § 10). Of course all these are cases of apparent hiatus also, therefore doubly offensive. The fact that Goodwin does use elision freely in his printed text makes his failure to use it in cases like these the more misleading.

II. THE REAL EXCEPTIONS

The 137 real exceptions, an average of 6 to the hundred Oxford lines,[2] form the evidence on which we must base the attempt to determine the range of the "law" or tendency of Demosthenes' avoidance of *breves* in the *De corona.* It may be, however, that we ought to reduce this list of 137 real exceptions, for included among them are some cases of *breves* that are not entirely certain, and others that are practically unavoidable, and therefore perhaps to be treated like *breves* within a word.

1. In 5 cases there is some question of the pronunciation: in § 4 and § 321 *περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ* may have been pronounced *περὶ 'μαυτοῦ*; in § 32 *μὴ ἄπιμεν* may have been pronounced as though written *μἤπιμεν*; in § 125 *ἢ ἔλαττον* may have been treated in a similar way; in § 172, while we should hardly print *ἔπρατθ' ὁ*, that may have been the pronunciation (Blass, *Rede vom Kranze,* p. xiv).

2. In some cases we may be justified in assuming a form of the word that is slightly different from that of the manuscripts. So *μου* for the unemphatic *ἐμοῦ* in *περὶ ἐμοῦ* §§ 10, 57, 82, 113, 248. In §§ 7 and 59 *περὶ ἁπάντων* may have been *περὶ πάντων*; so also *ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων* § 288. For *πρότερον* § 202, Blass would write *προτέρων*; for *ἀγάσαιτο* § 204, he accepts Cobet's emendation, *ἀγασθείη*.

[1] *πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ* § 4; *τε ἰδίου* § 8; *κοινὰ ὑπέρευ* § 10; *ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ* § 10; *μεγάλα ἔχουσαι* § 14; *πράγματα ἐλέγχουτ* § 15; *ὅσα ὑπὲρ* § 17; *ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην* § 18; *ὥστε ἀνελεῖν* § 18; *χρήματα ἀναλίσκων* § 19; *δήποτε ἕνεκα* § 21.

[2] In the following discussion I shall occasionally use the term "per cent" to indicate the number of groups of *breves* per hundred lines.

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3. The *breves* in the following fixed phrases are unavoidable: *γράφοντα παράνομα* § 13; *χάρακα βαλόμενος* § 87; *τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι* § 139; *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ'* § 209; *τὸ κατ' ἐμέ* § 247.

In some cases, though by no means in all, the *breves* that lie in part in proper names are practically unavoidable. Such cases are: *μετὰ Φιλοκράτους* § 17; *ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ* § 48; *εἶτα Φιλοκράτης* § 75; *ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος* § 99; *μετὰ Φιλίππου* § 229; *οὔτε Ῥόδος* § 234 (possibly also a pause after *Ῥόδος*); *παρὰ Φιλίππου* § 244.

If we deduct the 27 *breves* of these three groups (marked by an asterisk in column 1), 110 *breves* remain in the 2,258 lines, an average of 4.9 per hundred. This may be taken as the minimum average for the *De corona*. But in comparing this speech with others it is generally better to use the maximum figure, 6; for something of the subjective element enters in, the moment one begins to reduce the number on the ground of possible change of pronunciation or of the supposed necessity of the use of set phrases, etc. In comparing large blocks the relative frequency of *breves* will be about the same, whether we reckon the maximum or the minimum number in each block that is involved in the comparison. In dealing with a short block, like one of the *Philippics*, the repeated use of some one set phrase or some one proper name may considerably affect the result; here it is safer to use both minimum and maximum figures. Wherever in the following discussion minimum figures are given, they are obtained by excluding groups that correspond to those analyzed above for the *De corona*.

Our results are affected, of course, by some questionable manuscript readings. Such variants in the *De corona* are recorded in our analysis. The only safe course here for our investigation is to use the reading that is best on grounds other than those of rhythm. How far, after the facts of rhythm have been established, these facts themselves may be used in deciding between variant readings in any given case should become clear as our investigation proceeds. The fact that there is some uncertainty of manuscript readings of course makes our conclusions to that extent doubtful, but the number of such cases is so small in comparison with the mass of material included in our study that the results are not seriously affected.

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Our next step is to determine to what extent Demosthenes was indifferent to the occurrence of *breves* in groups caused by the lighter words, like the prepositions, the articles, the particles, etc.

The article enters into only 19 such groups (including 5 where it follows a preposition of two short syllables, and 2 where it precedes one).[1] In 3 of these the article stands with a proper name, and in 4 it is in a set phrase (*ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα* §§ 60, 171, 209; *τὸ κατ' ἐμέ* § 247). Considering the frequency of the article, the fact that it occurs so seldom in *breves* warrants the conclusion that its occurrence was objectionable to the ear of Demosthenes. Blass implies that the orator allowed himself a much greater freedom than we find in this examination. He says (p. 108): "Ferner gilt bei ihm wie bei den Tragikern die Verbindung einer Präposition mit einem Nomen einem Worte gleich, und bei dem Redner auch die Verbindung eines Artikels mit dem Nomen, oder mit Präposition und Nomen, während die Dichter bei ihrer Freiheit in der Auslassung des Artikels in diesen Zwang nicht kamen." This statement is to be modified by Blass's qualifying words, "Jedoch was an und für sich erlaubt ist, würde fehlerhaft werden, wenn es zu haüfig käme." Blass's suggestion that when Demosthenes does allow the article in *breves* it is from the feeling that article and noun are practically one word is misleading. *Breves* that occur within a word must be allowed, or the word cannot be used at all; but *breves* caused by an article followed by its noun or an attributive modifier of the noun can usually be avoided, as we see by the fact that only 12 such groups of *breves* occur in the *De corona*, three of which are with proper names, and three in the set phrase *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*.

The same criticism applies to Blass's statement as to *breves* formed by a preposition and its object. Demosthenes' use of such groups is very restricted. There are 10 instances of *περί* in *breves* in the *De corona*, but they are all in the phrases *περὶ ἐμοῦ* (5 times, perhaps to be read *περί μου*, see p. 282), *περὶ ἁπάντων* (twice, perhaps to be read *περὶ πάντων*), *περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ* (twice, perhaps to be pronounced *περὶ 'μαυτοῦ*), and *περὶ ἑκατέρου* (once).[2] The 10 instances of *περί* in

[1] Cases where the article is subject to crasis are included in the "apparent exceptions."

[2] I do not count *περὶ ἐμοῦ* in § 79, bracketed by Blass and Butcher.

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breves form not quite 12 per cent of all the instances of περί in the speech; but in Aeschines *Vs. Ctesiphon* 34 per cent of the occurrences of περί are in *breves*, and in Lysias *Vs. Eratosthenes*, 42 per cent. From this it is clear that Demosthenes distinctly restricts himself.

Ὑπό is in *breves* 9 times; two of these cases show the preposition followed by a proper name; three others have ὑπὸ Φιλίππου or Φιλίππῳ preceded by one or more short syllables; in the 4 remaining cases the *breves* are made by ὑπό with preceding syllables, not with its own object, and do not therefore fall under Blass's principle of treating preposition and object as essentially one word. The 7 cases of ὑπό in *breves* (excluding the 2 with proper names only) form 15½ per cent of the occurrences of ὑπό in the speech, as against 32 per cent in Aeschines *Vs. Ctesiphon*, and 43 per cent in Lysias *Vs. Eratosthenes*. Demosthenes therefore shows a clear tendency to avoid *breves* with ὑπό.

There are 7 cases of ἐπί in *breves*, but 3 of these are in the fixed phrase ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. In 3 of the 4 remaining cases the *breves* are formed by ἐπί with the preceding word, not with its object. In the 4 cases of παρά in *breves* one is with a proper name, and two are with the preceding word. Two of the 3 cases of ὑπέρ in *breves* have the *breves* in the preposition and its object. Of the 2 cases of κατά in *breves* (both in set phrases) one has the *breves* wholly in the preposition and its object. The 2 cases of μετά in *breves* are with proper names. The only instances of διά in *breves* (out of 44 occurrences of διά in the speech) are in the phrases διά γε τοῦτο (§ 113) and διὰ τὸ . . . . ἔχειν (§ 213). We find ἐν in the speech 162 times, but only 5 times in *breves;* in no one of these groups are the *breves* wholly in the preposition and its object. In the single instance of ἀπό in *breves* (out of 22 occurrences of the word) the group is made by the preposition with the preceding word (§ 230).

We must conclude that Demosthenes generally avoided groups of short syllables with prepositions. In case of prepositions with proper names or fixed phrases the use was unavoidable. In other cases the *breves* are as likely to be due to the word before the preposition as to its object. All instances of *breves* with prepositions, except with proper names or in fixed phrases, must be included in reckoning the minimum number of *breves*.

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Blass treats ὅτι as an exception to the law of *breves*, but it does not occur in *breves* in the *De corona* often enough to justify his position. The 9 instances are only 15 per cent of all the occurrences of ὅτι in the speech, as against 47 per cent in Aeschines *Vs. Ctesiphon*, and 45 per cent in Lysias *Vs. Eratosthenes*.

Μέν occurs in *breves* 5 times, δέ 3 times, and ἄν 8 times.

While our analysis of these instances shows that Demosthenes did not admit the article, the prepositions, and the lighter particles freely in *breves*, yet the fact that the groups containing these words make up about 60 per cent of all the *breves* of the speech, shows that he did admit them much more freely than he did the more substantial words, viz., verbs, substantives, adjectives, demonstratives, etc.

The bearing of these facts on textual criticism is evident. *Breves* contained in the lighter words of the sentence, while restricted, are nevertheless not so rare as to warrant textual alteration in any given case, or to have much weight in the decision between variant readings. But *breves* in groups of the stronger words, or at the end of one of them, are rare enough to warrant giving considerable weight where good manuscripts differ; they are not rare enough to warrant textual alteration on the ground of the *breves* alone.

In any attempt to determine the frequency of exceptions to the "law" of the avoidance of *breves*, the groups with the article, prepositions, and the other lighter words must be included with the groups involving the stronger words; neither sort of *breves* is freely admitted, neither one is entirely excluded; the question is one of relative frequency, and for that no precise statement can be made. If we include all real *breves* in our discussion, we have a safe criterion for the comparison of different parts of the same speech with one another, and for the comparison of one speech as a whole with another speech.

An examination of the several divisions of the speech shows a marked tendency to avoid *breves* as the thought becomes more impressive and the style more elevated; yet this is not without exceptions.

In the proem the *breves* are considerably less than the average of the speech, 3 cases in 58 lines (5 per cent); two of these are of the least objectionable type, περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ § 4, περὶ ἁπάντων § 7 (see p. 282).

The fine discussion of the situation at the time of the making of the peace, §§ 18–25, 66 lines, has 2 cases (3 per cent): ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' § 20, and οὗτος ὑγιές § 23.

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The narrative and discussion of the acts following the conclusion of the peace (§§ 25–50) show only 3 cases of *breves* in the first 105 lines (§§ 25–41): *πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος* § 25 (a very doubtful reading), *ἠλπίσατε τήν* § 26 (another very doubtful reading), and *μὴ ἄπιμεν* § 32 (see p. 282). But as the argument and attack proceed we find 4 cases in 24 lines (§§ 41–44); then after 29 forcible lines that are entirely clear we are surprised to find 5 cases in only 15 lines (§§ 48 f.), and that in a passage of deep feeling and fine rhetorical finish. The section as a whole, 173 lines, with 12 *breves*, has a rate of 7 to the hundred lines, a rate slightly greater than that of the speech as a whole.

The eloquent discussion of Demosthenes' services up to the campaign at Byzantium (§§ 60–87, 160 lines) shows only 6 cases, and most of these of a minor sort. The discussion of the rescue of Byzantium (§§ 87–102) has 5 cases in only 106 lines, but only one of these (*κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι* § 98) is in the more elevated part.

The discussion of the naval reforms, a part perhaps the least impressive in the speech (§§ 102–10), has 4 *breves* in 53 lines (a high rate), including 2 bad cases of hiatus. The answer to the technical charges under the laws, another of the less elevated sections, has a like rate, 9 *breves* in the 109 lines (§§ 110–26).

The solemn and elevated passage in which Demosthenes accuses Aeschines of having been the guilty cause of the Amphissian war (§§ 140–60, 129 lines) has only one group of *breves* and that of doubtful manuscript authority. The transition passage that follows (§§ 160–69) has 7 cases in only 37 lines, a very high rate. The story of the news from Elateia, a famous masterpiece of narrative, has no *breves* in the strictly descriptive part (§§ 168–71), but as narrative gives place to argument the *breves* become comparatively numerous. The 87 lines (§§ 171–81) show 14 cases, a rate of 16 to the hundred, a surprisingly high rate.

The elevated passage in which Demosthenes discusses his services in the crisis (§§ 188–213, 201 lines) is in its earlier part almost wholly free from *breves*, having but 2 cases in the first 123 lines, *ὅσον ἐγώ* § 197 and *πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν* § 202; but after this they become more frequent—6 cases in 78 lines. The "Marathonian oath," however (§§ 206–8 incl.), is entirely free from them.

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The effective passage (§§ 227–52) in which Demosthenes reviews his career in the form of the Λογισμός suggested by Aeschines shows more *breves* than the average, 16 cases in 189 lines, nearly 8½ per cent. The long discussion of Τύχη (§§ 252–76), where we might expect more freedom of style, has remarkably few *breves*, only 5 in 166 lines, 3 to the hundred—only half the average of the speech.

In the indignant passage (§§ 276–85) in which Demosthenes takes up Aeschines' caution to the jury to beware of Demosthenes as a crafty rhetorician, there is only one group of *breves* (ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος § 284) in the 69 lines. The outburst against the charge of Philippizing (§§ 294–301) has only 2 *breves* in the 61 lines, μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου § 297, bracketed by Butcher after Dobree, and ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα § 298.

The closing paragraphs, §§ 301 ff., have 7 *breves* in 165 lines, a rate somewhat less than that of the speech as a whole.

If, with Schäfer and Blass, we consider the epilogue as beginning with § 252, the epilogue as a whole has 22 *breves* in 525 lines, about 4.2 to the hundred, a rate considerably less than that of the speech as a whole.

Having determined with a reasonable degree of precision the extent of Demosthenes' avoidance of *breves* in a speech that was presumably prepared with the greatest care, and that represents his matured art, I proceed to an examination of the whole Demosthenic corpus. We may hope to learn whether there was any advance in Demosthenes' style in this particular between his earlier and his later works; whether in the private speeches, written for other men, he used as much care in this matter as in the case of speeches for public suits or for the bema; and whether the rate of *breves* in any speech attributed to Demosthenes may safely be used as a criterion of genuineness.

I have recorded only the real exceptions; in determining these, I have followed steadily the same principles as in the preceding investigation. It is not likely that any two investigators would always agree as to which class of exceptions are real, and which only apparent; but if each follows his own principles consistently throughout the whole corpus, the results will not differ materially. A tendency, e.g., on the part of one to assume less freedom in the use of crasis would give a higher total of *breves* for any one speech, but would not materially alter the ratio of *breves* between one speech and

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another, or between the speeches of Demosthenes and those of another writer—and this ratio is the essential point of our study.

For speeches i to xxvii, inclusive, I have used Butcher's Oxford text; for the rest, the text of Baiter and Sauppe, Zurich, 1838. The Zurich text follows S closely, and is not influenced by rhythmical theories of the editors; its lines have been reduced to the Oxford standard of length.

I have added a study of *breves* in selected parts of other prose writers; such comparison is necessary for any just estimate of the significance of the results of the study of Demosthenes. It is here to be remarked that the tendency of any writer to avoid hiatus within the *kolon* will of itself reduce the number of accidental *breves*, for in writers who admit hiatus freely a group of short syllables is often due in part to the shortening of a long vowel in hiatus. In all the authors studied the lines have been reduced to the Oxford standard of length. In Aeschines the numerous phrases that were bracketed by Blass have been treated as belonging to the text.

It will be found that in the passages from other authors the *breves* are distributed fairly evenly throughout the passage; the number in any one block of 100 lines does not vary greatly from that in any other; in the part of Isocrates examined the range is from 35 to 43; in Aeschines it is from 32 to 49; whereas in Demosthenes they are distributed unevenly, the *breves* in the *De corona* reckoned by successive hundred lines being 6, 7, 2, 10, 5, 4, 6, 10, 4, 8, 3, 14, 5, 6, 7, 10, 8, 3, 2, 4, 6, 4. An even distribution indicates accidental occurrence, uneven distribution suggests conscious avoidance, now more careful, now less.

BREVES IN THE DEMOSTHENIC CORPUS

REAL EXCEPTIONS

Rate per Hundred Lines

[Titles in parentheses are of speeches regarded by Blass as not genuine, or of doubtful genuineness. Figures in parentheses, after the number of *breves* in certain speeches, give the minimum number of *breves*, reckoned as explained on p. 283.]

OF THE FIRST PERIOD

Pleas in Private Cases

(Vs. Callippus. lii.) 369–368 B.C.	*brr.* 55.3
(Vs. Nicostratus. liii.) 366–365 B.C.	*brr.* 60.6

[The above-named are too early to be genuine.]

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First vs. Aphobus. xxvii. 363 B.C.	*brr.* 44.8
Second vs. Aphobus. xxviii. 363 B.C.	*brr.* 43.2
Vs. Aphobus for Phanus. xxix. 363–362 B.C.	*brr.* 20.9
First vs. Onetor. xxx. 362–361 B.C.	*brr.* 36
Second vs. Onetor. xxxi. 362–361 B.C.	*brr.* 23
(Vs. Timotheus. xlix.) 362 B.C.	*brr.* 60.5
(Vs. Polycles. l.) *ca.* 358 B.C.	*brr.* 57

OF THE SECOND PERIOD

Political Speeches and Pleas in Public Cases

On the Trierarchical Crown. li. 359–358 B.C.	*brr.* 2.4
Vs. Androtion. xxii. 355 B.C.	*brr.* 5.2
Vs. Leptines. xx. 354 B.C.	*brr.* 7.3
On the Symmories. xiv. 354 B.C.	*brr.* 9.6 (8.3)
Περὶ Συντάξεως. xiii. 354–351(?) B.C.	*brr.* 11
Vs. Timocrates. xxiv. 353–352 B.C.	*brr.* 6.8; 37.5
For the Megalopolitans. xvi. 353 B.C.	*brr.* 8.4 (7.5)
Vs. Aristocrates. xxiii. 352 B.C.	*brr.* 7.1
First Philippic. iv. 351 B.C.	*brr.* 6.1 (3.4)
For the Rhodians. xv. 351–350 B.C.	*brr.* 5 (4.2)
First Olynthiac. i. 349 B.C.	*brr.* 2.8 (2.8)
Second Olynthiac. ii. 349 B.C.	*brr.* 2.5 (2.1)
Third Olynthiac. iii. 349 B.C.	*brr.* 7 (4.8)
Vs. Midias. xxi. 348–347 B.C.	*brr.* 6.8

Pleas in Private Cases

Vs. Conon. liv. *ca.* 356–355 B.C.	*brr.* 16.5
(Vs. Euergus and Mnesibulus. xlvii.) 353–352 B.C.	*brr.* 49.3
For Phormion. xxxvi. 350–349 B.C.	*brr.* 15.6
First vs. Stephanus. xlv. 349–348 B.C.	*brr.* 9.1
(Second vs. Stephanus. xlvi.) 349–348 B.C.	*brr.* 39
First vs. Boeotus. xxxix. 348 B.C.	*brr.* 17.2
(Second vs. Boeotus. xl.) 347 B.C.	*brr.* 49.8

OF THE THIRD PERIOD

Political Speeches and Pleas in Public Cases

On the Peace. v. 346 B.C.	*brr.* 4.5 (3.4)
Second Philippic. vi. 344 B.C.	*brr.* 6 (3.8)
On the Embassy. xix. 343 B.C.	*brr.* 7.5 (5.5)
On the Chersonese. viii. 341 B.C.	*brr.* 4.3 (3.5)
Third Philippic. ix. 341 B.C.	*brr.* 9.4 (7)
Fourth Philippic. x. 341–340 B.C.	*brr.* 6.9
(Vs. Philip's Letter. xi.) 340–339 B.C.	*brr.* 33

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On the Crown. xviii. 330 B.C.	*brr.* 6 (4.9)
First vs. Aristogiton. xxv. *ca.* 325 B.C.	*brr.* 9
(Second vs. Aristogiton. xxvi.) *ca.* 325 B.C.	*brr.* 36

Pleas in Private Cases

Vs. Pantaenetus. xxxvii. *ca.* 346–345 B.C.	*brr.* 10
Vs. Nausimachus. xxxviii. *ca.* 346–345 B.C.	*brr.* 8.3
Vs. Eubulides. lvii. 345 B.C.	*brr.* 32
(Vs. Theocrines. lviii.) 344–339 B.C.	*brr.* 37.6
(Vs. Neaera. lix.) 343–340 B.C.	*brr.* 44.9
(Vs. Macartatus. xliii.) *ca.* 342 B.C.	*brr.* 56.8
(Vs. Olympiodorus. xlviii.) *ca.* 341 B.C.	*brr.* 60.4
(Vs. Lacritus. xxxv.) 342–341 (?) B.C.	*brr.* 54.5
(Vs. Phormion. xxxiv.) 327–326 B.C.	*brr.* 49.1
(Vs. Apaturius. xxxiii.) After 341 B.C., perhaps of the time of Alexander	*brr.* 49.8

OF THE PERIOD OF ALEXANDER

Pleas in Private Cases

(Vs. Phaenippus. xlii.)	*brr.* 42.3
(Vs. Zenothemis. xxxii.)	*brr.* 16.3
(Vs. Dionysodorus. lvi.) 323–322 B.C.	*brr.* 55.4

OF UNDETERMINED DATE

Pleas in Private Cases and Epideictic Speeches

Vs. Spudias. xli.	*brr.* 49.5
Vs. Callicles. lv.	*brr.* 44.5
(Vs. Leochares. xliv.)	*brr.* 45.6
(The Eroticus. lxi.)	*brr.* 33
(The Epitaphius. lx.)	*brr.* 11.9

THE PROEMS

[The table gives the number of the proem, the number of (Oxford) lines, the number of *breves*, and the rate per hundred.]

i	25—1— 4	xi	13—0— 0
ii	26—2— 7.7	xii	16—3—19
iii	9—0— 0	xiii	12—0— 0
iv	11—1— 9	xiv	19—2—10.5
v	20—1— 5	xv	15—1— 6.6
vi	18—1— 5.5	xvi	13—1— 7.7
vii	18—0— 0	xvii	13—1— 7.7
viii	19—1— 5.3	xviii	14—1— 7
ix	18—0— 0	xix	13—1— 8
x	17—1— 5.8	xx	17—0— 0

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xxi	35—2— 5.7	xxxix	19—1— 5
xxii	17—2—11.8	xl	19—2—10
xxiii	18—1— 5.6	xli	26—3—12
xxiv	33—1— 3	xlii	16—0— 0
xxv	24—1— 4	xliii	16—0— 0
xxvi	22—0— 0	xliv	17—2—12
xxvii	13—2—15	xlv	26—0— 0
xxviii	18—0— 0	xlvi	32—0— 0
xxix	20—3—15	xlvii	18—0— 0
xxx	22—0— 0	xlviii	21—2— 9.5
xxxi	17—1— 5.9	xlix	24—0— 0
xxxii	30—0— 0	l	25—2— 8
xxxiii	22—1— 4.5	li	9—1—11
xxxiv	26—3—12	lii	13—0— 0
xxxv	30—1— 3.3	liii	35—3— 8.6
xxxvi	16—2—13	liv	9—1—11
xxxvii	14—0— 0	lv	24—1— 4
xxxviii	22—2— 9	lvi	25—3—12

THE EPISTLES

i	112— 7—6.2	iv	80—3— 3.75
ii	173—14—8	v	34—9—26
iii	295—11—3.7	vi	16—5—31

THE RATE OF BREVES IN OTHER WRITERS, FOR COMPARISON WITH THAT OF DEMOSTHENES

Thucydides. The Funeral Oration of Pericles. 220 (Oxford) lines; *brr.* 110. Rate 50 per cent.

Lysias. Vs. Eratosthenes. First 300 lines; *brr.* 48, 47, 47.

Isocrates. Panegyric. First 600 lines; *brr.* 41, 43, 35, 43, 38, 37. Average 39.5 per cent.

Isaeus. xi. 403 lines; *brr.* 40, 32, 41, 47 (+3 lines with 2 *brr.*). 40 per cent.

Isaeus. i. 321 lines; *brr.* 27, 39, 44 (+21 lines with 7 *brr.*). 36 per cent. [Speech I shows the most definite attempt to avoid hiatus of any of Isaeus' speeches, and it is nearly the latest in time.]

Aeschines. Vs. Ctesiphon. First 500 lines, *brr.* 33, 36, 49, 45, 43. §§ 152.1—162.9, 100 lines, *brr.* 49. Last 200 lines, *brr.* 37, 32. Average 40.5 per cent.

Hyperides. Epitaphius. 259 lines; *brr.* 115. 44 per cent.

Hegesippus (?). On Halonnesus. 287 lines; *brr.* 126. 44 per cent.

Anonymous. Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Συνθηκῶν. 217 lines; *brr.* 114. 52 per cent.

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The space limits of this article forbid the detailed discussion of the results here tabulated. It is plain that in the first two published speeches, xxvii and xxviii, there was no attempt to avoid *breves;* but with the third speech, xxix, the avoidance begins, and in a few years it has become fully established as a rule of composition. The public speeches naturally show a lower rate than those in private suits.

The speeches *Vs. Spudias*, xli, and *Vs. Callicles*, lv, generally recognized as genuine works of Demosthenes, offer no evidence of date save their style. They are almost universally regarded as youthful works of the orator, and as such their high rate of *breves* is not surprising; they belong with the speeches *Vs. Aphobus* and *Vs. Onetor*.

It is seen from the table that two speeches which cannot safely be ascribed to Demosthenes follow the rule of avoidance of *breves*. The *Epitaphius*, lx, probably by a writer after the time of Demosthenes, shows that at least one rhetorician knew this secret of the Demosthenic composition. The speech *Vs. Zenothemis*, xxxii (*brr.* 16.3), was delivered, and probably written, by a kinsman of Demosthenes; it is not surprising to find an imitation of this refinement of his style.

All other speeches of the corpus which on other grounds must be declared non-Demosthenic show a high rate of *breves*. On the other hand, almost all that are certainly Demosthenic have a low rate. Two offer difficulties which may be removed on the supposition of composite authorship; the detailed discussion of the grounds for such a hypothesis would be too long for this article. These are *Vs. Eubulides*, lvii (*brr.* 32), and *Vs. Timocrates*, xxiv (*brr.* 6.8 in one part, 37.5 in the remainder); both certainly show the hand of Demosthenes; but difficulties both of composition and of argument are best solved on the supposition that in each case the speaker received from Demosthenes only a part of his material.

The bearing of our study on the question of the genuineness of the *Fourth Philippic* is evident.

The results for the *Midiana*, a speech that manifestly lacks final revision, show that at an early period the habit of avoidance of *breves* had become so established with Demosthenes as to prevail even in the first draft of a speech, a fact that has not been sufficiently recognized.

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The rate of *breves* in the *Proems* has about the same range as that of the speeches. Of course the small number of lines in each proem makes the percentage of *breves* less significant—there is more possibility of a chance absence or a chance abundance; yet it is certainly significant that so many are entirely free from *breves*. No one of the fifty-six proems has a rate so high as in itself to raise the question of genuineness.

Epistles v and vi, on the other hand, pass beyond the rate of Demosthenes' matured style. Whether the low rate of the other epistles is, like that of the *Epitaphius*, due to the skill of an imitator, well instructed in the niceties of the Demosthenic style, is a question that must be settled on other evidence.

Our study as a whole has shown that the avoidance of *breves* is a real characteristic of Demosthenes' style. A wide interval separates the least-polished product of his pen from the best work of his great contemporaries. Apparently there were some men of his own time—perhaps a narrow circle of personal friends—and some of a later time, who understood and imitated this peculiar device of prose composition, but none of the great writers were among them, and the principle did not find its way into the rhetorical treatises.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK.[1]

DENTAL TERMINATIONS I. 3

WORDS WITH GENITIVE IN -ωτος

BY CARL D. BUCK

1. *Verbal adjectives of the type* ἡμιβρώς.—This type has been discussed in connection with that of προβλής (above, pp. 173 ff.), with mention of the more obvious derivatives belonging to it, namely, those in -βλως, -γνως, -βρως, -τρως, -στρως, -πτως.

Two other verbal adjectives are formed by analogy from apparent roots in -ω: ἀζῶτες· οἱ μὴ εἰς τὰ συνεστῶτα παρόντες Hesych., from ζω-, originally ζωσ-, of ἐζωμένος, etc. (cf. ἐζωμένοι· παρόντες. ἕτοιμοι Hesych.);[2] ἀβῶς· ἄφθογγος Hesych., which, in spite of the accent given, is not from *ἀβοάς, but formed from the contracted βω- of ἔβωσα, etc.[3]

Substantive forms from roots in ω are: δώς Hes. *Op.* 354 (nom. only); πλώς 'swimmer,' name of a fish, Ath. 288 B, etc.; εὐρώς 'mold,' probably from ἐ-ϝρω-τ (root *μer-*, Skt. *var-* 'cover'),[4] and the name of the Spartan Εἵλωτες probably from ἑ-ϝελω-τ, with prothetic vowel and a form of the root seen in ἁλίσκομαι, ἁλῶναι, ἁλωτός.[5] φώς 'man,' which has τ-inflection from the earliest time, probably belongs here, rather than with the following having secondary τ, but its derivation is uncertain.[6]

2. *Nouns with secondary* τ*-inflection, like* γέλως.—In Homer there are no τ-forms of γέλως, ἔρως, or ἰδρώς; and χρώς has only once χρωτός, twice acc. χρῶτ', beside usual χροός, χρόα. Of these, γέλως and ἔρως

[1] See Introductory Note, *CP.* 5. 323 ff.

[2] Cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Epic.* 311; Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 78.

[3] Cf. Fraenkel, *Nom. ag.* 1. 63.

[4] Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 123, 168, Brugmann, *Grd.*[2] 2. 1. 423.

[5] Cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 251.

[6] Brugmann, *Grd.*[2] 2. 1. 536, connects it with Skt. *bhās* 'light, might,' etc.

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are inherited *s*-stems (cf. γελαστός, ἐραστός), parallel to Lat. *honōs*, etc., and were originally inflected in Greek like the feminines αἰδώς, ἠώς. The original stem of χρώς is uncertain, but it was probably diphthongal, with nom. -ως from -ōis (cf. Lat. *rēs*, Skt. *rās*, from **rēis*), gen. -οος from -οι̯ος. ἰδρώς is based upon an earlier *ἰδ-ρο- with suffix -*ro*- (cf. Lett. pl. *swīdri* 'sweat'),[1] but was drawn into the same type as χρώς.[2]

But after Homer they regularly have τ-inflection. Thus:

γέλως, γέλωτος in Herodotus and in Attic writers, except that the poets have acc. sg. γέλων beside γέλωτα. The compounds show occasional forms of the Attic second declension, as κατάγελων Ar. *Eq.* 319, Philost. 303, acc. pl. κλαυσίγελως Xen. *Hell.* 7. 2. 9, acc. pl. φιλόγελως Theophr. ap. Ath. 261, *d*. But the τ-inflection is usual, as καταγέλωτα Aesch. *Ag.* 1264, ἡδυγέλωτα h. Hom. 17.37, φιλογέλωτας Plat. *Civ.* 388, *e*, κλαυσιγέλωτα Dem. Phal. 28, Apollod. ap. Ath. 591c, κλαυσιγέλωσιν Plut. *Mor.* 1097f, ὑβριγέλωτας and αἰσχρογέλωτας Manetho 4. 280, 283, ἐγερσιγέλωτι Anth. Pal. 11. 60, φιλοπουλογέλωτα Anth. Pal. 5. 243.[3]

ἔρως, ἔρωτος in Simon., Pindar, Hdt., h. Hom., Aesch., Soph., Eur., and all Attic prose (acc. sg. ἔρων only in late poets): The compounds show the same inflection, as δυσέρωτας Thuc. 6. 13, ἀντέρωτα Plato *Phaedr.* 255 *d*, etc. Inflection according to the Attic second declension, as given by Choeroboscus 1. 252. 7 (quoted in footnote 3), is not otherwise attested.

With the exception of δυσέρως, ἀντέρως, and παιδέρως (Teleclid., Meineke 2. 378=παιδεραστής, Alex., Meineke 3. 423 'rouge'), the compounds are very late. Several are names of plants, as παιδέρως Plin. *N.H.* 22. 76, Paus. 2. 10. 5, Diosc. 3. 19, ἀνακαμψέρως Plin. *N.H.*

[1] Cf. Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 15. 261; Brugmann, *Grd.*[2] 2. 1. 353.

[2] The forms in our Homeric text, acc. ἰδρῶ, dat. ἰδρῷ, probably stand for ἰδρόα and ἰδροῖ. Cf. Kühner-Blass 1. 510.

[3] It is the practice of our lexicons and editions to accent compounds of γέλως (and of ἔρως and those in -κερως) as proparoxytone. But the statements of the grammarians upon which this practice is based are almost certainly to be interpreted as applying only to the forms of the Attic second declension, which were affected by the analogy of ἁνάπλεως, etc. Cf. Hdn. 1. 244. 30 ff. ἔρως χρυσέρως, ἰδρώς λυσίδρως. τὸ δὲ δύσερως καὶ φιλόγελως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Ἀττικὰ ὄντα προπαροξύνονται, in the light of Choerob. 1. 252. 4 ff. ἔρως ἔρωτος, χρυσέρως χρυσέρωτος, γέλως γέλωτος, φιλογέλως φιλογέλωτος. εἰ δὲ Ἀττικά εἰσιν ἀποβαλῇ τοῦ ο ποιοῦσι τὴν γενικήν, οἷον ὁ δύσερως τοῦ δύσερω, ὁ φιλόγελως τοῦ φιλόγελω, ὁ χρυσόκερως τοῦ χρυσόκερω.

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24. 167, Plut. *Mor.* 939 D, Hesych.; of gems, as *παιδέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 123, *πανέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 37. 178; or animals, as *χηνέρως* Plin. *N.H.* 10. 56. Others occur only in scholiasts, grammarians, or lexicographers (see word-list).

ἱδρώς, ἱδρῶτος in Hes., Soph., Ar., etc., and in all Attic prose: So also in compounds, as *εὐίδρωτες, δυσίδρωτες* Theophr. fr. 9. 20, acc. pl. neut. *εὐίδρωτα* Aristot. *Prob.* 2. 17.

χρώς, χρωτός: while forms of the older, and usual Homeric, inflection, gen. *χροός*, etc., continue in use in poetry (in Euripides they are about twice as common as the *τ*-forms), and Herodotus has once *χροΐ*, the *τ*-inflection, occuring already in Homer, Hesiod (*χρῶτα Op.* 555), and Pindar (*χρῶτα, χρωτί* beside *χροΐ*), is uniform in Attic and later prose, except for the Attic phrase *ἐν χρῷ*. The compounds likewise regularly have the *τ*-inflection, though a few occur only in poetical forms of the older type, as *ταμεσίχροα* Hom., *γλαυκόχροα* Pind., *ἁπαλόχροος* Hes., h. Hom., Theogn., and Herodotus also has *μελάγχροες* (2. 104).

The secondary *τ*-inflection in these four nouns must have its source in the inherited *τ*-inflection of the verbal adjectives in *-ώς*, in spite of the fact that the analogy is a purely formal one, without semantic support. Semantic association would be easier for the adjective compounds, but the evidence is against our assuming that the *τ*-inflection started in them.

γάλως seems to have been affected by *γέλως*, etc., in late times. At least Herodian (2. 234. 9) gives gen. *γάλω* and *γάλωτος*.

κόλλωτες, name of a kind of stone in Egypt (Ps. Plut. *de fluv.* 16. 2), presumably represents an Egyptian word, but whether the *τ* had any basis in the native form is unknown.

3. *Compounds in -κερως*.—The adjective compounds in *-κερως* from *-κέραος* regularly follow the Attic second declension, and *τ*-forms are unknown in Attic. The earliest example of the secondary *τ*-inflection is *δικέρωτα* h. Hom. 17. 2. Similar forms of eleven other compounds occur in late writers, as *ῥινοκέρωτας* Strabo 774, *ῥινοκέρωτος* Ael. *N.H.* 17. 44 (so *rhinocerōs, -ōtis* regularly in Latin authors), *aegocerōtis* Lucr. 5. 614, *αἰγοκέρωτα* Jul. *Orat.* 4. 156 *a*, *platycerōtas* and *strepsicerōti* Plin. *N.H.* 11. 124, *οἰοκέρωτες, τετρακέρωτες*, and *εὐρυκέρωτας* Opp. *Cyn.* 2. 96, 2. 378, 3. 2, *ὀλιγοκέρωτας* and *εὐκέρωτος*

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Geopon. 18. 1. 3, *μονοκερώτων* LXX Ps. 21. 22, *monocerōtem* Plin. *N.H.* 8. 76, *ἀργικέρωτας* Diod. Sic. 7. 17.

Cf. the statement of Thomas Magister (p. 78 Ritschl) *τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ κέρας οἱ μὲν κοινοὶ διὰ τοῦ τος κλίνουσι μονόκερως, μονοκέρωτος, αἰγόκερως, αἰγοκέρωτος· οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ σ καὶ ταῦτα, χρυσόκερως, χρυσόκερω.*

4. *The neuters οὖς, ὠτός, φῶς, φωτός.*—These have no historical connection with other words in gen. *-ωτος*. *ὠτός* is contracted from earlier *οὔατος*, for which see above, p. 24. *ὦς* in two *κοινή* inscriptions (*BCH.* 2. 322, Delos; IG. 7. 3498 Oropus) may be a genuine Ionic form = Dor. *ὦς* (Theocr. 11. 32), but may also be a new formation to *ὠτός*, etc. *φωτός* is formed to *φῶς* after its contraction from *φάος*.

5. *Personal names.*—There is no productive type of personal names in *-ως, -ωτος* parallel to that in *-ης, -ητος*. Only *ἔρως* and *γέλως* play any rôle, and that not until late times. Γέλως, Ἔρως, and a dozen ending in *-έρως* are quotable as men's names, but all from the Roman period.[1] Thus the Attic inscriptions of the Roman imperial period collected in *IG.* 3 show Γέλως (11 times), Ἔρως (30), Ἀντέρως (7), Ἑρμέρως (13), Μουσέρως (1), Νικέρως (4), Νυμφέρως (1), Παιδέρως (6), Συνέρως (3), Φιλέρως (29), Χρυσέρως (13).[2] Γέλως I have not found elsewhere, but Ἔρως and most of the compounds named occur also in late inscriptions of other parts of Greece, Φιλέρως being the most widespread, Νικέρως, Ἑρμέρως, and Χρυσέρως next. Furthermore, we find Πανέρως at Naples (cf. also Suet. Ner. 30), *IG.* 14. 734, Πειθέρως at Thespiae *IG.* 7. 1777 (which also contains Ἀντέρως and Φιλέρως; 1776 has Μουσέρως), Ἀλιπέρως in Asia Minor, *Papers Am. School at Athens* 2. No. 170, and Θαλασσέρως Alciphr. 1. 18. Μελίχρως occurs *IG.* 5. 958, 959, but with gen. Μελιχρόος. For late Greek forms like Ἀπολλῶς, Ἀπολλῶτος, see above, p. 186.

6. *Other proper names.*—As the name of a god only Ἔρως is early, later followed by Ἀντέρως, Paus., Ovid., etc. Πτέρως Plat. *Phaedr.*

[1] Fick-Bechtel, p. 115, remark: "Bis auf Νικέρως und Ἑρμέρως erst in spätrömischer Zeit nachweisbar." But of these two also all the occurrences I have found are late.

[2] There are no examples in *IG.* 2 (to time of Augustus) except Ἀντέρως 1052, the date of which is uncertain.

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252 C, the name which the gods give to Ἔρως, is an obvious play upon Ἔρως and πτερόν. Γέλως was worshiped at Sparta, Plut. *Cleom.* 9.

There are no ethnica in *-ῶτες*, except of foreign source, as Ἀγνῶτες, Steph. Byz., a Celtic people.

WORD-LIST

GENITIVE IN *-ωτος*[1]

(Masculine substantives unless otherwise indicated)

οὖς ὠτός, τό Hdt.+[p. 298.
ἀβῶς ὁ, ἡ Hesych. [p. 295.
δώς, ἡ Hes. [p. 295.
ἀζῶτες Hesych. [p. 295.
γάλως, ἡ Hdn. [p. 297.
ἀγχιβλώς, ὁ, ἡ Et. M. [p. 176.
Γέλως [p. 298.
γέλως Hdt.+[p. 296.
-γέλως [p. 296.
κατα- Aesch.+
παλιγ- Philo (but Cohn-Wendland III. 84 read πάλιν γέλωτος).
ὑβρι-, ὁ, η Manetho.
ἐγερσι-, ὁ, ἡ Paul. Sil.
κλαυσι- Dem. Phal.+
ἐκ- Poll.
ἀχρειο- Cratin.
φιλο-, ὁ, ἡ Plat.+
ὑγρο-, ὁ, ἡ Phryn.
αἰσχρο-, ὁ, ἡ Manetho
μισο, ὁ, ἡ Alex. Aet.
πραυ-, ὁ, ἡ Licymn., Anth. Pal.
ἡδυ-, ὁ, ἡ h. Hom., Anth. Pal.
πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ Plut.+
φιλοπουλυ- Anth. Pal.
Εἴλωτες [p. 295.
κόλλωτες Ps. Plut. [p. 297.
πλώς Epich. ap. Ath. [p. 295.
-γνώς, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.
ἀ- Hom.+
ἀρι- Pind.+[p. 176.
ἀλλο- Emped.
Ἀγνῶτες [p. 299.
-βρώς, ὁ, ἡ [p. 174.
ἀ- Paul. Sil.
ἀλι- Lyc.
ἠμι Antiph., Epicr.
παιδο- Eust.
νεο- Hipp.
σαρκο- Moschio
ὠμο- Soph., Eur.
οἰνο- Nic.
ἀνδρο- Eur.
σιδηρο- Soph.
χειρο- Stesich.
κρατο- Lyc.
τριχό- Ar.+[p. 176.
βαρυ- Soph.
ἰδρώς Hes.+[p. 297.

[1] Not included are the numerous foreign proper names in *-ῶς*, *-ῶτος* (*-ως*, *-ωτος*), for which cf. above, p. 186. It will be understood that in the case of words in which the *τ*-inflection is secondary the reference is to the first appearance of the word in this inflection. Of compounds in *-κέρως* only those are listed which are quotable with *τ*-inflection. But compounds in *-ἰδρως*, *-ἐρως*, and *-χρως*, since in these *τ*-inflection had become the normal one, are listed in full, including some which are quotable only in the nominative singular, and also, in the case of *-χρως*, the few (distinguished by parentheses) which are quotable only in the type without *τ*. Proper names are listed without references, as, for the very few not to be found in Pape, these have been given in the text.

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-ίδρως, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.
καθίδρως Basil
δυσίδρως Theophr.
λυσίδρως Choerob.
εὐίδρως Arist., Theophr.
ἔρως Simon.+[p. 296.
Ἔρως [p. 298.
-έρως [pp. 296, 298.
παιδ- Teleclid.+
Παιδ-
Πειθ-
κακ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.
Νικ-
Φιλ-
Ἑρμ-
παν- Plin.
Παν-
θρην- Poll.
μισην- Poll.
χην-, ἡ Plin.
Συν-
Ἀλιπ-
μισ-, ὁ, ἡ Ps. Hdn. Epim.
Θαλασσ-
δυσ-, ὁ, ἡ Thuc.+
λυσ- Schol. Verg.
Μουσ-
Χρυσ-
ἀντ- Plat.+
Ἀντ-
αὐτ- Theod. Prod.
πολυ-, ὁ, ἡ Hdn.
Νυμφ-
ἀνακαμψ- Plin., Plut., Hesych.
-κέρως, ὁ, ἡ [pp. 297–8.
τετρα- Opp.
ἀργι- Diod.
δι- h. Hom.+
στρεψι- Plin.
αἰγο Lucr., Jul., Plin.
ὀλιγο- Geopon.
οἰο- Opp.
ῥινο- Strabo+
μονο- LXX, Plin.
εὐ- Geopon.
εὐρυ- Opp.
πλατυ- Plin., Diosc.
Πτέρως [p. 298.
ἀτρώς, ὁ, ἡ Paus., Choerob. [p. 174.
φυλλοστρώς, ὁ, ἡ Theocr., Anth. Pal. [p. 174.
εὐρώς Simon.+[p. 295.
χρώς Hom.+[p. 297.
-χρως, ὁ, ἡ [p. 297.
ἀ- Plat., Hipp.
μελάγ- Eur.+
πάγ- Synes.
δί- Aristot.
μελί- Plin.+
(Μελί-) [p. 298.
τρί- Aristot.
(πυρί- Aristot. Galen)
ἀνθεσί- Matro ap. Ath.
(ταμεσί- Hom.)
τρεψί- Aristot.
θρυψί Hesych.
ἀργό- Theod. Prodr.
πελαργό- Lyc., Eust.
μολυβδό- Galen.
ῥοδό- Theocr.
ξανθό- Nausic.
λειό- Aristot.
πολιό- Eur., Ar.
ἀλλοτριό- Anth. Pal.
φοινικό- Sophronius.
κροκό- Nicet. Eugen.
(γλαυκό- Pind.)
λευκό- Eubul.+
ὑσολευκό- Hipp.
(ἁπαλό- h. Hom.+)
(ποικιλό Ath.)
ἀλλό- Eur.
αἰολό- Eur.
ὁμό- Aristot.+
μελανό- Eur.+
κυανό- Eur.+
παρθενό- Anth. Pal.
τερενό- Anaxandr. ap. Ath.

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-χρως, ὁ, ἡ
κελαινό- Aesch.+
οἰνό- Theophr.
χιονό- Eur.
μονό- Aristot.
λιπαρό- Theocr.
τακερό- Antiph.
γλυκερό Anth. Pal.
ἐνερό- Alciphr.
τρυφερό- Diosc.
κηρό- Chaerem. ap. Ath.
ἐρυθρό- Crat.
ἰσχυρό- Schol. Hom.
ἀλφιτό- Eust. Hesych.
γαλακτό- Philyll., Nausic.
λεπτό- Eur., CGL.
δύσ- Hipp.
εὖ- Ar.+
πολύ- Aristot.
ἀπτώς, ὁ, ἡ Pind.+[p. 174.
φώς Hom.+[p. 295.
δαμασι-, ὁ, ἡ Simon.
φῶς Plat.+[p. 26.
ἀ- Eust.
πλησί, ὁ, ἡ Theol. Ar.
λεψί-, ὁ, ἡ Eust.
σκιό-, τό Heliod.
λυκό-, τό Ael., Schol. Il.
σεληνό-, τό Chaerem. ap. Ath.
αὐτό-, τό Greg. Naz.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

WERE THERE TWO VERSIONS OF CICERO'S *PROGNOSTICA*?

Indications of the date of Cicero's translation of the work of Aratus are rather scanty. Of the two passages usually cited in this connection the first is found in the *De natura deorum*,[1] in which Balbus, before quoting at length from the Φαινόμενα, addresses Cicero, saying: "Utar . . . . carminibus Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis memoria teneam." This passage, and what Cicero in the *De oratore*[2] says of his methods of rhetorical exercise when an *adulescentulus*, have led scholars to consider the *Aratea* as a youthful composition,[3] and yet this theory has not been easy to reconcile with the second shred of evidence found in a letter to Atticus,[4] written in June, 60, when Cicero was surely no longer an *adulescentulus*, in which he says: "Prognostica mea cum oratiunculis propediem exspecta." This seems as though he had been recently working on the *Prognostica*, and Jordan[5] held that this work was first translated in or about 60—that is, many years after the rest of the Φαινόμενα. But, as Sieg[6] has pointed out, such a long interval between the translations of two parts of a comparatively short work seems improbable.[7]

A more attractive theory is that of Leo,[8] that about the time of the letter of June, 60, Cicero was reworking the *Prognostica* for publication. Beyond the passages already quoted Leo gives no support for his view save the remark: "Die Verstechnik der *Prognostica* ist minder streng als die der Φαινόμενα (Frg. 5. 1, 2; 6. 3)."

But for this suggestion of Leo's there is an important piece of evidence which, so far as I can ascertain, has remained unused. Isidore,[9] in a discussion of the bird *luscinia*, says: "Eadem et acredula, de qua Cicero in

[1] ii. 104. [2] i. 54 ff.

[3] Leo (in *Hermes*, xlix [1914], 191, n. 3) suggests dating them about 86 B.C.

[4] ii. 1. 11.

[5] *Krit. Beiträge zur Gesch. d. lat. Sprache* (1879), p. 299; cited by Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.*, I, Part 2, 3d ed. (1909), p. 394.

[6] *De Cicerone Germanico Avieno Arati Interpretibus* (1886), pp. 6–7.

[7] The only other passages in Cicero that seem to bear upon the date are: *Ad Att.* xv, 16*a* (May, 44): "Equidem etiam pluvias metuo si *Prognostica* nostra vera sunt; ranae enim ὑητορεύουσιν," and the quotations from the work in the *De divinatione*, which was not published till after the death of Caesar, but these are all too late to be of help.

[8] *Loc. cit.* [9] *Etym.* xii. 7. 37.

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Prognosticis 'et matutino, exercet acredula cantu.'" This quotation has been strangely neglected by the editors of Cicero's *Aratea*, being probably considered as a late and worthless variant of a passage better known from Cicero's own quotation of it in the *De divinatione*:[1]

> Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
> Et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,
> Vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,
> Cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.

Of course there is the possibility, which must not be overlooked, that Isidore (or some source) had compressed Cicero's four turgid lines into one (though had he wished a shorter quotation the second line would have served his purpose). Yet would the casual paraphraser in compressing the Ciceronian lines have been likely to keep all the features in them essential to an exact translation of the Greek and to eliminate only the unessential? But there is a further reason for thinking that we have here traces of two distinct Ciceronian versions. As a whole, Cicero's translation of the poem of Aratus is on about the same scale as the original. Sieg[2] notes that in long and continuous passages 480 lines of the Latin correspond to 472 lines of the Greek. This proportion of approximately line for line is shown in the passage as quoted by Isidore, in which Cicero has translated one line of Aratus (948):

ἢ τρίζει ὀρθρινὸν ἐρημαίη ὀλολυγών,

by a single line, in which, to be sure, the important word ἐρημαίη is neglected, perhaps from lack of space. But in the *De divinatione* the same original is rendered by the singularly padded four lines already quoted.[3] Isidore's line, then, is harmonious in scale with what we know of the rest of the work; the four lines in the *De divinatione* are out of all proportion in their expansion and in the comparative unimportance of what they add.

From the passage in the *De oratore* which I have cited it appears that Cicero learned by heart, not only others' works, but also his own. When an *adulescentulus*, in imitation of the method of Carbo he had practiced paraphrasing works of which he had memorized merely the subject, not the form. He further says: "post animadverti hoc esse in hoc vitii, quod ea verba quae maxime cuiusque rei propria quaeque essent ornatissima atque optima occupasset aut Ennius, si ad eius versus me exercerem, aut Gracchus, si eius orationem mihi forte proposuissem: ita, si iisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem." Obviously, however, the disadvantages that might arise from such a method of imitating Ennius would not obtain when Cicero was paraphrasing his own inferior work, and it may be to such a reworking (so satisfactory to him that he actually published it) that the expanded verses in the *De divinatione* belong. It is

[1] i. 14. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

[3] Even in these four lines ἐρημαίη is not translated, important as it apparently is for the thought.

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not strange, if we accept this view, that the word ἐρημαίη of Aratus found no place even in the four-line version of the Latin, for Cicero doubtless simply paraphrased his former translation, without further consultation of the original.

That the entire *Phaenomena* underwent a revision is improbable, for Cicero in his letter to Atticus speaks only of the *Prognostica*, and Balbus in the *De natura deorum* would surely have mentioned and used the more recent version, had there been one. To which version the other fragments of the *Prognostica* quoted in the *De divinatione* belong may be inferred from the probability that Cicero would have quoted them from the same edition as the verses on the *acredula*, and also that he would have used the later and hence more authoritative edition.[1] From which edition the three fragments quoted by Priscian[2] are taken is more difficult to determine. Possibly a minute metrical or stylistic examination of them might give some hint, but the materials are too scanty for any certainty. It may well be, however, that in the years between 86 and 60 the first edition had become so thoroughly established as to maintain itself against the competition of the second. That it at any rate was not entirely superseded we may gather from its quotation by Isidore.

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THE DATE OF CICERO'S *ORATIO DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS*

In the third edition of his *Röm. Literaturgesch.* (1, II, p. 265) Schanz places the delivery of this oration late in May of the year 56 B.C., following the authority of Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.*, 3[6], p. 323) and of P. Hildebrandt (*De Scholiis Ciceronis Bobiensibus* [Göttingen, 1894], p. 25). On the other hand, Lange (*Röm. Altertümer*, 3[2], p. 331), Rauschen (*Ephem. Tullianae*, [Bonn, 1886], p. 42), Tyrrell and Purser (*The Correspondence of Cicero*, II[2], p. 26), Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero*, p. 270), Heitland (*The Roman Republic*, 3, s. 1121), and others place it in June.

Without doubt the speech was delivered after the fifteenth of May, for in s. 14 reference is made to the Senate's refusal of a *supplicatio* in honor of Gabinius, and from one of Cicero's letters (*Ad Q. Fr.* 2. 6. 1) we learn that the date of this action of the Senate was May 15. Less helpful are the allusions in ss. 26–28, showing that the oration was delivered after the Senate had voted to Caesar the *supplicatio* in honor of his victories in 58 and 57 B.C. and after it had voted the *stipendium* and the ten *legati*. The *supplicatio* would naturally have been decreed in the fall of 57 B.C. or in the early

[1] Cf. Reid's edition of the *Academica*, Introduction, p. 37, for Cicero's attempts to substitute a later for an earlier edition of that work.

[2] Fragments Nos. 1, 2, 9.

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winter of 57–56 B.C.; the grant of the *stipendium* and of the ten *legati* is of uncertain date, but is generally supposed to have followed the deliberations at Luca in April, 56 B.C. It is mentioned in a letter to Lentulus (*Ad fam.* 1. 7. 10), which is thought to belong to July, 56 B.C. From s. 43 of the speech one suspects that Cicero had heard something from his brother after Quintus met Pompey in Sardinia, soon after the conference at Luca. But none of these vaguer clues is particularly helpful in view of the definite allusion in s. 14 to an event of May 15.

Lange (*op. cit.*) believed that the direct appeal in s. 21 to the consul, Philippus, indicated that the speech was delivered in June, because Philippus must have had the fasces in that month, since Marcellinus seems to have had them in January (cf. *Ad fam.* 1. 1. 2; 1. 2. 1; *Ad Q. Fr.* 2. 4. 5). With this view Rauschen (*op. cit.*) agrees, but Hildebrandt (*op. cit.*) thinks that the conclusion is unwarranted.

As far as I have been able to discover, one bit of internal evidence has been overlooked by all of the commentators. In s. 15 Cicero says: "Hosce [i.e., Gabinium et Pisonem] igitur imperatores habebimus? quorum alter [i.e., Piso] non audet nos certiores facere, qua re imperator appelletur, alterum [i.e., Gabinium], si tabellarii non cessarint, necesse est paucis diebus paeniteat audere." Now, it would take from one to two months for the news to reach Gabinius in Syria that the Senate had denied him a *supplicatio* on May 15; for, in a letter to Atticus (5. 19. 1) we hear that Cicero in Cilicia has received a letter from Rome on the forty-seventh day after it had left the city, and that this was an unusually quick journey. Allowing, then, for a somewhat careless use of *paucis diebus* in the above passage, we have a right to conclude that Cicero is probably speaking well on in the month of June, certainly not in May.

As for a limit *post quem non*, the discussion of the provinces to be assigned to the consuls of the following year had to take place before the election of those consuls, which would normally occur in July. Of course, in the year 56 B.C. the consular elections did not take place at all, but there is no evidence in Cicero's oration that at this time any unusual delay was anticipated.

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THE H SYMBOL IN CICERO *ATT.* XIII. 33. 2.

"Ad Faberium, ut tibi placet, litteras misi, cum Balbo autem puto te aliquid fecisse H in Capitolio."

The H of this passage (the reading of all the manuscripts) was supposed by Boot to be the misplaced note of an early scholar, signifying *hinc incipit alia* (sc. *epistola*), but the generally received interpretation is that of Bosius, who regarded it as an abbreviation of *hodie*. This gives a meaning that is not impossible (though it is improbable), but I think there is no evidence

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that *hodie* was ever abbreviated. The solution I wish to propose is that H here is not a letter, but the old abbreviation of *enim*, and that a preceding *fuisti* has fallen out on account of *fecisse*. We should therefore read "cum Balbo autem, puto te aliquid fecisse, fuisti enim in Capitolio," "for you have been on the Capitol." A full account of this symbol is given in Lindsay's invaluable work on the ancient *notae* in Latin manuscripts.[1] It originated in the writing of *enim* with *n* and a cross-stroke, which in uncials became H and which in time would inevitably be mistaken for the capital letter H.[2] It occurs as early as the eighth century and (though it had a restricted but independent existence in Italy) is universally characteristic of the insular script. In view of this fact the occurrence of the symbol in all the manuscripts of the Letters would seem to be a striking evidence of the insular origin of the archetype, or at least of its origin in some one of the well-known continental centers where the insular script was in use.

The correction I have suggested gives an especially apposite meaning. Atticus had arranged to confer with Balbus as to a debt owed by Faberius, Caesar's secretary, to Cicero. This arrangement was known to Cicero, who can thus speak with certainty of Atticus having been on the Capitol, and in so doing he also gives a reason for the statement of the main clause. The phrase *in Capitolio*—"on the Capitol hill"—is too frequent to require illustration. The presence of Balbus here is doubtless due to the fact that, as Caesar's personal representative, he was in charge of the great sum of money which the latter had stored in the temple of Ops.[3]

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ON LUCRETIUS IV. 1125

IV. 1124: "languent officia atque aegrotat fama vacillans
unguenta et pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident"

Unguenta in 1125 is generally regarded as corrupt. I propose *sandalia*. The scribe repeated *anguent* from 1124; the stages of the corruption were *sandalia*, *sanguento*, *sanguenta*, *unguenta*. For the corruption of initial *s*, cf. iii. 574 *sese* O, *esse* Q; *ibid.* 606 *sed* O, *de* Q. That costly sandals were important parts of the *mundus muliebris* is plain from the article *solea* in Daremberg-Saglio and the citations there given. A Greek word applicable to *in pedibus* is needed to balance *Sicyonia*.—Q has *effacia* for *officia*.

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[1] *Notae Latinae*, pp. 63–64.

[2] See Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 179, note.

[3] Cic. *Phil.* ii. 93; *Att.* xiv. 18. 1.

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OCIUM HEINSII

Dr. Coulter, discussing the parody of Catullus 4 contained in the 1629 edition of Daniel Heinsius' *Laus Asini*,[1] remarks that "the ablative *mare* (22) and the form *ocium* (3), neuter singular, as if from a positive *ocius*, betray the Latin of a period when morphology was not yet firmly established." In an explanatory footnote on *ocium* and the hypothetical *ocius*, she says that they are "possibly due to a misunderstanding of passages like Verg. *Ecl.* 7. 8–9: *'ocius,'*[2] *inquit,/'huc ades, o Meliboee'*; or Hor. *Carm.* ii. 11. 18–20: *quis puer ocius/restinguat [sic] ardentis Falerni/pocula praetereunte lympha?*"

Caesar Baronius, the historian of christendom, won an undying memory by transforming the ξυνωρίς (*biga*) of John Chrysostom[3] into St. Xynoris, a new lady saint in the Roman martyrology. Since his day there has come to light no finer example of the ghost word than this positive *ocius*, with its neuter singular *ocium:* attributed, of all men in the world, to Daniel Heinsius, whose Latin scholarship could outfit two or three pretentious universities of modern days without appreciable diminution. Soberly, we have here merely the common mediaeval spelling of *otium*, which long maintained itself in common and printers' usage, frequently side by side with *otium*, even after it was recognized that the latter was the classical form. Calepinus (editions of 1560, 1590, 1663) gives the word as *Ocium*, adding "sive (quod eruditis magis placere video) Otium per t." We find, e.g., if we run over a few pages of the volume of Heinsius under discussion, *ocii* (p. 363, l. 11), *negocio* (p. 325, l. 11), *negociis* (p. 353, l. 4); but also *negotium* (p. 337, l. 14).

The defense of the poetic ablative form *mare*, as in Lucr. i. 162; Ov. *Tr.* v. 2. 20 and *Ex Pont.* iv. 6. 46, may be left to the ancient and modern grammarians and lexicographers, from Varro down.

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PLAUTUS *BACCHIDES* 434

Professor Lindsay calls my attention to the fact that the quantity *natrīcis*, given in our lexicons and Priscian, and required for my proposed emendation (cf. *Classical Philology*, XI, 460–61), rests on a false scansion of Lucilius 72 Marx. This fragment is now scanned, correctly, it seems, as a single hexameter, yielding the quantity *natrīcem*. The point is fully discussed in Neue, *Formenlehre*[3], *s.v.* "natrix"; Neue considers the short vowel "wohl richtige." I feel that the status of this quantity is a fatal objection to my suggestion, which I accordingly withdraw.

KEITH PRESTON

[1] "A Seventeenth-Century Parody of Catullus 4," *Classical Philology*, XII, 198–201.

[2] *Ocyus* was the form in use in the time of Heinsius. See these passages in his editions of Horace (1612) and Vergil (1636).

[3] *De Lazaro Homilia IV* 752A: τοῦ μακαρίου Βαβύλα καὶ τῆς ξυνωρίδος τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων [Juventinus and Maximinus]. See *Nova Acta Eruditorum*, 1742, p. 154. References in J. Vogt, *Catalogus Librorum Rariorum* (Hamburgi, 1753), p. 73.

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VIRGIL *ECLOGUES* 4. 49

The common phrase *auctus filio* would seem to show that *incrementum* is most naturally interpreted as "child," an increase to the family.

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A LOST PLATONIC JOKE

Many of Plato's knavish speeches sleep in the unapprehending ears of his commentators. And the ponderous levity of the *Sophist*, *Statesman*, and *Philebus* is sometimes, as George Eliot might say, a great strain on the affections of his admirers. But, though modern philology may not always see or appreciate the joke, it ought at least to recognize the intention. The text by which I propose to illustrate and enforce this moral is *Politicus* 266C. Plato is there expressing his amusement at the ironical indifference of scientific classification to distinctions that reflect only the pretensions and the pride of man. In the subdivision of land animals the logic of dichotomy at one stage brackets the man and the pig. Or, as Plato puts it, humanity is paired and comes out of the race neck and neck with the sturdiest and most unfastidious (least finical) of creatures: **Τἀνθρώπινον ἡμῶν ἅμα γένος συνειλῃχὸς καὶ συνδεδραμηκὸς γένει τῷ τῶν ὄντων γενναιοτάτῳ καὶ ἅμα εὐχερεστάτῳ.**

Jowett, outdoing the Aristophanic **ὄνον ὄρνιν**, converts Plato's pig into a bird and renders, "Human beings have come out in the same class with the freest and airiest of creatures."

An Italian scholar who retains the pig but finds no pertinency in **εὐχερεστάτῳ** emends to **εὐτρεφεστάτῳ**, "fattest,"[1] an epithet which "nobody can deny" to the pig.

My suspicions thus aroused, I found without looking farther than Liddell and Scott and Jowett's translation that Hellenists who think in English have failed to apprehend the meaning and semasiological development of **εὐχερής** and its homonyms, which have no single English equivalent. Hence this note.

The etymological fallacy switches Liddell and Scott on to the wrong track from the start: **εὐχέρεια = εὐχειρία**, "dexterity," Plat. *Rep.* 426D; Arist. *H.A.* 7. 10; Plat. *Leg.* 942D; cf. *Alc.* I. 122C. They relegate to a second place the passage which gives the real feeling of the word for the readers of Aeschylus and Plato, the *locus classicus Eumenides* 495:

πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον εὐχερεί-
ᾳ ξυναρμόσει βροτούς.

Commentators have rendered **εὐχέρεια** here correctly enough "license" and illustrated it by Plat. *Rep.* 391E: **πολλὴν εὐχέρειαν . . . . πονηρίας**, "laxity

[1] *Bollettino di Filologia Classica*, 1911–12, pp. 53–55.

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in evildoing." They recognize in this instance the analogy with ῥᾳδίως, ῥᾳδιουργία, and ῥᾳδιουργός, the man who lightly or easily enters into crime. But the further psychological development and the predominant associations of the word and its congeners in Plato escape them. The clue is "ease," not "laxity" or "license." The εὐχερής is the man whom the wicked or unpleasant deed costs no *Selbstüberwindung*, in the expressive German phrase. He easily overcomes the normal repugnances of moral scruples or of that taste which Plato, in anticipation of Ruskin, regards as almost the only morality. Liddell and Scott, missing the psychology, speak of this as the bad sense of the word. But εὐχερής may be a term of praise for the soldier or pioneer who easily puts up with the hard living and coarse fare which a spoiled and dainty palate disdains. Such, as we shall see, are the essential Platonic meanings of the word. There is at least a suggestion of them in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 519, where Neoptolemus warns the chorus who are urging him to convey Philoctetes home in their ship:

ὅρα σὺ μὴ νῦν μέν τις εὐχερὴς παρῇς,
ὅταν δὲ πλησθῇς τῆς νόσου ξυνουσίᾳ,
τότ' οὐκέθ' αὐτὸς τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις φανῇς.

Jebb here renders, "Thou art pliant." Liddell and Scott interpret, "accommodating, kind, yielding." And Storr translates:

See that your present kindliness be not
A passing mood.

But they miss, I think, the suggestion to a Greek ear of lightly tolerating or overcoming the disgust for the odor of Philoctetes' festering wound. This is brought out in Philoctetes' words in 875:

ὦ τέκνον . . . πάντα ταῦτ' ἐν εὐχερεῖ
ἔθου, βοῆς τε καὶ δυσοσμίας γέμων;

and in 900, δυσχέρεια τοῦ νοσήματος. In Plato *Rep.* 439E the verb δυσχεραίνει is used of a similar repugnance to the horrid sight of decaying corpses, παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ.

However it may be with Sophocles, these refinements have a direct practical bearing on the translation of Plato, as I will in conclusion show by a few startling examples. Jowett, apparently following Liddell and Scott, translates *Rep.* 426D, οὐκ ἄγασαι τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐχερείας, etc., "Do you not admire the coolness and dexterity of these ready ministers of political corruption?" The ironical meaning of course is, in effect: These politicians who are willing, nay, eager, to treat the maladies of such states—do you not admire them for their enterprising spirit and their readiness to rush in where philosophic statesmen fear to tread? In the words of the *Laws* 690D, Plato is πρός τινα παίζων (παίζοντες) τῶν ἐπὶ νόμων θέσιν ἰόντων ῥᾳδίως. Without delaying to argue what some may deem a subtlety, I pass to an indisputable case. In *Laws* 942D Plato, speaking of the preparatory military training

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of youth, says καὶ ὅλην εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα. Jowett translates, "And agility and ease should be cultivated for the same object." But εὐκολίαν and εὐχέρειαν are here almost synonyms and mean the good-natured and unfastidious acceptance of the hardships described in the following loosely appositional clause introduced by τε. Similar is the meaning of the combination εὐχέρειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν in *Alc.* i. 122C, where εὐχέρεια is wrongly rendered "dexterity." Socrates tells Alcibiades that he can vie neither with Persian luxury nor, on the other hand (αὖ), with the Spartan cheerful endurance of hardship and poor fare.

Again in *Rep.* 475C Plato uses τὸν περὶ τὰ σιτία δυσχερῆ, the spoiled and dainty appetite that disdains plain wholesome food as the physical counterpart of τὸν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα δυσχεραίνοντα, the "modernist" student who picks and chooses soft electives and fastidiously rejects whatever is not obviously useful or entertaining. And to return to our pig—such a soul (535C) ἁμαθαίνουσά που ἁλισκομένη μὴ ἀγανακτῇ ἀλλ' εὐχερῶς ὥσπερ θηρίον ὗειον ἐν ἁμαθίᾳ μολύνηται—it wallows in its ignorance with as little sense of repugnance (εὐχερῶς) as the least fastidious of creatures feels for the mire of its stye.

PAUL SHOREY

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Mythology. Edited by H. B. WALTERS. Cambridge: University Press, 1916. Pp. x+1103; 580 illustrations. $6.50.

The student of the classics accords a warm welcome to a classical dictionary that is fairly up to date, with the antiquities, biography, geography, and mythology all in one handy volume. In view of the wide scope of the work, covering, as it does, the same field as the colossal Pauly-Wissowa or the combined five volumes of Sir William Smith's time-honored dictionaries, it is necessarily brief. Omissions must needs be. A student of Latin literature, searching for information, will fail to find, for example, the poetess Sulpicia; and the student of geography will miss Chaonia, so often named by the Latin poets, and Thoricus, a once-important deme of Attica. In the field of mythology, neither Ino nor Leucothea has a caption, though the story is told under Athamas; likewise one looks in vain under Leucippus, or Leucippidae, or Phoebe, or Hilaira, though the myth is treated under Dioscuri. Space for some of these captions might have been saved by omitting the needless, if not misleading, comments on the once-common but long-since abandoned Italian names of places in Greece—for example, "Naupactus: its modern name is Lepanto"; "Leucas: the modern Santa Maura"; "Sunium—now called Cape Colonna." These appellations of the Venetian republic are neither official nor classical nor in anywise helpful. But the concise articles are, in the main, packed with information upon the essential facts needed by the young student. And the serviceability of the book is greatly enhanced by the wealth of illustrative material selected with the judgment and taste that we might expect from the editor, who is also assistant-keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum.

WALTER MILLER

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A Concordance to the Works of Horace. Compiled and edited by LANE COOPER. Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916. Pp. ix+593.

This book is of happy augury in two ways: it marks the readiness of the Carnegie Institution to publish really serious work in the field of the humanities; and its production by a busy professor of English is welcome evidence of the increasing recognition by our colleagues on the modern side

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that the cause of all humanities is one. "Unless such bonds are constantly renewed," says Professor Cooper, "the study of modern literature, at least, is prone to become one-sided or unduly sentimental, or go entirely astray." The appreciation of this truth by our modern colleagues relieves us from the unpleasant necessity of driving it home by controversy and makes it more pertinent, as well as more gracious, to add that, unless we meet them at least halfway, our own studies and our own natures will, as Isocrates and Longinus would put it, suffer skeletonization—*κατασκελετευθῆναι*. Our occupation will be a mere rattling of the dry bones of philological technique, uninformed by the soul of literature and the feeling for the continuous life of the human spirit that alone can make the term humanities something more than a question-begging pretension.

To review a concordance exhaustively one must have thumbed it in long service. I have tested this one only by rapid reading of a hundred pages selected at random. I have observed no misprints and no instances of unintelligent or misleading delimitation of the excerpts. They are always so made as to indicate sufficiently the metrical, the grammatical, and the substantive context. All variants given in the basic text, Vollmer's Editio Maior, 1907 (verified in the proof by the edition of 1912), are alphabetically recorded. Excellent paper and typography facilitate the consultation of the work. The student equipped with this volume must be dull, indeed, if he fails to discover any passage which he needs or finds himself at a loss in the discussion of Horatian usage or the verification of English parallels.

An interesting page of the preface describes the method by which the forty-five thousand slips were prepared by eighteen collaborators. As Professor Cooper observes, "Usually this kind of knowledge dies with the individual who gains it." We share his hope that this explanation may assist the next compiler of a similar work. A library of trustworthy concordances to all the chief classics of Greek, Latin, and English literature would be worth a wilderness of aesthetic commentaries and *geistreiche Combinationen*.

PAUL SHOREY

Plutarch's Lives. With an English Translation by BERNADOTTE PERRIN. Vols. III and IV. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: William Heinemann, 1916.

Professor Perrin includes in these volumes the lives of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, Nicias and Crassus, Alcibiades and Coriolanus, Lysander and Sulla. The translation is excellent, coming fully up to the standard set by the first two volumes.

I desire to call attention to the following points: In the Life of Pericles, chap. iv, *ἐλεγκτικὴν δέ τινα καὶ δι' ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐξασκήσαντος ἕξιν* is translated somewhat loosely, "and perfected a species

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of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief." The word *ἀντιλογία* refers to Zeno's method of refutation by deducing two contradictory conclusions from an adversary's postulate. In chap. viii the phrase *καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἑλκύσας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην* is translated, "and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking." This is directly from Plato's *Phaedrus* 270A, where, however, *τὸ πρόσφορον αὐτῇ* is found. The meaning can be only "applying to the art of speaking all that could be made available for it." In the Life of Fabius Maximus, chap. xiii, *ἡμέρας μέρει μικρῷ*, translated "brief space of a single day," is, of course, "brief portion of a day." In the same chapter *πατέρα δή σε χρηστὸν προσαγορεύω*, translated by Perrin "I call you by the excellent name of father," can hardly mean anything else than "patrem igitur te benignum ego appello," as Doehner translates it. In the Comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, chap. i, Perrin translates *φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον λάβωμεν ὅτι Περικλῆς μὲν*, etc., "let us consider, in the first place, the matter of their military achievements. Pericles was at the head," etc. The meaning is rather "as regards military achievements, let us consider first the fact that while Pericles," etc. In the Life of Nicias, chap. iii, *καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ* is not "one who had been acclaimed as a god," but "one who had been dedicated to a god." In chap. v *μόλις ἄρχεται καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον* cannot mean "scarcely gets to sleep till others wake." In chap. xiii *ὁ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων* should be "the astronomer Meton" not "the astrologer." In chap. xx *φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαύτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων* surely cannot mean "but the leading men among them felt some jealousy of the preliminary good fortune of Nicias and so had induced many delays." It would be better perhaps to adopt Solanus' emendation *τῶν πρώτων, ταραττομένων*, as is done by Lindskog and Ziegler. In the Life of Crassus, chap. iv, *αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ῥωχμοὶ τῆς πέτρας ᾗ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἔξωθεν ὑπολαμβάνουσι* is translated "and natural fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from without." But the subject of *περιπίπτει* must be *τὸ φῶς*, and the meaning is that given by Doehner "quo id maxime loco externe accidit." In chap. xi, in accordance with the treatment of Latin proper names employed in these volumes, "Scrofa" should have been written, not "Scrophas." In chap. xxiii *ἀλλὰ ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῆ καὶ κοῖλα περιτείναντες ἠχείοις χαλκοῖς ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουποῦσι* is translated "but they have hollow drums of distended hides, covered with bronze bells," etc. The manner of expression is somewhat strange, but it is clearly the *ἠχεῖα* upon which the hides are stretched. In chap. xxx *ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄκοντος πεπείραται βασιλέως, πραότητα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἑκὼν ἐπιδείκνυται σπενδόμενος ἀπιοῦσι καὶ παρέχων σώζεσθαι* is translated "and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: 'I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the

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means of safety.'" But surely τῆς ἀνδρείας as well as πραότητα is the quality of the king, not of Crassus, and the subject of πεπείραται is Crassus, not Surena. In the Comparison of Nicias and Crassus, chap. v, καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔπταισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσον ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιτο, etc., is "and whatever his failures, they were due, not to himself, but," etc., rather than "and not all his failures were due to himself," a translation which neglects the position of πάντα and οὐκ.

In the Life of Alcibiades, chap. xx, ἀξιόλογον in the phrase τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον means "considerable," not "to correspond." In chap. xxxi Perrin translates ἐφάνη τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ αἰσχύνων, "his words showed clearly that his deeds had not been disgraceful." The meaning is rather "his words did not prove inferior to his deeds." In chap. xxxii it is easier and perhaps more forceful to translate τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἀπαντῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, "people appeared not even to see the other generals when they met them," than to translate it "people did not deign so much as to look at." Perrin apparently regards as sound the extremely difficult text of the last sentence of chap. xxxiv, which Lindskog and Ziegler mark as corrupt. In the Life of Coriolanus, chap. x, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐξελέσθαι δέκα πάντα is, of course, not "he ordered him to choose out a tenth," but "ten of every kind." In chap. xxxi ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τῷ πολέμῳ δεδομένων, οὗ μείζονας οὐδὲν ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ λαμβάνειν μεταβολάς, which Perrin translates "for he had granted a respite of thirty days from war, although in war the greatest changes might take place in much less time than this," may be rendered more exactly "although nothing is capable of greater changes in less time." In chap. xxxiii in the sentence beginning αὗται γε ἡμεῖς Perrin reads the difficult φέροντα where φερούσας is preferred by Lindskog and Ziegler. In a note on the Life of Sulla, chap. ix, it is suggested that the Cappadocian goddess who appeared to Sulla in his dreams was the Great Mother, Cybele. She would seem rather to have been Ma, the goddess of Comana, whom the Romans confused with Bellona, referred to in Tibullus i. 6. 43–50. In the Comparison of Lysander and Sulla, chap. iv, κατέχων ἐγκελικότας is translated "rallying his men." It is rather "pressing hard upon the fleeing enemy."

The proofreading in these two volumes is far better than in Vols. I and II.

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Caesar, The Civil Wars. With an English translation by A. G. PESKETT. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: William Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1914.

This edition of Caesar's *De bello civili* follows the main lines laid down for the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library. An introduction of six pages deals with the political situation in the Roman commonwealth at the outbreak

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of the civil war and discusses briefly the historical value, literary style, and textual tradition of Caesar's military classic.

The historical summary, which comprises the first half of the introduction, is so condensed as to be of little value, if not actually misleading, to the general reader. A few more pages would not have added materially to the size of the volume and might have been well employed in giving a less absurdly inadequate account of the complex historical setting of the conflict. The notes on the text necessarily are few and almost entirely restricted to textual difficulties. An index of persons and places, followed by six maps illustrating five battlefields and Curio's campaign in Africa, closes the volume. The index is fairly satisfactory for ready reference, but why should it be necessary for the reader to know that the gentile name of Labienus was Attius in order to discover something about that interesting officer's career? As regards the maps, it is difficult to conjecture why the editor should have chosen to illustrate Curio's African campaign rather than the extensive movements of the chief actors, Caesar and Pompeius.

The principal work of the editor, that of turning the Latin text into idiomatic English, is on the whole acceptably done. In the introduction he acknowledges that Caesar's constant use of the historical present is excessive when compared with English standards, and yet he chooses to reproduce it in his translation to a considerable extent. It might as well be recognized once for all that the Latin historical present is rarely the stylistic equivalent of the same grammatical tense in English. In the case of extensive passages in indirect discourse the translator frequently and without comment transfers the thought to direct discourse in the English. His courage is to be commended and his example followed.

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A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions. By LINDLEY RICHARD DEAN. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Princeton: University Press, 1916. Pp. 321.

This Princeton dissertation is a very creditable investigation of an interesting subject. Worthy of note also, as showing the trend of recent classical study, is the fact that the province of Africa furnishes more than one-third of the 5,700 names of soldiers, and that all of the evidence dealing with the whole subject is derived from inscriptions and papyri. Such a study would have been not only impossible, but beyond the range of the imagination, for the classical scholar of a century ago.

In chapter i the author discusses in detail the 56 most popular cognomina, including in his list all which occur at least 20 times. Only one of these,

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Alexander, is of other than Roman origin. Many cognomina thus arbitrarily excluded are also worthy of special discussion; but the work is voluminous as it stands, and some limit must be placed even to a modern thesis for the Doctor's degree. Chapter ii deals with the classification of cognomina, their grammatical composition, and their origin. Chapter iii adds some supplementary paragraphs, the most curious of which are those on double cognomina and uncomplimentary cognomina. Although the author tries to assign reasons for the popularity of the various cognomina in different regions and periods, it is a little disappointing that the results are not more precise. In only one particular would the reviewer take issue with the investigator's statements. Repeatedly a distinction is made between the cognomina chosen by common soldiers and those adopted by centurions; see under Datus, Donatus, Fortunatus, Honoratus, etc. In every case, it is true, the wording is somewhat vague, but the author seems to imply that the choice is not a matter of chance so far as the soldier's rank in the legion is concerned. On the contrary, whether the soldier had his Roman name from birth or adopted it on his enlistment, at neither time could he have been sure of future promotion. We must deny the gift of prophecy even to a youth who has attained the rank of a raw recruit.

A short bibliography is followed by an alphabetical list of all soldiers and underofficers of the legions arranged according to cognomina. In addition to the name, there are given rank and legion, the date when possible, the place where the stone is found, and the place where the inscription or papyrus is published. The list takes up the major part of the work and is a most useful supplement to the dissertation.

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Stoicheia, Heft II: Studien zum antiken Sternglauben. VON ERWIN PFEIFFER. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1916. Pp. 130.

In this brief book of studies the author has given a comprehensive treatment of Greek and Roman astrometeorology, from its unscientific foreshadowing in classical Greek literature, down through the skeptical materialism of the Ionic philosophers, to its wider acceptance through the good company of the Stoic theories of *συμπάθεια* and *ἡ εἱμαρμένη*, its reconciliation with the tenets of Christianity, and its persistence down to the final conflict with modern science. The book contains not only a review of the literature on this subject but an investigation anew of the more important evidences, with a view to distinguishing between *ποιεῖν* and *σημαίνειν* in reference to astral influences.

In Homer cosmic forces are still subject to the arbitrary will of the Olympic gods—an explanation which solves the contradiction that the aut or feels in *Il.* xxii. 30, where Sirius is a *κακὸν σῆμα*, and xxii. 31, where the same star *φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.*

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The rising and setting of the constellations for Hesiod, in general, only denote the seasons. Pfeiffer, however, thinks that *Works and Days*, 587 and 417, indicate that Hesiod may have thought Sirius, along with the sun, a cause of heat. One reads with surprise that the author considers Hes. *Theog.* 378, Ἀστραίῳ δ' Ἠὼς ἀνέμους τέκε καρτεροθύμους, sufficient proof that Hesiod and his contemporaries believed in the influence of the stars upon the air.

There is no literary evidence for the statement (p. 6) that before the birth of Ionic philosophy and the introduction of Chaldaean astrology the Greeks gave the moon precedence in honor over the sun. Aesch. *Prom.* 656 ff. indicates only that the Greeks did not yet know how to determine the seasons by the sun. In Aesch. *Sept.* 389 πρέσβιστον ἄστρων (of the moon) is poetic ornament. The sun also is πρέσβιστον σέλας in Soph. *Frag.* 523 and in Pindar *Paean* ix. 2, ἀστρόν ὑπέρτατον. Other instances of honor paid to the sun may be found in Homer *Od.* xi. 323, δεινὸς θεὸς; *Od.* xii. 176, ἄναξ; in Pindar ἁγνὸς θεὸς (*O.* vii. 60); in Sophocles *O. R.* 660, τὸν πάντων θεῶν θεὸν πρόμον; *Frag.* 480, Ἅλιε δέσποτα, and throughout Greek literature.

The evidence which Pfeiffer cites for astrometeorology in the dramatic poets is equally unconvincing. In Aesch. *Agam.* 4, λαμπροὺς δυνάστας (of the stars) is a metaphorical epithet, and φέροντας only a more vivid φέροντας σῆμα, a substitution which Pindar *Paean* ix. 13 ff. and Homer *Il.* xxii. 30 show was not impossible.

In Euripides *Melanippe* fr. 485,

ἦ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προυμαντεύσατο
χρησμοῖσι ⟨σαφέσιν⟩ ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς

the meaning of τὰ θεῖα is uncertain. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 15. 73, who quotes the passage, explains it thus: ἐδιδάξατο αὐτὸν τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν, τὴν πάτριον ἐπιστήμην. Chiron, he says, had taught: ὅρκους καὶ θυσίας ἱλαρὰς καὶ σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου. If τὰ θεῖα is the same as σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου, it must refer to the heavenly bodies or spheres. But what is meant by προυμαντεύσατο . . . . ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς ἀστέρων in this connection is still obscure. Pfeiffer thinks τὰ θεῖα means astrometeorological phenomena and cites as an example of this use Alexis fr. 30, ii. 309 K, who identifies τὰ θεῖα with ἄστρων ἐπιτολάς, δύσεις, τροπάς, ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου. There is the same difficulty, however, in connecting τὰ θεῖα in this sense with ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς. The text is evidently corrupt. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* L. gives the variant χρησμοίσιν ἢ δ' ἀστέρων ἐπανατολὰς for the Cyrillus reading. Further evidence of the meteorological power of the stars is found in the names of the fixed stars, e.g., Hyades, and a star cult in Ceos. This, too, is doubtful ground. Association of weather changes with the rising and setting of the constellations would account for the names—an interpretation supported by Hellanicus fr. 56. An isolated star cult does not prove a widespread belief.

Two influences, the author states, were at work to undermine the popular superstitions about the stars: the growth of Olympic religion and Ionian

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philosophy. There is no literary evidence for the first. Even in Homer the Olympic gods are believed to control the changes in weather. It is true that the mechanistic cosmologies of Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Democritus, if logically developed, made a belief in the potency of the stars as agents or as signs impossible. The doxographical literature, however, gives us no information (with the exception of Anaxagoras and Anaximenes) about their views on the relation of the stars to the weather. They may never have discussed the question. Any inferences drawn from their cosmologies are conjectural. Anaximenes, we read, did not believe that the stars' heat reached the earth (Hippol, *Ref.* i. 7) and ascribed all meteorological phenomena to the sun. Anaxagoras states not only (Aet. ii. 13. 3) that the sun, moon, and stars are stones and therefore not gods (Achill. *Isag. in Arat.* i. 13) nor even living beings, as their movements are not caused by an indwelling soul but mechanically (Plut. *Lys.* 12) but also that their heat is not perceptible on the earth on account of the distance (Hippol. *Ref.* i. 8, § 7). The question of the divinity of the stars discussed by Pfeiffer (pp. 22–24) in the case of all excepting Anaxagoras is controversial, and does not affect the astrometeorological problem directly, as the philosophers might still have given mechanistic explanations for weather phenomena.

Pfeiffer thinks that the physicians of the pre-Socratic period retained the popular belief in the action of the stars upon weather and men and quotes in proof Hippocrates vi. 470 L. Hippocrates is here insisting that writers *περὶ διαίτης* must know *τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόνων* in relation to foods, nature and age of the individual, seasons of the year, and changes in winds and locations of places and *τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*. To guard against excesses in food and drink and climate and general conditions of the universe one must know the rising and setting of the constellation with which these changes are associated. There is no suggestion either in this or in the other passages cited, ii. 14 L, ii. 670 L, ii. 42 L, that the stars are active powers.

No certain conclusion can be reached in regard to the views of pseudo-Hippocrates, the author of *περὶ ἑβδομάδων*, who, Pfeiffer believes, derived his cosmology from the Pythagoreans and ascribed meteorological power to the stars. The meaning of *τὰ ἄλλα* and *τῶν ἀεὶ ὄντων* in *περὶ ἑβδομάδων* (chap. ii) is uncertain and may have no reference to astrometeorology. In the second passage cited in proof of a belief in the influence of Arcturus the text is hopelessly corrupt and obscure in meaning.

Plato, Pfeiffer points out, was the first to make the distinction between astronomy and astrometeorology. In his moral opposition to the materialistic cosmologies of Anaxagoras and his predecessors he prefers to ascribe intelligent souls and divinity to the stars and even to assign them a share (along with the Olympic gods) in the creation of man. This last, the author believes, does not mean more than a substitution of the star

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gods for the usual mythical creators and is consistent with Plato's belief in the priority of the worship of physical deities (*Cratyl.* 397 C–D, and *Laws* 886 A–D). Plato's separation of the heavenly and sublunary spheres precludes any belief in the agency of the stars, while *Tim.* 40 D (retaining *οὐ*) proves the same for the prediction of the future.

Aristotle did not explicitly discuss the question, but his theory of the sole activity of the sun and his separation of super- and sublunary spheres are opposed to astrometeorology. The author is not consistent, however, in the inferences he draws from the separation of the spheres. On p. 64 (of Posidonius) and p. 68 (of neo-Pythagoreans) he finds in this theory an argument for the opposite point of view.

Theophrastus reverted to the popular belief in the prophetic power of the stars (Proclus *Tim.* 286 A) and it may be in their direct activity (*De causis plant.* ii. 19. 4). Later Peripatetics seem to have been interested chiefly in the dialectical discussion of the possibility of the influence of both the fixed stars and the planets. Aratus, although the prophetic function alone would be more consistent with his general views, prefers, Pfeiffer thinks, for poetic effect, to speak of the stars as exercising a direct influence.

The Stoics made the greatest contribution to astrometeorology by giving it a philosophical foundation through their theories of *συμπάθεια* and *ἡ εἱμαρμένη* (Sext. *Emp.* ix. 78 f.). For the earlier Stoics, Cleanthes and Chrysippus, the evidence quoted by the author is not convincing. We read in Euseb. *Praep. evang.* xv. 15. 7 that Cleanthes believed that the sun contributed most to *τὴν τῶν ὅλων διοίκησιν, ἡμέραν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ποιοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας*, but it does not necessarily follow that the other cosmic forces were the stars or that their function was meteorological. The quotation from Chrysippus is equally indefinite. Diogenes of Seleucia (v. Arnim, *Stoic. frag.* iii. 25 and 27) and Boethius rejected astrology and Panaetius both astrology and astrometeorology (Cic. *De div.* ii. 42. 87.) Boethius strove to find some causal relation between the coincidence of weather changes with the rising and setting of the constellations. Geminus, *εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα* and Cic. *De div.* ii. 42. 91–94 give a compendium of all the arguments against astral influences. Both alike, Pfeiffer thinks, use Panaetius as their source.

In proof of Posidonius' acceptance of astrometeorology the author can give only the negative evidences of Cic. *De div.* ii. 88, and the statement of August. *De civ. dei* v. 2, with Cicero as authority, that Posidonius believed in genethliology. Cic. *De fato* 3 shows a belief in divination in general, while in Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii, §§ 154–55 (on teleology) and Seneca *Nat. quaest.* ii. 32 Posidonius is not mentioned. The author finds suggestions of Posidonian astrology in Vergil, in such epithets of the stars as *nimbosus, pluviae, conscia fati*. It is always difficult to determine how far these poetic epithets belong to the traditional language of poetry or are dramatic concessions to the superstitions of the age or clear indications of the poet's own views. Vergil, at any rate, knew the scientific explanation of the universe.

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Plotinus believed that the stars acted in a natural manner upon the earth, causing heat and cold, but that they did not have the supernatural power to determine the fate of man.

The Christians were willing to accept astrology as long as it did not question the omnipotence of God and the unity of the universe. In general, however, they accepted only the prophetic power of the stars as servants of God, although other views did prevail despite the doctrine of human responsibility.

I can give only a brief summary of the five appendixes in which the author has discussed several related questions. Appendix I contains a refutal of Burnet's contention that Anaximander believed in the coexistence of innumerable worlds. In Appendix II the author discusses the meanings of ἐπισημαίνει and ἐπισημασία and other formulae used to introduce weather prognoses in the Greek calendars.

In Appendix III he points out that the tales of weather prophecies by Democritus belong to the general group of wonder legends that tended to gather around the names of philosophers. In Hellenistic-Roman times the philosopher becomes along with the emperor a worker of nature-miracles, a σώτηρ, and paves the way for the magician, who is followed as wonder-worker by the Christian saint. In Appendix IV Pfeiffer calls attention to the similarity of Hom. *Hymn to Ares* viii to the prayers to planets and suggests that it may have come from an astrological source. The meter points to the early Alexandrian period as date. In Appendix V he endeavors to prove that the belief that human souls come from and return to the stars is not native to Greece but came from the East, through the mystery-cults and Orphic and philosophical speculation. It owed its wider circulation later to astrology.

I have noted a few inaccurate or omitted references: p. 8, Hesiod *Erg.* v. 283 for v. 383; p. 25, Eustathius μ 62 for μ 64; p. 65, Cic. *Acad.* iv. 38 for Cic. *Acad.* ii. 38. The quotation from Cleanthes, p. 54, is found in Euseb. *Praep. evang.* xv. 15. 7, and that from Chrysippus in Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. p. 182.

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Griechische Geschichte. Von KARL JULIUS BELOCH. Zweite neugestaltete Auflage. Erster Band, Erste Abteilung (I, 1), 1912; Erster Band, Zweite Abteilung (I, 2), 1913; Zweiter Band, Erste Abteilung (II, 1), 1914. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. Pp. xii+446 (I, 1), x+409 (I, 2), viii+432 (II, 1).

Each "Abteilung" of the volumes of this new edition of Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte* comprises a volume in the ordinary sense of the word. The extent to which additions and rewriting have been carried can be inferred

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from the fact that these three volumes cover little more ground than the old first volume of the 1893 edition; yet the former contain 1,287 pages, while the latter contains 637 pages. Among the noteworthy additions are a new introduction on "Personality in History" (Beloch is not inclined to regard the influence of personality as important), a new chapter on "Aegean Geography," and the chapter on "The Minoan-Mycenaean Age." Abteilung 1 of Band I (I, 1) deals with the period before the Persian Wars; I, 2, is a long appendix to I, 1, and contains a series of articles on special points and problems; II, 1, goes as far as the end of the Peloponnesian War.

There are three chapters (iii–v) in I, 1, on the prehistoric period. Chapter iii, "Die Anfänge des griechischen Volkes," is a clear and interesting presentation of an obscure and complicated subject. The chief novelty in the chapter perhaps is Beloch's heterodox opinion as to the "Dorian migration," (cf. pp. 89 ff.; also I, 2, pp. 76 ff.). The prevailing belief that there was such a migration is based on the legend of the "Return of the Heraclidae"; this legend, says Beloch, did not spring from ancient tradition; it was a late invention of the genealogical poets and logographers. Tribes who spoke a "Doric" dialect *did* migrate from Central Greece into the Peloponnesus. But these tribes, according to Beloch, were *Achaean;* the name "Dorian" was a comparatively late importation into the Peloponnesus from Asia Minor. Beloch's reconstruction of their migrations on the basis of the distribution of the Greek dialects in historical times is not very different from the traditional account—except that he puts the migration of his Achaean-Dorians into the Peloponnesus as far back as the eighteenth century B.C.! He argues that they cannot have invaded Argolis in the fourteenth century, for during that century the Mycenaean civilization continued to flourish. He ignores the possibility of a gradual infiltration of Achaean chieftains accompanied by small bands of followers, who adopted and did not violently disturb the existing civilization—a possibility to which the legends seem to point and to which there are historical parallels (cf. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, pp. 45 ff.). The extinction of the Mycenaean culture was not, Beloch claims, the work of Dorian invaders; it was the result of the destruction of the Minoan centers by the "Greeks" (he does not venture to be more specific in designating the destroyers). When the fountain of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture was destroyed, the streams to which it gave rise ceased to flow. As far as the dialects are concerned, it does not seem to me that traces of Doric dialect from Phthiotis, dating from the *third* century B.C., go very far to prove that the Achaeans spoke Doric Greek in the remote prehistoric period. Beloch's thesis, moreover, involves him in a number of difficulties, when the testimony of the epic and of the place-names seems to be in harmony with the traditional story. But the gravest objection to his view is the fact that the assumption of a violent invasion of comparatively barbarous peoples into the Peloponnesus at the *close* of the Mycenaean period seems necessary to explain the dislocations and changes

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that occurred at about this time. These changes involved much more than the substitution of one kind of decorative art for another; the world known to the epic was transformed.

In chap. iv, pp. 96 ff., "Die minoisch-mykenische Zeit," Beloch treats the subject from the historical rather than the archaeological viewpoint. He gives only a brief description of the monuments; but he draws from them some interesting conclusions as to political, economic, and social conditions in the Minoan-Mycenaean period. There were, he says, in Crete two large states ruled from Knossos and Phaestos; there were other states, but on the whole less "Zersplitterung" than later in the Greek period. The inhabitants of the island were divided into a landowning nobility and a class of serfs; when invaders attacked the island, the nobles were too enervated by luxury, the serfs too indifferent as to the fate of the country, to offer any effective resistance. A traffic in luxuries and small articles, considerable for the period, was carried on in Cretan bottoms with Egypt, Melos, and Thera in the Middle Minoan period, and with Greece in the Late Minoan; but Beloch does not believe that there was any "thalassocracy of Minos." The absence of fortifications on the island he explains as due to its isolation and security (the navigation of the other Aegean countries being yet in its infancy), the wide dispersion of the place-name, Minoa, as due to the spread of the worship of the Cretan bull god, Minos—the various Minoas were centers of this cult. I may say here that Beloch everywhere turns the table on Euhemerus by transforming men into gods, preferably solar or lunar deities. The question might be raised, How did this Cretan cult obtain such currency? Beloch rejects Dörpfeldt's theory as to the Cretan palaces. Mycenaean remains would be found in Asia Minor, in Beloch's opinion, if thorough excavations were made. He has apparently not heard of Hogarth's Hittite theory.

In chap. vi, "Mythos und Religion," the author pays little attention to anthropology and to the primitive elements in the religion so dear to the hearts of certain English scholars. He rather neglects the household and hearth religion. The chapter on the related subject of the epic (chap. vii, "Der Heldengesang") is written almost in the spirit of Wolf; the epics to Beloch are mosaics of badly assorted fragments; we are not allowed to believe in the existence of any "Homer." I may say here that social and cultural, as well as economic, history come to their own in Beloch's work (cf. especially chaps. x and xi—of which I shall have more to say—and xv and xvi). In dealing with literature and art Beloch is interested chiefly in facts and chronology. His literary appreciations do not err on the side of enthusiasm (cf. his estimate of Pindar [p. 417] and of Aeschylus [p. 419]).

Chapter ix treats of colonization; chap. x, of the economic, and chap. xi, of the intellectual and social, changes which it caused or helped to cause. Beloch seems to regard overpopulation and the desire for new lands for agriculture as the only important causes for the colonizing movement. He

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ignores political discontent as a cause; in this I think he is certainly wrong. His picture of trade and industry in the sixth century (chap. x, pp. 265 ff.) is an impressive example of what can be accomplished by the patient piecing together of small fragments of evidence. In his estimates of the populations of the chief colonizing and trading centers he shows the tendency to be overcautious that he has revealed in previous works. Can it be possible that Miletus, the mother of not less than *ninety* colonies (p. 251), the city that defied so long the great power of Lydia, "die erste Stadt in Ionien und also wahrscheinlich überhaupt in der griechischen Welt" (p. 281), had in the sixth century no more than 30,000 inhabitants?

Of the other subjects dealt with in I, 1, I shall consider only the early constitutional history of Athens. Beloch embodies in his account some of the novel views of Niese and De Sanctis and offers others of his own. Dracon was not a man, but a snake-god (p. 350). Solon's "Council of 400" never really existed (p. 366). The conspiracy of Cylon took place *after* the archonship of Solon *ca.* 560 B.C.—consequently Theagenes of Megara belongs in this period—(cf. p. 370). The ten tribes of the "Cleisthenean Constitution" were probably the creation of Peisistratus (p. 363). These views are defended in Articles XVIII, XXVIII, and XXIX in I, 2. The author makes out a good case for his Cylon theory. I do not find his arguments in defense of his theory of the ten tribes convincing. If Cleisthenes, he says, saw that it was desirable to break up the old clans, Peisistratus must have seen it before him (cf. I, 2, pp. 329 ff.). The fact that Peisistratus' name is coupled with that of his Deme, Philaidae, by Plato (Hipparch. 228*b*) proves little; Plato may have simply projected a later custom into the past. In the arrangement of the tribes and trittyes, Beloch detects a species of "gerrymandering" that would have been favorable to Peisistratus. In a further argument, too complicated for brief report, he defends his view on the ground that it would support another conjecture that he has adopted from E. Meyer!

In I, 2, we have in chap. ii, "Die neuere Forschung," a survey of the modern literature. It is probably not intended to be complete, but some of the omissions are curious. Beloch inveighs against his compatriots' ignorance of foreign writers, but he himself is not free from reproach in this respect. He does not mention Bury, Ferguson, or Gilbert Murray. The archaeological bibliography is unsatisfactory. Why is not Durm mentioned among the authorities on architecture? It is astonishing to find that a work so antiquated as Murray's *Handbook of Archaeology* is the only book on the "Kleinkunst" that is mentioned. Beloch is rather hard on his predecessors and contemporaries. He speaks with a tempered enthusiasm of Grote, but praises heartily Busolt and Eduard Meyer.

In his account of the Persian Wars in chaps. i and ii of the second volume Beloch has apparently not availed himself of some of the researches of the English scholars. He refers to Grundy, of course, but does not mention the special studies of Bury, Macan, and Woodhouse. He does not believe that

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there was during the last war any understanding between Persia and Carthage (p. 72). In chap. iii he discusses the economic revolution caused by the wars; this is one of the most valuable chapters in his book. Chapter iv, "Die Demokratie," traces the workings of the democratic idea, to which the wars gave impetus, not only in the political, but also in the social and intellectual life. The treatment of democracy in government is not altogether successful (cf. Beloch's estimate of the work of Pericles [see below]). Beloch himself appears to be in politics a moderate oligarch; he betrays great sympathy with Theramenes (p. 392).

A few words as to Beloch's treatment of some of the leading personalities. He shares the prevailing admiration for Themistocles: "Vielleicht das grösste politische Genie, das Athen überhaupt hervorgebracht hat" (p. 31). He gives a somewhat amusing characterization of Cimon: "Ein echter Junker vom Kopf bis zur Zehe," etc. (p. 149). He admires Pericles no more than he did twenty years ago. Incompetent as a general and incapable as a statesman, he failed to preserve for Athens the empire which Themistocles and Cimon had won, and bequeathed to her the war that caused her downfall (p. 155). Beloch holds that Pericles precipitated the war with the Peloponnesians to strengthen his waning political influence in Athens (p. 296). Our author credits Pericles with no idealism or altruism in his political and social reforms, with no desire to educate and elevate the masses in his encouragement of the drama and the arts. It is interesting to compare with this view of Pericles the fine picture in Ferguson's *Greek Imperialism* (pp. 64 ff.).

Three very interesting chapters, vii, viii, and ix, deal with the art, the literature, and the thought of the fifth century. The last three chapters of II, 1, are devoted to the dismal story of the Peloponnesian War. With the latter part of this is interwoven an account of the Carthaginian wars in Sicily down to 405 B.C.—an arrangement that does not make for clearness. The Peloponnesian War was inevitable, Beloch admits, but Pericles chose a bad moment, as far as Athens was concerned, for precipitating it. This is a matter of opinion. When we consider the looseness of the tie that bound her allies to Athens, we may doubt, I think, whether after a postponement of the war she would have been any stronger than she was in 431 B.C. After reading Beloch's plain and straightforward account of the war, one is tempted to say, "Here, if anywhere, we have the facts." I select only one point for criticism. Beloch gives the traditional story of the punishment by Athens of the revolting Lesbians in 427 B.C., and says that more than 1,000 men were put to death (p. 319). This number is improbably high; Mahaffy is right, in my opinion, in believing that there is an error in the numeral in the text of Thucydides iii. 50. Bury (*History of Greece*, pp. 871, 417 n.), following him, says "a little more than thirty" (A for A).

Beloch's work, considered as a whole, has in a high degree the qualities of independence and originality; and one occasionally finds in his method the defects not infrequently coupled with these qualities—an excessive

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skepticism with regard to legend and a consequent disposition to overwork the mythological explanation, and a tendency to reject good source-evidence, on the basis of a highly subjective feeling as to its improbability, or to supplant it by conjecture. His history is, however, a great synthesis by a great authority; there is no other work in the field of Greek history that is at once so scientific, so modern, and so complete.

The author writes with scientific detachment, and his pages seem at times a little arid, when one remembers the glowing humanity, the poetry, and the enthusiasm of Curtius. On the other hand, Beloch's style is admirable for its simplicity and clearness. He has the gift of generalization and the power of summing up complicated situations and conditions in brief and forcible form.

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Plautus. With an English translation by PAUL NIXON. In four volumes. Vol. I (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam, 1916. Pp. xv+571.

The first volume of Mr. Nixon's translation of Plautus in the Loeb Classical Library, containing the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Bacchides*, and *Captivi*, shows a difficult task happily begun. Mr. Nixon's rare aptitude for sympathetic translation of Roman humor is well known through his studies in Martial, entitled *A Roman Wit*. What he has done for the epigram he is now attempting for the master of the Roman comedy, whose style the Muses would have used had they wished to speak in Latin. As four of the five plays appearing in this volume rank among the ten most popular comedies of Plautus, one may fairly judge of the soundness of scholarship and literary skill of the translator.

Fr. Leo's edition of 1895–96 has been selected as the basis of the text and has been followed in the main. Lines bracketed by Leo (some 88 in all) are printed apart at the foot of the pages where they occur and, when in sequence, are usually accompanied by a translation. Brief critical notes indicate lacunae, the more important corruptions in the text, and a few favored conjectures. The printed page presents a neat appearance, with no asterisks or daggers to stab the eye. A few verses offensive to the modern taste have been "diluted" in the translation. The typography is excellent. Slips are comparatively few: e.g., *Aul.* 518, *thylacistae* of Leo's text is translated as though *phylacistae*, the manuscript reading; *Capt.* 135, *macritudine* is translated apparently as if *aegritudine; Capt.* 441, *inventum inveni* is something more than "do not lose this friend you have found." Occasional omissions in the translations may be detected (e.g., *Capt.* 453, *de praeda*); sometimes the English tends to become diffuse (e.g., *Capt.* 300–303); but such is the writer's gift of transmuting the Latin colloquial into vigorous English it would be hypercritical to cavil at what must seem to many mere

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matters of taste. In the brief Index of Proper Names the references are made to the Latin text, yet the names are given in their English forms: e.g., Elis, Elean, Syruses. The inclusion of references to names of mythological personages and similar allusions would have added to the usefulness of this index.

The arrangement and economy of the edition conform to the general plan of the series. The Introduction (pp. i–xiii) is tantalizingly brief in view of the significance of Plautus in the world's literature. Doubtless the subsequent volumes will offer supplementary material. Explanatory notes are few but well selected. On the other hand, numerous stage directions, offered with much discrimination and fine feeling for the dramatic effects, indicate change of moods as well as movements on the stage and render a commentary almost unnecessary.

Mr. Nixon has faced fairly the problem of determining an adequate and pleasing English medium to reproduce the *sermo cotidianus*. His style achieves, on the whole, both originality and a sustained vigor. Proper characterization of the several rôles has been carried through, so that slaves talk as slaves; masters as masters; and the women use a feminine vocabulary. Though at times Mr. Nixon may seem to carry verbal extravagance even beyond Plautus, his great merit lies in the possession of a clear, fluent, and bubbling style admirably suited to reflect the Plautine exuberance and grace without distortion or caricature of the easy freedom of colloquial speech. Of stylistic mannerisms the translation is not entirely free: such devices as emphasis by repetition (*pauper sum; fateor*, "I'm poor, poor, I admit it"; *pauperum pauperrimum*, "I'm poor, awfully poor, dreadfully poor") and the postponement of the subject or principal verb to the final place, producing a certain French flavor, are of frequent occurrence. But only one who has independently experimented could so successfully run the gamut of the "categories of translation," and it is evident that Mr. Nixon has done so.

Plautine oaths are a pitfall for the unwary. Although usually felicitous, Mr. Nixon inclines to avail himself of a license common on the American stage: "O my God" (*perdidisti*); "O my God! My God! I'm ruined!" (*ei mihi perii hercele*).

The simple device of putting "sir" into the mouth of a slave to indicate servility aids much in the characterization; yet Alcumena would hardly have used the word in threatening Sosia (*Amph.* 721, 741).

This new translation presents the plays with a new charm. We feel with fresh conviction the nobility of the *Captives*, the liveliness of the *Pot of Gold*, the sordid knavery of *The Comedy of Asses*, the brilliance of the *Bacchis Sisters*, and the bizarre humor of the *Amphitryon*. Mr. Nixon's work is a highly sympathetic interpretation of these five comedies.

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The Menaechmi of Plautus. With a translation by JOSEPH H. DRAKE. New edition. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xi+129.

Professor Drake's translation was originally published in 1890 as a libretto to accompany a presentation of the *Menaechmi* by students of the University of Michigan. This new edition, prepared by Dr. Gilbert H. Taylor, was needed for a similar occasion (March 30, 1916), when the play was performed by the Classical Club of the University. The Latin text remains substantially that of Brix, with slight changes based on the edition of Leo. A few fragmentary lines and one short passage have been omitted. The introduction includes, among other things, an account of modern adaptations of the play.

As a libretto the version serves the purpose adequately; as a reproduction of Plautus in English, while it is clear, straightforward, and literal, it is too formal, pitched in too serious a key. Light-armed Anglo-Saxon sentences are required to keep step with the lively march of the Latin colloquial. The *tempo* of Plautus is *allegro* with frequent *accelerando*. As a translation it is sometimes too diffuse (vs. 872); omissions occur (vs. 134); idioms are sometimes slurred (vs. 427); in some cases Plautine jests are passed over (vss. 477, 492); and there are many "strange oaths."

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P. Terenti Afri Andria. With Introduction and Notes by EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. New York: American Book Co., 1914. Pp. 188.

Sturtevant's *Andria* is intended for students who are making their first acquaintance with Roman drama, i.e., college Freshmen and Sophomores. Its most striking feature is the introduction. Having had the experience of most teachers that students get little out of the conventional introduction, Sturtevant discards it for a history of comedy consisting of translations of portions of typical plays, with sufficient connecting tissue to give the story. The old Greek comedy is illustrated by the *Birds* of Aristophanes, the influence of tragedy on the new comedy by Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the new comedy by the *Periceiromene* of Menander, Roman comedy by Plautus' *Aulularia*. The experiment is certainly an interesting one. In place of a hackneyed life of Terence, Sturtevant gives Suetonius' life in the original Latin with copious notes. I miss the *periocha* and the *didascalia* (restored from Donatus), which in my experience have always interested students. The introduction also contains a discussion of meter. In the text every ictus is marked, except at the end of the verse. A student in a class with which I used the book said that the ictus marks

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gave her a headache. A particularly trying thing is the spelling in Latin and English of Greek proper names in accordance with the practice of Terence's time: Cremes, Musis, Burria, Pania, etc. But when the characters of Menander are referred to, the ordinary forms are used. Thus we have Terence's Glucerium and Menander's Glycera (not to mention the newfangled spelling Glykera, unfortunately preferred by some scholars). Surely this is too much for a mere Freshman. Furthermore, the Terentian spelling and pronunciation often make it impossible to connect the names with something more or less familiar to the student, as Musis with Mysia, Burria with Pyrrhus, Glucerium with glycerine, etc. Finally, it is quite inconsistent with Sturtevant's laudable substitution of *v* for *u* hitherto used in editions of Plautus and Terence. It gave me peculiar satisfaction to see this senseless practice abandoned.

The notes, which are on the same page as the text, carry less excess baggage than is usually found in editions of Plautus and Terence, and in general are quite satisfactory. They are particularly full and valuable on the linguistic side, though this phase seems overstressed at times. Misprints and slips are inevitable, but in this book not numerous. Occasionally a note is unfortunately phrased. To say (on vs. 327) that "*equidem* = *quidem*, not *ego quidem*" may be correct, but undoes the careful work of months spent in trying to make students see that *equidem* is used with the first person. It is maddening to be told merely that *ut ne credat* is a purpose clause in the celebrated vs. 699. That much even the Freshman would infer from the use of *ne*. To say that "*ut* belongs with *vereor*" in vs. 705 is a misleading way of saying that the *ut* clause depends on *vereor*. The note confused an entire class.

The appendix contains for the most part discussions of readings adopted in the text, which in general is conservative. The book deserves wide use in colleges as being one of the very few editions of a Latin comedy satisfactory for Freshman classes.

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HORACE AND VALERIUS CATO

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III

THE NEOTERIC POETS AND THE LATIN PURISTS

In the present study, the last of the three under my common title, I shall endeavor to draw some conclusions for the literary history of the period of transition from Catullus to the early Augustans, which seem to be indicated by the results arrived at in the two preceding papers. If it should be conceded, as I have attempted to show in the first of those papers,[1] that the initial eight lines of the tenth satire, contained in one important group of manuscripts, are not forgery or interpolation, but preserve the poet's original introduction, it will appear that Cato, whom they name, and others of his following are the target toward which the polemic of that composition was directed, both in its original and in its revised form. To point out the applicability of the criticism, which by deletion of the opening lines no longer names its goal, to Cato and his group was the object of my second paper.[2] In these two studies I hope to have defined, with more sharpness of outline than has before been possible, the literary background of the fourth and tenth satires, to have shown, in fact, that the elusive opponents of Horace, who are concealed behind an anonymous adversarius, opprobrious epithets and pseudonyms, and a group of real names of humbler followers, are the

[1] *Classical Philology*, XI (1916), 249 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, XII (1917), 77 ff.

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most important and influential group of Roman poets and critics of the time, the heirs and custodians of the poetical legacy of Catullus and Calvus. The dependence of Cato and his followers upon these two classical names is referred to satirically in the contemptuous allusion to one of Cato's satellites,

simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.

Whether the person here referred to be Furius Bibaculus (as I conjectured from the data preserved in Suetonius) or another does not greatly matter.[1] The main point is the connection which the phrase establishes between Cato and his school,[2] and Catullus and Calvus as the source of their literary inspiration.

To determine what other important literary figures of the time (in addition to Furius) can be grouped with Cato as friends or members of his circle, our record is insufficient. The only specific names afforded in connection with him (apart from his mention in Catullus) are Ticidas and Cinna, whom Suetonius cites among the admirers of Cato's poetry. But setting aside for the present such larger relationships, and confining ourselves to the group actually disclosed by our satire, it is worthy of note that Horace employs for his satirical attack the reproach which attached to the profession of teaching.[3] From the sarcastic title *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus* of the initial lines, which is applied to Cato, to the contemptuous dismissal of Demetrius and Tigellius at the end,

discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras,

there is a tone of scorn for the environment in which Cato and his followers exercise the literary profession: they are professional teachers—Cato himself most distinguished of the gild, Demetrius and Tigellius humbler practitioners of the same art. With scornful allusion to Cato's facilities for making his poetry known Horace says,

an tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

[1] The identity of Furius with the *turgidus Alpinus* of vs. 36 is more securely attested; cf. *Classical Philology*, XII, 86.

[2] *Simius iste=simius Catonis*, since we have seen that the adversarius of 1. 10 is essentially Cato. *Iste* in Horace is almost invariably a demonstrative of the second person, in accordance with the conventional grammatical teaching. It cannot, therefore, refer to Hermogenes.

[3] Cf. the excursus to the first paper of this series, *Classical Philology*, XI, 267.

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In arrogant contrast,

non ego: nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere.

This serves to introduce the impressive list of names with which Horace concludes, among whom none, so far as can be discerned, are to be classified in the ranks of the grammatical-pedagogical profession. It is the same antipathy to the pretensions of professional opinion and criticism which Horace later reveals:

non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor. [*Epp.* 1. 19. 40.]

This passage, while it shows abundant contempt and scorn, nevertheless reveals the fact that there was a strong and influential body of professional criticism (comparable perhaps to the modern literary press) which had not a little to do with the making and unmaking of contemporary literary reputations.[1] Cato had evidently enjoyed this sort of authority in full measure, and it was doubtless with reference to it that the couplet which Suetonius quotes was spoken:

Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren,
qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

For whether sincere or ironical, in any case the lines are meant to have point, and they play upon the humorous paradox of "creating poets" (ποιεῖν ποιητάς) and of "making" poetical reputations by the authority of the critic's readings.[2]

Horace and his friends, on the other hand, are dilettanti, under the leadership or patronage of such noble gentlemen as Maecenas, Asinius, or Messala, displaying a snobbish pride in the superior social station reflected from their patrons and in the greater rigor and purity of their stylistic tenets. To discover other lines of cleavage between these groups would be to travel outside the record, although it is a fair conjecture that Cato's circle was aligned politically rather with the opponents of Octavian's growing power. Concerning Cato himself there is no evidence, but it is recorded that Furius continued to assail Octavian with his epigrams, as he had

[1] The whole of the nineteenth letter bears upon this question, and Horace does not hesitate to acknowledge that his scorn has been a barrier to the recognition of his poetry. Cf. especially vs. 35.

[2] Compare in this connection what is said of the activity of Caecilius Epirota, the freedman of Atticus and friend of Gallus: "Primus Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse, quod etiam Domitii Marsi versiculus indicat: Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum" (Suet. *Gram.* 16).

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assailed Julius before. Furthermore, if our Pitholeon (vs. 22) be identical with M. Voltacilius Pitholaus, as Bentley argued, it appears that his abusive epigrams against Julius Caesar, while tolerated, were not, as in the case of Catullus and Calvus, pardoned.[1]

If now we look at the text of Horace alone and confess that identification of Cato in the tenth satire depends upon recognition of the authenticity of the initial eight lines, and that the presence of Furius Bibaculus is not established beyond possibility of doubt, there may be hesitation in accepting with confidence the definition of Horace's opponents which has been made. Here fortunately an independent bit of evidence comes to our aid and does much to confirm the reasonable probability (which I venture to believe has already been established) of the correctness of our conclusion. Our witness is, in fact, no other than Messala, a member and leader of the very group with which Horace is identified. We owe it to the antiquarian and philological interest of Suetonius that a brief fragment is preserved containing a judgment which runs singularly parallel to the position of Horace as we have elicited it from the study of the tenth satire. It is given merely for the sake of illustrating the usage of the word *litterator*, but in the light of the preceding argument it will be seen that it becomes a text of capital value for the whole problem of literary relationships which has been raised.

> Eosdem [*sc.* grammaticos] litteratores vocitatos Messala Corvinus in quadam epistula ostendit, non esse sibi dicens rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum Ticida quidem, aut litteratore Catone. [*De gram.* 4.]

Curious chance that a fragment so casually preserved, in an alien context, should read so like a summary of agreement with that which we have gathered from the text of Horace! Here we find from one definitely associated with Horace and holding a position of leadership in his literary group express repudiation of the two principal figures of our tenth satire, Cato and Furius. With them is associated a third, the poet Ticidas, whom Horace does not name, but who, as we have seen above, is quoted by Suetonius as one of the admirers of Cato's poetry. All that we know of him from other sources confirms the correctness of Messala's association of him with Cato. From Ovid

[1] For Furius see Tacitus *Ann.* 4. 34. For Pitholaus, Suet. *Jul.* 75. For the reconciliation of Caesar with Calvus and Catullus, *ibid.* 73.

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and Apuleius we learn that he was an erotic elegist; the line cited by Suetonius is obviously from an encomiastic epigram; the single citation in Priscian is from an hymeneal ode (*Ticidas in Hymeneo*) which betrays the influence of Catullus.[1]

That there is some community of purpose in the repudiation of the same group of poets by Horace and Messala cannot be doubted. To determine this common purpose and point of view is the problem which confronts us. The time and circumstance of Messala's utterance is unknown. *In quadam epistula*, says Suetonius, and in imagination one might (with a warning to the literal-minded!) entertain the fancy that the letter in question was Messala's acknowledgment to Horace of his vigorous satire.[2] Since the vogue and authority of Cato and Furius are implied (and they were already well advanced in years at the time of the tenth satire) it would not be natural to assume a later date for Messala's words.

The whole tone of Horace's composition reveals the support of a sympathetic group or clique, of which Messala is one. In defining the original constitution of this group we cannot simply take over the imposing list of names at the end of the satire, which, I feel convinced, represents the expanded circle of Horace's powerful friends at the time when the tenth satire was made the epilogue of his first book (35 B.C.). We shall get nearer to the truth of the original controversy by looking rather at the names contained within the body of the composition, which are then to be sure practically all repeated at the end. Indeed this fact of repetition is, I suspect, itself evidence of the appended character of the final names. Pursuing this course we see, first of all, that Messala Corvinus is named as an example in oratorical prose of that purity of Latin diction at which poetry should aim (vs. 29). Secondly, that in contrast with Furius Bibaculus (*turgidus Alpinus*) a list of poets and *genres* are named as exemplifying the new direction in poetry with which Horace groups his own efforts:

> turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
> diffingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo, etc.

[1] For the testimonia concerning Ticidas, cf. Schanz, I, 2, p. 87.

[2] Quite without reason or reflection the manuals of Roman literature assign this fragment to the learned studies of Messala, as if he were discussing the usage of the word *litterator*.

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Horace then names with epithets of praise Fundanius for comedy, Pollio for tragedy, Varius for epic, Virgil for pastoral, and with them associates himself modestly in satire. The principle which gives coherence to this group is doubtless friendship in the first instance and personal sympathy. But contact with such personalities as Messala, Asinius, and Varius cannot, in a time of active theoretical ferment, have been without influence upon literary principles, and we may therefore believe that Horace appeals to these names as exemplifying the principles which have been defined in this satire, partly in criticism of Lucilius and partly in contrast to Cato and his followers. While Horace, by his scorn of their defense of Greek words and by his sneers at the Latinity of Furius, implies that his opponents were careless and perverse workmen, yet we need not take him too seriously, nor can we believe that Cato, the friend of Catullus and Cinna, was one to condone loose workmanship. It is a difference of principle which is involved, and Horace magnifies slight differences to great contrasts, as is the manner in such controversies: the immediate past is always bad, but worst of all is its persistence into the present. Catullus, Calvus, Cinna, and therefore most certainly Cato and Furius as well, were proudly conscious of great advance in artistry over earlier Latin poetry; but new refinements of stylistic taste, and reactions from mannerism and excess stamped the elegance and embellishment of yesterday as crudity and fustian to be shunned today.

One clear antithesis, however, does emerge. It is the fact that, while the opposing group (exemplified in this instance only by the name of Furius) are devotees of the neo-Hellenistic school—writers of minor epics, elegy, and the epigram—the group which Horace names is seen to have a wider range and a more generous ambition. With the exception of Virgil they appear as composers of forms which reach back of Alexandrinism to the older Greek models, the Homeric epic (*forte epos*), Attic tragedy and comedy. Virgil, to be sure, in latinizing the Theocritean idyl is Alexandrine, but even he had abandoned the beaten track of elegy and epyllion. With the exception of the pastoral these are all renewals of those forms which made up the older Roman literature, the epic of Ennius, the comedy of Plautus and Terence, the tragedy of Accius, the Lucilian satire.

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Such considerations may lead to the thought that one of the principles of coherence of the group is a sort of patriotic renewal of the older classical literature of Rome, in a form suited to the severer standards of a new age; not to follow in the track of the popular neo-Hellenism, but to produce a literature in language and spirit thoroughly Latin, though drawing its inspiration and, where necessary, its material from Greek models. It is not too much to see some hint of this nationalistic spirit in that passage of our satire which ridicules the praise of Greek words in Latin, and which leads up to the enumeration of the poets and literary forms under consideration. Certainly something of patriotic appeal is intended by such lines as

> scilicet oblitus patriae patrisque Latini,[1]

and

> atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
> versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus.

But these are merely hints and suggestions which provoke the idea. The truth of this interpretation cannot be established by external evidence or direct affirmation; it must be established, if at all, by an examination of the actual work of the two schools, supplemented here and there by such theoretical utterances as our meager record preserves.

Horace's boyhood and awakening literary sense fell in the time just subsequent to the death of Catullus. The old standards of literary values still prevailed in the school of Orbilius and were maintained with stern discipline against the intoxication of the "new poetry." But, while the sweet liquor of the new Hellenism was drunk eagerly by the rising age, men of the generation of Orbilius, Cicero, and Varro clung tenaciously to the old. To them the old Latin poetry was already a classical unit, set off from the present by nearly half a century from the death of Lucilius and Accius. Horace himself in the letter to Augustus gives the most complete

[1] I take the opportunity of allusion to this line to add a word of explanation concerning *patrisque Latini*. Latinus does not, to be sure, appear elsewhere as the ancestor of the Roman people in a political or social sense (like Romulus or Quirinus). But as the ultimate ancestor of the *Latin-speaking* race he is named in similar manner by Varro, *L.L.* 5. 9: "non enim videbatur consentaneum quaerere me in eo verbo quod finxisset Ennius causam, neglegere quod ante *rex Latinus* finxisset."

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expression of the obstinate, unreasoning esteem in which this literature was held, although it is difficult to say whether his account refers to conditions of his youth or to some recrudescence of the older admiration at the time of his writing (17 B.C.):

> (Roma) habet hos numeratque poetas
> ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.

The truth of this somewhat ironical account of Roman literary taste, at least for the time of Cicero and Varro, admits of abundant confirmation. A brief survey of the places and contexts in which the larger fragments of Ennius and Accius are found is sufficient evidence.[1] For Cicero it is scarcely too much to say that Greek tragedy, for example, exists for him essentially in the versions of Ennius and Accius. Greek philosophers and orators may perhaps be read most naturally in Greek, but to prefer Euripides and Sophocles to the Roman tragedians is an intolerable mark of sloth or of affected disdain (*De fin.* i. 2. 4 and i. 3. 7). It is plain that Cicero is arguing the old Roman cause against a rising tide of opposition (*Opt. gen. orat.* 6. 18), but certainly not without much sympathy and success, as Varro and Horace show. To Cicero these men are not mere translators, but poets in their own right, *qui non verba, sed vim Graecorum expresserunt poetarum* (*Acad.* i. 3. 10). Something of Roman quality and personality has passed into their renderings, and has resulted in a Roman literature to be looked upon, not as a mere counterpart to Greek in Latin words, but as a true successor, strong in its own right. Some such conception of the independent value of early Roman poetry was entertained by its defenders, the truth of which the investigations of recent years have tended to confirm. We owe it to the penetrating and sympathetic scholarship of Leo that this point of view has at length found adequate and enduring expression.[2]

In the diction of this earlier Roman poetry we pass quickly from the easy colloquial employment of Greek words in Plautus to the conscious purism of Ennius, which became, in fact, a norm of usage for subsequent Latin poetry. As time went on it was inevitable

[1] See especially the admirable survey in Vahlen's *Ennius*. The passages from Cicero form an entertaining anthology of comment and criticism (p. xxxix ff.).

[2] *Geschichte der röm. Literatur*, Vol. I (1913), *passim*.

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that some new words should be adopted from the Greek, but the fragments of Accius show few additions to the Greek words which have been fixed in the language from Plautus' time. Afranius, as befits the writer of the *togata*, is rigorous in exclusion. Afranius is indeed a very characteristic figure of the growing tendency of Roman literature toward a larger independence than either Ennius or Accius had employed. To be sure, in the actual practice of tragical composition Accius would seem to have exercised a freedom toward his originals not very different from the complete independence which the *togata* afforded to Afranius. But whereas Accius abode by the tradition of producing plays upon Greek originals, Afranius undertook to dramatize Roman life and manners in Roman costume. He professed freely his indebtedness to Menander, but this does not differ from his indebtedness to Terence and others, whether Greek or Latin, as he says in a well-known fragment. Even Lucilius, with his excessive blending of Greek and Latin words, is not really an exception to the general rule of the increasing severity of Roman standards of pure Latinity for serious literature. What Lucilius gives us when he uses Greek is the literary reproduction of familiar conversation, either playful or technical. Where his treatment is serious or earnest (as Leo notes) his speech is pure Latin. The essential analogue to Lucilius in the use of Greek is Cicero in his familiar letters, for whom in the orations another language than Latin scarcely exists. The vigor and self-consciousness of the movement toward the exclusion of Greek and the establishment of an independent Roman literature may be seen most sharply in some of its excesses, as, for example, in the naïve arrogance of the *Auctor ad Herennium*. Though everywhere his examples and precepts are drawn from Greek writers, yet the name of no Greek author is anywhere found in his pages (Marx, p. 115); Cato, Crassus, and Ennius do service for Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Homer; a few Greek technical terms occur, but nearly always with a Latin interpretation. To this same general tendency belongs Lucretius, not with narrow purism, yet with clearly recognizable intention. For, though he laments the *patrii sermonis egestas*, yet only rarely does he go boldly afield to expand the resources of expression by borrowed Greek. Though he knows the trick of the sensuous Greek line and uses it

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occasionally for special effects,[1] yet on the whole he belongs emphatically in the national tradition of Latin for the Romans, as inaugurated by Ennius.

In contrast to this earlier compact tradition of Roman classicism and Latin purity there grew up gradually a new cult of Greek imitation in Latin poetry, which derived its nourishment, not from the old Attic and Ionic models, but from contemporary Greek poetry as it was cultivated in Alexandria and in the cities of Asia Minor. The beginnings of this imitation seized first upon the lighter forms, such as erotic epigrams and trifles, which are discernible in the Lucilian satires and in the few specimens preserved from Catulus, Porcius Licinus, etc. The first striking representative of this type of poetry is Laevius, the fragments of whose *Erotopaegnia* are preserved in considerable number. Here, for the first time in Latin poetry, we catch vaguely the aroma of that new theme in the world's literature, which was destined ultimately to become its largest factor, namely, sentimental, romantic love. Titles like *Alcestis, Adonis, Helena, Protesilaudamia, Sirenocirca,* reveal how the figures of the old mythology were being worked over from a new point of view, which already anticipates the treatment familiar to us from the pages of Ovid. The stylistic tone is sentimental, marked by diminutives, bold compounds, and Greek words new to Latin usage, and, though in excess, its kinship with the manner of Catullus is already discernible. It cannot be doubted that Laevius is an important precursor of that school of which Cicero presently speaks contemptuously as the νεώτεροι. That this conception of the place of Laevius was entertained in antiquity is clear from Gellius, who places Laevius at the beginning of a series which is continued with the names of Catullus, Calvus, Hortensius, Cinna, Memmius.[2]

The essential respect in which all this group stands in sharp contrast with the older classical Latin poetry is its attitude toward

[1] Cf. 2. 410 (on the atomic constitution of sounds):

ne tu forte putes serrae stridentis acerbum
horrorem constare elementis levibus aeque
ac *musaea mele, per chordas organici* quae
mobilibus digitis expergefacta figurant.

The contrast with the preceding line is the special effect aimed at.

[2] Gellius 19. 9. 7: "nisi Catullus forte pauca et Calvus itidem pauca; nam Laevius implicata et Hortensius invenusta et Cinna inlepida et Memmius dura, ac deinceps omnes rudia fecerunt atque absona."

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Greek. Whereas the older poetry had sought to assimilate Greek ideas and Greek forms, and out of these elements, in new and free combination, to create a national Roman literature, self-sufficient and independent, this new school took quite the opposite direction, and with contempt of older Roman performance endeavored to bring boldly into Roman poetry the graces and vocabulary of Greek itself. It is not too much to call the new poets of deliberate and set purpose *graecissantes*.

To collect the evidence for this opinion with any degree of thoroughness would require much more space than is available, and it would be superfluous, since isolated studies already exist which have done a great part of the necessary work. One point must be kept in mind, namely, that Catullus is for us the first representative of this stylistic tendency whose work is preserved with sufficient fulness to afford an adequate basis of judgment. While it is perhaps true that certain Grecizing tendencies are not more conspicuously illustrated in his work than by later authors, such as Propertius and Ovid, yet we must not overlook the fact that Catullus is much earlier in point of time, and that the effect of his Grecisms must have been much more striking and exotic than similar boldness of a later time, which had lost the shock of novelty.

To make a mere catalogue of the Grecizing tendencies of Catullus is no easy matter. They consist in the choice of literary forms, in the sentimental and romantic treatment of mythological themes (*Ariadne*, *Laodamia*), in translations and adaptations of material which must have seemed as bizarre and exotic to the generation of Cicero as they seem to us (*Coma Berenices*, *Attis*). Coming to details of technique we find that they consist in Grecisms of forms and inflections of proper names, in the general use of Greek words and Greek inflections[1] with a freedom unknown to serious Latin poetry before his time (unless in Laevius), in the ornamental employment of Greek geographical and mythological names, in the affectation of a soft vocalism made up of Greek elements, in mannerisms of versification like the favorite spondaic termination (which Cicero

[1] Cf. Sniehotta, *De vocum Graecarum . . . . usu* (*Breslauer Abhdlg.*, ix, 1903, a careful and valuable study by a pupil of Norden), p. 63: "inveniuntur igitur in Catulli carminibus terminationes Graecae, quae ab omnibus qui ante eum versus pepigerunt, multisque eorum qui secuti sunt, alienae erant."

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ridicules) or the filling out of half a line with a single word, in the reintroduction (for Roman taste had already repudiated it) of Latin compounds made in imitation of the Greek. The list could be increased and should embrace both syntactical and stylistic imitations, some of which can be definitely traced, while others in the loss of corresponding Greek literature can only be felt. But it is not necessary to labor the point. Students of Catullus will be able to furnish examples for all of the categories named and for others that I have omitted. That the work of Catullus, therefore, and of the school which he represents, displays a well-defined, deliberate, Greciz-ing tendency, looking toward sweetness and sensuousness of poetical effect, is a conclusion which I imagine will be generally granted, nor do I urge it as a novel point of view.[1] Their art came to be recognized as the *dolce stil nuovo* of Latin poetry. Its novelty was felt in the contrast which it presented to that which was held in highest esteem by Romans of the time and, according to age and taste, it was praised or blamed. *O poetam egregium* (Cicero writes of Ennius in words often quoted), *quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur.*[2] For us it is enough to set side by side with one of the longer poems of Catullus a corresponding passage of Lucretius (in lieu of Ennius) to feel the contrast much as Cicero felt it.

But not only in Catullus are these traits of Greek adaptation strongly marked. The *Ciris*, for example (whether it be considered a juvenile effort of Virgil, the work of Gallus, or, in accordance with Sudhaus' theory, an anonymous cento of neoteric imitation), is apparently a most typical example of the epyllion, as cultivated by those who felt the double influence of Hellenistic models and Roman predecessors. Beyond any extant work of similar compass it displays a *color Graecus* such as was characteristic of the whole type.[3] Worth

[1] Cf. Norden, *Einl. in d. Altertumswissenschaft*, I, 477: "Die lateinische Literatursprache ist in keiner Phase ihrer Existenz mehr in Gefahr gewesen, ihre *potentia* der griechischen *gratia* aufzuopfern."

[2] Cf. Sniehotta, *op. cit.*, p. 63: "Hi poetae quibus *νεώτεροι* nomen datum est, a Cicerone saepius reprehensi sunt, quod novum genus in poesin introducerent nimis graecissantes."

[3] See especially Ganzenmüller, *Jhbb. Supl.* XX, 639, with interesting details, and Skutsch, *Gallus u. Vergil*, p. 95. For its general traits and relation to Catullus, Cinna, and Calvus see Sudhaus, Hermes, XLII (1907), 469 ff., and summary, p. 504.

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quoting is the stylistic characterization which the author gives of his work:

quamvis interdum ludere nobis
et gracilem molli liceat pede claudere versum, [19–20]

which might pass as a formulation of creed for all of this neo-Hellenistic group. The Grecizing traits are much the same as those enumerated above for Catullus, except for the use of compound words. In the free use of Greek words other than proper names it even surpasses Catullus, and probably indeed any other comparable product of Roman poetry. Whatever its authorship and the explanation of the puzzling problems of relationship which it presents, it is a typical product of the school of poetry which, after the death of Catullus and Calvus and Cinna, still enjoyed vigorous life and counted among its leaders Valerius Cato.

That the use of Greek in the colloquial jargon of Lucilius and in the highly flavored verses of elegy and epyllion is a very different and almost unrelated phenomenon did not apparently prevent Cato or his pupils from grouping the two things together:

sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.

This has been thought of as a scarcely serious or sincere argument, invented by Horace. But not so. It is the same point of view which we find specifically enunciated by so competent a theorist as Quintilian, and rests upon the persuasion which Quintilian develops at length—that the sound of Greek was far more pleasing and musical than that of Latin. To this subject a considerable section is devoted in the twelfth book (10. 27–34), which in this connection makes interesting reading. It concludes: *itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent.* This belief, to which Horace alludes with briefer phrase (*suavior*), is doubtless a very inadequate justification for Lucilius' Greek, but it is the kind of a defense that might be expected from Horace's opponents, for it is of the very essence of the neoteric creed of style. In their use of Greek proper names of persons or places there is, to be sure, an associative value with myth and story, which may be thought of as independent of sound, but for the most part such names are sought

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as yield a vocalism little impeded by consonants and of a soft and pleasing rhythm. Examples (drawn from Catullus) like *Amphitryoniades*, *Protesilaëam*, or *Androgeoneae*, each of which fills out half a line,[1] are only extreme instances of a tendency which is equally shown by many shorter words, *Aeetaeos*, *Penelopeo*, *Aganippe*, *Larisaea*, *Nereine*, *Minois*, *Booten*, *Itoni*, and the favorite *Eoa*. Such words gave a vocalic quality to the verse which the ancient critics recognized by a special name, *versus vocales, qui alte producta elocutione sonantibus litteris universam dictionem inlustrant.*[2] To illustrate by one or two whole lines:

lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis [68. 54],

or most extreme of all in exotic effect,

proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion [66. 94].

Catullus is more sparing in his use of Greek appellative but a similar tendency is discernible here. *Leoni* and *leonibus* will do for the inflected forms, but the more sonorous *leaena* takes the place of *leo; lympha* has all but banished *aqua;* a large number of rather highly colored nouns, foreign to Latin up to this time, are to be found, such as *barathrum, bombus, calathiscus, crocinus, hyacinthus, mitra, parthenice, strophium, thiasus, thyrsus*, etc.[3]

The reaction from the excessive Grecism of the neoteric school—its daintiness and sweetness—began, as I believe, with Messala and Varius and Horace, just at the time with which we are dealing. But it was still a live question in the time of Persius, and constitutes part of the theme of the first satire. Ridiculing the effeminate literary ambitions of the day, the satirist gives some specimens of the kind of poetry which reveals Roman degeneracy from the sounder taste of an earlier age. The examples are characterized by Greek words and names, and are of the same type as the verses of Catullus,

[1] The employment of words containing two or more metrical feet is to be avoided in *clausula*, Quint. (9. 4. 64) teaches, and adds significantly for our argument: "quod etiam in carminibus est *permolle*."

[2] Diomedes, *G.L.*, I, p. 499 (extr.), with an example of which I cite the first line: "Eoo Oceano Hyperion fulgurat Euro."

[3] Cf. Ellis, *Com.*, xxxi, and Baehrens, *Proleg.*, 46, for fuller (but not complete) list, which would contain a great many colloquial words irrelevant to this context. An actual statistic of Greek words in the *Ciris*, which is somewhat more extreme than Catullus, is given by Ganzemüller, *op. cit.*, p. 640, and amounts to 11 per cent of all words used.

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and the *Ciris*, which we have been considering: *Berecyntius Attis; dirimebat nerea delphin; torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis* (which reads like a parody of Catullus 64. 263, *multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos*). *Arma virum* (he continues)—"by the sacred shade of Virgil! is not this the veriest drivel, and lighter than cork"? And then after some other examples: "could this thing be if there survived within us a particle of our father's manhood"? The scholiast comments: *non sunt Persii, sed poetae nescio cuius graecissantis . . . . sic robur Latinae eviravimus linguae intermiscendo Graecas glossulas.* Cf. also schol. ad vs. 103. In the same general direction of satire is a familiar passage of Juvenal (3. 60 ff.):

> non possum ferre Quirites
> Graecam urbem.
> . . . . . .
> Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
> et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.

The humor—and satire—of the last line lies in the parody of the Grecizing poetical manner, its softness and effeminacy contrasting with the ancient tradition of Roman virility.[1]

Juvenal's appeal to Quirinus may take us back again to Horace (*vetuit me tali voce Quirinus*). It is plain, I think, that Horace's plea for pure Latin is not wholly a matter of stylistic principle; he entertains a certain national pride in the matter—that Romans should make it a point of scruple and conscience to preserve the integrity of Roman speech. His words are addressed in the first instance to the criticism of Lucilius, but their ultimate goal is those who in his own time were perverting Latin poetry by Greek words and Greek stylistic fashions. It would seem too that Horace raises protest against the whole habit of literary trifling with the lighter Greek forms—*versiculos Graecos*—an accomplishment which already belonged to the education of a Roman gentleman, as in the time of Persius (i. 70), *nugari solitos Graece.* The vogue of such literary activity is apparent, not only from Catullus and those whom his pages reflect, but from such collections as the Virgilian *Catalepta*, and the epigrams of

[1] Cf. Quint. i. 5. 59 (on Greek inflections): "ac si reperias grammaticum veterum amatorem, neget quidquam ex Latina ratione mutandum . . . . quin etiam laudet virtutem eorum, qui potentiorem facere linguam Latinam studebant nec alienis egere institutis fatebantur." Cf. also Juv. 6. 188 ff.

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Furius quoted by Suetonius. That Horace was not alone in his hostility has already been implied. In fact, it is rather to be assumed that Horace was the recipient of doctrines of Latin purity which had come to him through the medium of Asinius and Messala from the purists of the Ciceronian time, Caesar, Calvus, Brutus, and others. The creed was originally applied to oratory and prose. It can scarcely have been thought of in Catullus' day as applicable to poetry. (Was the *Io* of Calvus executed in the spirit of the *Attis*, the *Peleus and Thetis*, and the *Allius* elegy? Most probably, yes; but, if so, it is clear that Calvus left his Atticism in the forum and did not fear the reproach of inconsistency.) Of the zeal of Messala, devoted to the attainment and inculcation of a pure Latinity, a slight survey of the testimonia in Meyer's *Fragmenta* (p. 507²) is sufficient evidence: *fuit Messala exactissimi ingeni in omni studiorum parte, Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus.* (Seneca, *Cont.* 2. 4. 8). These words do not refer merely to avoidance of Greek (as is commonly interpreted), but to all the niceties of usage in the choice of Latin words with reference to form and meaning which constituted *Latinitas*. Not many examples of Messala's practice and teaching in this regard have come down to us,[1] but they are sufficient to reveal a tendency which, in his case as well as in Pollio's, may have descended to a pedantic preciosity.

The corresponding studies of Asinius Pollio are better attested, but I will refer to only one example, since it touches Catullus. For it appears that a special monograph had been devoted to Catullus, which is quoted by Charisius as *Asinius in Valerium.*[2] The fragment cited lays down the rule that *pugillares* is always plural and masculine, whereas Catullus (42. 5) uses *pugillaria*. The observation is slight; it is only a straw, but it serves to show the direction of the wind. A breath of pedantry? Perhaps. But consider how trivial a century hence the question of "point of view" or "viewpoint" (which now makes your flesh creep) will seem. What other things in Catullus Asinius found to criticize cannot be determined, but one conjecture may be permitted. His satire of the language

[1] See the examples in Funaioli, p. 505: *Gladiola, cognomentum, duapondo, reatum*, etc. Quintilian speaks of whole books devoted to single letters (i. 7. 35), which may be merely a generalisation of the *liber de S littera* (*ibid.* 23).

[2] Funaioli, p. 499.

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or speech of Livy as *Patavinitas* is notorious. With a similar touch of contempt for the provincialism of the same region, someone is author of the remark, which Quintilian quotes, that *Catullus "ploxenum" circa Padum invenit* (1. 5. 8). Was it perhaps Asinius?

Rome, for all that it was sterile and unproductive of literary genius, laid claim to the dictatorship of Latin speech.[1] It was difficult and probably impossible for the non-Roman to meet all the refinements of usage and tradition which, to city-born purists like Asinius and Messala, constituted the essentials of good Latin. Messala's slighting comment on the famous Spanish declaimer, Porcius Latro—*sua lingua disertus*, "eloquent, yes; but in his own language"—is sharp but probably typical of the whole attitude of such purists. There must, in fact, have been much in the language of this brilliant group of poets from Northern Italy and Gaul which, to ears so fastidious, was open to the charge of provincialism and defective Latinity.[2] Horace perhaps escaped by virtue of a childhood spent at Rome, and was not, therefore, afraid to throw stones at Furius for "murdering Memnon." Cato himself Horace does not attack directly on this score, though he strives to implicate him in the general charge by ridiculing the praise which had been bestowed upon Lucilius for elegance of style (*limatior*). Virgil, in spite of the praise of Horace's group, did not escape, and his provincial origin afforded a handle for ill-natured parody which was elicited by his earliest work (*prolatis Bucolicis Numitorius quidam rescripsit Antibucolica*):

> dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? anne Latinum?
> Non, verum Aegonis; nostri sic rure loquuntur.[3]

[1] It was probably due to the influence and claims of the scholars of this period that Roman usage became fixed as the norm of pure Latinity. "Latinitas est incorrupta loquendi observatio *secundum Romanam linguam*" (Diom., p. 439). The definition is commonly attributed to Varro (Wilmanns and Funaioli). But Varro protests (*R.R.* i. 2. 1) against the innovations of *hi recentes urbani* in more than one place. It is probable that he would have preferred rather the older definition, which is found in the *Auct. ad Her.* 4. 17: "sermo purus ab omni vitio remotus." Quintilian, too, at a later time is more generous: "licet *omnia Italica* pro Romanis habeam" (1. 5. 56), though his words show that the definition *secundum Romanam linguam* still prevailed.

[2] Cf. Cic. *Brutus* 171: "cum in Galliam veneris, audies verba quaedam non trita Romae; illud est maius quod in vocibus nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanius."

[3] Cf. Macrobius 5. 2. 1: "unde enim Veneto rusticis parentibus nato inter silvas et frutices educto vel levis Graecarum notitia litterarum."

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But the special manifestation of this purism with which we are now concerned is the avoidance of Greek words in Latin. For Messala the direct evidence is perhaps no more than the scholia on vs. 29, which in several different versions report his painstaking observance of this rule, and cite his revival of *funambulus* (from Terence) for the customary and colloquial *σχοινοβάτης*. A similar tendency may be observed in the fragment, cited above (p. 332), in which he speaks of *litteratore Catone* with manifest avoidance of the current and technical name *grammatico*. Equally significant is the inference which may be drawn from the reported attitude of Tiberius, and its relation to the teaching and practice of Messala:

> In oratione Latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam . . . . Sermone Graeco, quamquam alioqui promptus et facilis, non tamen usque quaque usus est, abstinuitque maxime in senatu; adeo quidem, ut *monopolium* nominaturus veniam prius postularet quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset. [Suet. *Tib.* 70 and 71, with other examples.]

But this rigor did not, of course, signify antipathy to Greek as such; for, just as we know that Messala admired and translated Hyperides, so Tiberius was especially devoted to the Greek *νεώτεροι*, Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. But Latin must be pure, and not only free from alien words, but scrupulously correct in the use of Latin words themselves, in accordance with the niceties of diction laid down by the Roman *précieux: adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum* (*ibid.* 70), a judgment which recalls Cicero's verdict on the meticulous purity of Calvus.[1]

Still one other witness to the ban upon Greek words may be adduced from this literary circle, L. Varius, the friend and literary executor of Virgil, whose pre-eminence in epic Horace recognizes in this same satire (vs. 43): *forte epos* (perhaps in contrast to the fashionable epyllion) *ut nemo ducit*. The evidence for his position is slight but certain. It is contained in one of the epigrams of the Virgilian *Catalepta*:

> Scilicet, hoc sine fraude, Vari dulcissime, dicam:
> dispeream nisi me perdidit iste pothos.
> sin autem praecepta vetant me dicere, sane
> non dicam, sed me perdidit iste puer. [7.]

[1] *Brutus* 283: "nimium inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat."

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The point of the lines consists, not in their erotic content, but in Virgil's banter of Varius for his stern *praecepta* (*Latinitatis*).[1] One might suspect that Virgil had already written the second line as it stands here; on being taken to task for the concluding word, he replied with this epigram. But was he convinced? Scarcely; the substitution sounds like an effort to ruin by parody a line which derives what poetry there is in it from the Greek word. Nor did Virgil remain a convert to the new doctrine; Greek words continued to be ready at hand for him whenever they suited the effect at which he aimed, and drew upon him the same sort of criticism which Horace here directs against Lucilius and his champion.[2]

Although Virgil is included among the poets of the new age whom Horace arrays against the neoteric school of Cato, yet by origin he is a disciple of Catullus and the Alexandrines. His indebtedness to Catullus is most marked in the short poems of the *Catalepta*,[3] but from the same sources of inspiration he has learned that sweetness and daintiness of style which is so often found in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Not infrequently this quality depends essentially upon a delicate use of Greek words and names, as in *Ecl.* 7. 37:

> Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
> candidior cycnis, edera formonsior alba.

The spell which the melody of Greek names exercised upon Virgil is nicely illustrated also by a line of the *Georgics*, which Gellius quotes with interesting comment:

> Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae [1. 437].

The verse is imitated from Parthenius (he says) with slight but pleasing change—*duobus vocabulis venuste immutatis*. Not so successful is an example of adaptation from Homer, for the verse of Homer is *simplicior et sincerior, Vergilii autem νεωτερικώτερος*—a noteworthy bit of criticism, with acute apprehension of the Virgilian manner and its *provenance*. Even the *Aeneid* is not free from this exuberant

[1] For the reading *pothos* (MSS, *pothus*) see Birt, *Jugendverse Vergils*, p. 82, and commentary.

[2] Cf. Macrobius (1. 24. 7), who draws from early sources the matter which he puts into the mouths of his interlocutors: "vel si mille alia multum pudenda seu in *verbis modo Graecis modo barbaris* seu in ipsa dispositione operis deprehenderentur." *Id.* 6. 4. 17: "inseruit operi suo et Graeca verba."

[3] See Birt's Commentary, *passim*.

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toying with the music of Greek names: 2. 262, *Acamasque Thoasque;* 5. 825, *Melite Panopeaque virgo;* 826, *Thaliaque Cymodoceque;* 6. 480, *Parthenopaeus* It. *Adrasti;* 483 *Medontaque Thersilochumque* (cf. whole context of these passages). But on the whole, in spite of Greek names and inflections, its verse is more vigorous and severe than either of the earlier works. Virgil had in the meantime learned to recognize an austere beauty in the verse of Ennius, which as a younger man he had not felt.[1]

The banishment of Greek words from oratorical prose had long been effected. The earlier tendencies of Latin poetry from Ennius on had been in the same direction. But Alexandrine and contemporary Greek influences of the first half of the first century had resulted in a sudden Grecizing of poetry in a great variety of ways, which threatened to overwhelm and engulf the older national traditions. The movement of reaction we find represented, so far as the employment of Greek words is concerned, by three names, all of which are represented in our satire—Varius, Messala, and Horace. How much else of common literary program this group shared is not so easy to determine. But as avoidance of Greek is only one aspect of stylistic purity, so it appears that they took upon themselves the special defense of faultless Latinity, under the leadership of Messala and Asinius, masters of prose. The simplification of the poetical period (which in Catullus' longer poems and in the *Ciris* is still long and unwieldly) may be looked upon most naturally as a manifestation of the same efforts which were being directed toward the simplification of the Latin prose sentence. The prose of Roman Atticism is unfortunately lost, but we may catch some hint of its quality, I imagine, from the satires of Horace. It is an interesting nor wholly idle pastime to take one of the Horatian satires (like i. 9, for example) and read it as nearly as possible free from the trammels of verse, in accordance with the poet's own suggestion—*eripias si tempora certa modosque, etc.*

The most essential stylistic principle which Horace affords is set forth primarily for the writing of satire; but it will be recognized also as the rule which governed his whole stylistic practice: *sermone opus*

[1] Cf. Seneca *ap. Gell.* 12. 2. 10: "Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duros quosdam versus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis." See Norden's recent book, *Ennius u. Vergil*, Leipsig, 1915, especially p. 153 ff.

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est . . . . defendente vicem . . . . urbani, parcentis viribus atque extenuantis eas consulto—that is, refinement and restraint. It is scarcely necessary to illustrate this principle by other utterances from Horace, which could be adduced in abundance. Let it suffice to cite merely the injunction laid down in the *Art of Poetry* with regard to the choice of words and their joining:

> in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,
> hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor. [46.]

For Messala our evidence is of the same kind: painstaking in the choice of words—*in verbis magis elaboratus* (quam Cicero), as Tacitus says (*Dial.* 18), elegant (*nitidus*), clear, and pure (*candidus*), in his translations from the Greek vying with Hyperides in *illa difficillima Romanis subtilitate* (Quint. 10. 1. 113 and 5. 2). A hint of his restraint and fondness for too little rather than too much is contained in the characteristic anecdote of Seneca Rhetor apropos of *Aeneid* 11. 290: *Messala aiebat hic* [i.e., after *haesit*] *Vergilium debuisse desinere: quod sequitur explementum est* (*Suas.* 2. 20).[1]

It has been said above that the literary work of the poets whom Horace names shows a return to forms which had been cultivated by the older Roman poetry. They were, to be sure, without doubt like Horace himself hostile to the crude workmanship of that older poetry, but their effort was apparently to re-create those substantial forms in a finish and perfection of style which should correspond to the demands of the newer time. In this direction Virgil also worked at a later time with his *Aeneid* (if indeed his *Georgics* do not belong in this category), giving to the Romans a national epic embodying the spirit and Roman dignity of the *Annales*, but executed with an art and stylistic form incomparably more perfect. Something of the same sort could be said of Livy's *History*, which in spirit and purpose does not rise above the older Roman annalists, however much it surpasses them in eloquence and literary form.[2]

[1] Just as the style of Calvus seemed to Cicero lacking in vigor (*verum sanguinem deperdebat, Brut.* 283; *vis non erat, Ad fam.* 15. 21), so Quintilian speaks of Messala as *viribus minor* (10. 1. 113). Horace did not escape the same censure: "*sine nervis* altera quidquid composui pars esse putat." It is the critical counterpart of his own creed, *parcentis viribus.*

[2] Cf. Norden, *Aen.* vi, p. 361: "Jene eigenthümliche Mischung von Altem mit Neuem, die ein hervorstechendes Kennzeichen der augusteischen Aera ist," etc. I have indicated elsewhere that the studies of the Roman purists, like the Greek Atticists, were archaistic in tendency (cf. "The *de Analogia* of Julius Caesar," *Classical Philology*, I, 101).

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The antithesis which I have endeavored to point out between Horace and his friends on the one side, and the school of Cato and Furius on the other, may be traced somewhat further into the Augustan age. For convenience, and without aiming to make rigid categories, we may call the one group Roman or nationalistic, the other Grecizing or Hellenistic. To the former we may now add Tibullus, who, although he uses the elegy, a Hellenistic form, nevertheless deserves to rank as perhaps the most purely Roman of all Latin poets. In literary affiliation he is the friend and client of Messala, a circumstance which justifies the belief that in no small degree he owes to the influence of his patron's principles that careful erasure and elimination of everything that would reveal Greek models or Greek sources of literary influence. In the use of Greek words, Greek proper names, and Greek inflections he is the most sparing of all Roman poets. It was obviously his aim and purpose to create the impression of a Roman poetry native and untouched by foreign models. That which is here said of Tibullus applies equally to the Lygdamus and Sulpicia elegies of the Corpus Tibullianum. Propertius, on the other hand, avows fully and frankly his indebtedness to Greek influences, and in the use of Greek words and Greek inflections, in the whole color of his work, is perhaps most frankly Greek of all the poets of the Augustan age.[1] It is not my purpose to pursue this theme further at the present time. It is a subject so large and so dependent for interest upon illustrative details that to touch it merely in passing is futile and open to the danger of loose generalization, the curse of literary history. I venture, however, to add Ovid to the sequence of the Grecizing poets, but with the qualification that his singular formal talent has accommodated Greek technique to Latin speech with such flexible and plastic art that it is scarcely felt any longer as foreign.[2]

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[1] For Tibullus and Propertius cf. Leo in *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, p. 449 (3d ed.). For the purism of Tibullus see the very interesting study of R. Bürger, "Beiträge zur Elegantia Tibulls," in the volume in honor of Leo, Χάριτες, Berlin, 1911.

[2] I feel that an explanation is due to the readers of this journal for not having taken account of Professor Ullman's acute and suggestive study, in *Classical Philology*, X (1915), entitled "Horace, Catullus, and Tigellius." The truth is that our conceptions of the literary relations between Horace and the neoteric school are so radically at variance that incidental criticism seemed futile, while, obviously, thoroughgoing examination of his position was impossible. It seemed best, therefore, at the present time to confine myself to the positive presentation of my own point of view, reserving criticism for another time.

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ETHNOLOGY AND THE GOLDEN AGE

By George Norlin

It is the common habit of civilized peoples to assume that the fabric of their customs and institutions represents a departure from a primitive condition or state of nature, and to estimate the value and direction of their mode of life by the contrasts which it presents to the days of long ago. But the picture which is drawn of this state of nature is itself colored in no small degree by the prejudices of the moment either for or against present conditions and tendencies. Those who are intoxicated by the wine of their achievements are prone to think of the natural state as the negation of all the good things which man has won for himself in the course of an ever-forward march, while those who have grown oversensitive to the evils of civilization dream of a lost paradise or a golden age.

But in seeking to understand these antithetical points of view we have to reckon with something more than subjective mood or fancy. Culture theorists of the more sober sort have usually sought some basis of historical reality, some solid ground of fact; assuming that in distant parts of the world, far removed from the currents of civilization, people remain very much now as they were in the beginning,[1] they have commonly taken as their point of departure, in tracing the course of human development, facts or reported facts about far-away primitive tribes. Professor J. L. Myers in a recent pamphlet[2] has presented a careful study of the influence of ethnology on modern political science, proving, especially for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that there is a very close relation between the shifting ideas of that period as to the origin and growth of society and the ever-increasing store of information about uncivilized peoples which was opened up by exploration of remote regions of the earth, especially

[1] As Vilhjálmur Stefánson assumes that he found among the Dolphin and Union Straits Eskimos the conditions of the Stone Age: "My Quest in the Arctic," *Harper's Magazine*, CXXVI, 512.

[2] *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science*, University of California Press, February, 1916.

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the Americas. The first accounts of primitive life, derived from discoverers who brought to these aborigines "not peace but a sword,"[1] led to the view of man in his natural state which we see in Shakespeare's Caliban and Hobbes's wretched creature "poor, nasty, and brutish, in continual feare and danger of violent death"—a conception which held the boards until the Jesuit Fathers, approaching the Indians as human beings like themselves, and not seldom meeting with response of docile affection and loyalty, began in their letters home to contrast the simple virtues of these children of nature with the vices of European civilization, and so prepared the way for the ideal savage of Pope and Rousseau.[2]

We have here, if I am not mistaken, an instructive parallel to the influences which determined the course of *Culturgeschichte* in ancient Greece. When the Hellenes established the outposts of their civilization among the hostile tribes which bordered the Mediterranean, and especially on the coasts of what they at first called the Unfriendly Sea, they must have seen in the savage life which opposed and threatened them mainly the dark obverse of their own brighter culture.[3] Their tales of cave-dwelling, man-eating monsters reflect something of this early experience;[4] and as late as Herodotus we find the tendency to dwell, by way of contrast, on the savage customs of the un-Greek world,[5] notably of the northern barbarians.[6] It was inevitable that the Greeks should think of such revolting practices as human sacrifice and cannibalism which they found still existing among uncivilized peoples[7] as survivals from a primitive condition which they in their forward progress had left behind them, and that they should look on Hellenism, especially in the years before the

[1] Myers, p. 2.

[2] Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, VIII, 2 Partie, p. 308: "Avant lui [Rousseau], les missionaires jésuits du Paraguay avaient écrit des *Lettres* ou ils opposaient les vertus de leurs catéchumènes aux vices des civilisés, et répandu en Europe des préjugés sur la supériorité de l'homme sauvage."

[3] See arguments drawn by geographers like Apollodorus from the term *Ἄξενος*, in Strabo vii. 3. 7; and Gilbert Murray's "Greece and the Progress of Man" in *The Rise of the Greek Epic*.

[4] Berard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, II, 175, 245; Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 120.

[5] See especially iii. 38; and Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 44.

[6] Book iv.

[7] Herod. iv. 103, 106; Pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 315 B.

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first flush of their triumph in the Persian Wars had faded, as embodying all that was best in human achievement.[1] The issue of that conflict was, indeed, the final vindication of a mode of life which had been till then by no means unprecarious. In Athens, above all, the past misgivings and hesitations to which the pages of Herodotus bear ample witness now gave way to that exaltation of spirit and confident pressing forward to the future which ushered in her Golden Age;[2] and so, perhaps, it is no accident that Aeschylus, who fought at Marathon and wrote the *Persae*, was, so far as we know, the first Greek to bring into clear relief the idea of human progress from a helpless, brutish existence to the arts of life,[3] or that Sophocles, who as a boy had led the victory chant after Salamis, was inspired to hymn the marvelous conquests of man over the blind forces of a reluctant world.[4]

Henceforth the deliverance of man from savagery to civilization by the grace of Prometheus, or Palamedes, or by his own upward striving becomes a recurring theme of the Athenian drama.[5] The latest example of it in the tragic poets is a fragment of Moschion[6] where we are well on the way to the organic development theory[7] of the fifth book of Lucretius:

> Time was when mortals lived the life of beasts
> And dwelt in mountain grots and sunless caves;
> For sheltering houses they had none as yet
> Nor spacious city strong with masoned towers.

[1] So in Euripides, Orestes, *κοινὸς Ἑλλήνων νόμος* (495), saves the world from the brutish violence of barbarism,

> *τὸ θηριῶδες τοῦτο καὶ μιαιφόνον*
> *παύων, ὃ καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλεις ὅλλυσ' ἀεί* (523, 524)

Cf. Dümmler, *Prolegomena zu Platon's Staat*, pp. 47–49.

[2] For the psychological effects of the defeat of Persia, see Arist. *Pol.* 1341*a*. 30; Diodorus 12. 1. 3, 4.

[3] *Prom. Bound*, 462 ff. Xenophanes anticipates Aeschylus in a brief couplet:

> *οὐτοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖσ' ὑπέδειξαν*
> *ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἀμεῖνον*

Frag. 18 in Diels *Frag. der VorSokratiker*. The idea of improvement in human conditions was, of course, implicit in culture-hero myths; it may possibly have been a part of epic tradition, but the dating of the Homeric Hymn to Hephaestus is pure guesswork.

[4] *Antigone* 332–64.

[5] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, pp. 59, 236, 542, 771, 931; Eur. *Suppl.* 201 ff.; Meineke, *Poet. Com. Graec.*, pp. 706, 707.

[6] Nauck, p. 813.

[7] Benn, *Greek Philosophers*, II, 99.

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No curving plows then broke the swarthy glebe,
The nurse of corn, nor pruning iron bestowed
Its care on teeming rows of vines; but Earth
Was waste and barren, yielding up no fruit.[1]
Men fed on human flesh by slaughtering men;
And Law lay prostrate; Violence sat the throne
With Zeus; the strong devoured the helpless weak.
But soon as Time, which brings all things to birth
And fosters all, had wrought again a change
In human life, whether by lending them
Prometheus' wit or sheer Necessity
Or Nature's self, through long experience,
To be their guide, divine Demeter's gift
Was found, a gentle sustenance; and found
Was also Bacchus' pleasant spring; the land,
Unsown before, was plowed by spans of oxen;
Cities now they girt with walls and houses built,
And changed their savage life to gentle ways.
Thenceforth the law enjoined to hide the dead
In tombs and give to the unsepulchered
Their due of dust, and not to leave exposed
Reminders of their former ghastly feast.[2]

Moschion's sketch dates probably from the fourth century, but, although the notion of progress upward from savagery recurs in this period and later,[3] it is especially characteristic of the pride of achievement and buoyant optimism which followed the Persian Wars.[4]

[1] Reading *κοὐ τροφὴν φέρουσα.*

[2] It is significant that every detail of this picture of primitive savagery may be supplied from the wild tribes described by Herodotus in his fourth book: the Troglodytes dwell in caves and are in other ways little removed from animality (183); the Scythians have no walled cities or fixed abodes (46); nor do they plow (19); the Androphagoi are the most savage of human creatures; they are without restraint of any principle of right or law, and feed on men (106).

It is, of course, not necessary to assume that Moschion took his colors directly from Herodotus; the essential point is that such details of ethnology were available in the fifth century and probably earlier. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, I, 312 (also Dümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 28), derives Moschion's sketch directly from Protagoras' *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*, but Protagoras may have been indebted to Herodotus, perhaps "talked with him about ethnology at Thurii" as Gomperz fancies (I, 353); cf. also, Nestle, *Herodot's Verhältnis zur Philosophie und Sophistik*, pp. 17, 18.

[3] See Isocrates *Panegyricus* 28; Aristotle *Pol.* 1269 A 5; Diodorus i. 8; Delphic Inscription in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellenique*, 1900, p. 96; and Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, p. 217.

[4] Gomperz, I, 311, 312.

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Toward the end of the fifth century there is a marked cooling down of enthusiasm for things as they are[1] and, from this time on, in increasing disenchantment, a growing conviction, indeed, that civilization has lost the way; that it represents an aberration, a παρέκβασις, from the right path; and that, after all that may be said for the present mode of life, its outstanding facts are greed, luxury, and man's inhumanity to man.

This reaction of feeling is strikingly instanced in the disposition of the philosophers, beginning with Socrates, to hold aloof from political life and to live more and more in the realm of the ideal,[2] and, above all, in the cry, "Back to Nature," which became the dominating idea of the Cynics and, after them, of the Stoic school for centuries. Nature is now no longer "red in tooth and claw with ravin," but is the wise teacher and sure guide which erratic society has ignored or contemned; and the natural man is no longer the savage "nasty and brutish," but a simple and kindly being, having but little and that little in common with others, and with that little content; and he is to be found only in a far-away past, a Hesiodic Golden Age, or in a far-away present which civilization has not touched and spoiled.

Such reversions to Hesiodic pessimism were evidently in the air before the fifth century closed.[3] Perhaps they start with the Sophist Hippias whom Gomperz regards as the precursor of the Cynics and Stoics.[4] At any rate, they are reflected in Plato,[5] who, in certain moods, associates the virtues of temperance and justice with primitive conditions of a bygone age. In the *Laws*[6] he pictures the early state of society as one of pastoral simplicity where all have enough to satisfy their necessary wants, but none is rich or poor, and so there is no occasion for envy or insolence or injustice to arise. In another passage of the same dialogue[7] he refers to the view that, of old, men

[1] The after-glow of the triumph over Persia lingers fifty years, according to Diodorus xii. 1. 3, 4.

[2] Plato *Rep.* 496 D, E.

[3] Pherecretes' Ἄγριοι seems to have been a burlesque on already current idealisations of uncivilised life. Plato *Protag.* 327 D; see Nestle, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[4] *Griechische Denker*, I, 348.

[5] Barker, *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, pp. 151, 190.

[6] 679 A–E; cf. *Laws* 713. [7] 782 A–D.

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lived on the fruits of the earth, abstaining from flesh in Orphic fashion; and in the *Republic*, in which Socrates sketches the origin of a city in a state of health, he prescribes a diet exclusively vegetarian—bread and cakes and fruit spread out on the grass; the people reclining on boughs of myrtle and yew, wholesomely enjoying the frugal fare and each other's pleasant company, sound of limb and long of life and transmitting to their children an idyllic existence like their own. To this Glaucon objects that Socrates would not do differently if he were prescribing for a community of swine, and insists that people should live in a civilized manner with couches and tables and the dishes and desserts of a modern bill of fare. "Very good," says Socrates, "we are considering, it seems, not the growth of a healthy city merely, but of a city luxurious and inflamed. I dare say it is not a bad idea for thus we shall discover the rise of justice and injustice."[1]

This notion that the fever of modern life sets in with the departure from the simple diet of the fruits of the earth is the basis of the *Culturgeschichte* of the geographer Dicaearchus, if we may trust Porphyry's brief summary of his *History of Greek Civilization*. Men lived in the beginning like Hesiod's Golden Race; they possessed none of the arts, not even that of tilling the soil; they subsisted on nature's food, fruits and herbs, without want and without surfeit, and therefore in a state of health, leisure, peace, and amity. There was no struggle for existence, no ground for strife, no cause for war. Then came the pastoral stage when people began to own property, to eat flesh, and to live luxuriously. Then arose envy, dissension, wars, which increased in the more elaborate life of the agricultural stage.[2]

Dicaearchus was known to Rousseau and perhaps influenced him,[3] but the exact analogue to the "Back to Nature" cult in the eighteenth century is to be found in the teaching, and apparently in the practice, of the Cynics, notably Antisthenes and Diogenes.

[1] *Rep.* 372 B–E; and Adam's Commentary; cf. Myers, *Herodotus and Anthropology*, p. 163. But Plato does not commit himself to this point of view; his sympathy with it in this passage is playful, not to say ironical (Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62); here, as elsewhere, the dramatist-philosopher eludes classification. See Paul Shorey "Plato, Lucretius, and Epicurus," *Harvard Studies in Class. Philology*, XII, 208.

[2] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, II, 233.

[3] Pöhlmann, *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*, I, 113.

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Like Rousseau they condemned Prometheus as the great enemy of mankind.[1] The gods had withheld fire because they desired that men should continue in the ideal state of the Golden Age. The arts and institutions of civilization have enslaved us to effeminacy, luxury, and injustice. Hardiness, self-sufficiency, and spontaneous kindness are to be found only in the natural state or among the lower animals.[2] For the Cynics drew lessons, not only from uncivilized people, but from the animal world; like Walt Whitman, they—

Could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained.

. . . . . .

They do not sweat and whine about their condition.
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins.
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things.
Not one kneels to another nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago.
Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.[3]

From the Cynics the doctrine is taken over by the Stoics. Zeno, the founder of the school, defined the ideal society as a state of nature where the characteristic features of the modern city are conspicuously absent: it has no temples, no gymnasiums, no law courts, no money, no slaves, no private property even in women and children;[4] and it becomes a commonplace of Stoic thought that the course of civilization has been steadily away from the natural kindness and contentment of the Golden Age. Aratus, for example, draws a pretty picture of the good old days when men had not yet sailed the sea in search of gain, but were satisfied to till the soil and to subsist on the produce of their fields. The spirit of Justice then lived on earth, ever present with men and ever heeded by them, and there was no strife, no lawsuits, no slaughter. In the less righteous Silver Age Justice retired to the mountains, whence she came down at evening to chide the people for their sins and to warn them of evils to come. When the cruel race of bronze was born, which was the first to forge the sword and slay oxen for food,[5] she withdrew

[1] Gompers, *op. cit.*, II, 117; Dio Chrys. *Or.* vi. 25, 30.

[2] Dio Chrys. *Or.* vi. 21–34.

[3] *Ibid.*, xl. 32.

[4] Diog. Laert. vii. 33.

[5] See Plutarch's use of these lines in his sketch of the progress of cruelty from the killing of animals to the wholesale slaughter of men in war, Περὶ Σαρκοφαγίας, 998 A–B.

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altogether from this odious generation and went to dwell in the heavens.[1] Posidonius, also, the last representative of Greek Stoicism and a great popularizer of the doctrine to the Roman world, associated justice with the golden simplicity of the life of primitive man, and regarded the slaughter of animals for food as the fatal step toward organized cruelty and war.[2]

Now these thinkers were not merely playing with traditional fancies to express their revolt against the shams and shows of artificial society; neither could they have been blind to the fact that civilization represents, at least in some respects, an advance over primitive conditions; *πόλις ἄνθρωπον διδάσκει* was a truth as obvious to them as to Simonides. They were not, however, obsessed by our modern habit of measuring progress in terms of "Twentieth Century Limiteds" and high explosives;[3] on the contrary, the ancient sages from Socrates to Marcus Aurelius emphasize the insignificance of the external trappings and circumstances of life and the all-importance of that right state of the soul in relation to other souls which they called *δικαιοσύνη*; and the reactionary view which prevails from the fourth century on evidently rests on a sincere conviction that whatever gains civilization may have made have been won at the expense of that social sympathy and kindness which are fundamental for human well-being. Even Lucretius, who is our best source for the theory of progress, cannot shake himself free from a cynical view of contemporary civilization;[4] his doctrine of the simple life according to nature differs very little from that of the Cynics and the Stoics;[5] his picture of the life of primitive man borrows attractive colors from the Hesiodic description of the Golden Race[6] and anticipates in many points the ideal savage of Rousseau.[7] Existence had its tragedies

[1] *Phaenomena* 101–34.

[2] "primaque e caede ferarum
Incaluisse putem maculatum sanguine ferrum" [Ovid *Met.* xv. 107].
Ovid's picture of degeneration is probably derived, through Varro, from Posidonius; see Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 194, and Georges Lafaye, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, pp. 198–202.

[3] This point is sufficiently emphasized by Ferrero, *Ancient Rome and Modern America*, p. 46 and *passim*.

[4] For a full discussion of the problem presented by Lucretius' inconsistency, see Eduard Norden, "Philosophische Ansichten über die Entstehung des Menschengeschlechts, seine kulturelle Entwicklung und das goldene Zeitalter," in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für Class. Phil.*, Suppl., Band 19, pp. 416 ff.

[5] See beginning of Book ii. [6] v. 942 ff. [7] v. 925 ff.

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then, such as occasional death from wild beasts, but it is left for the refined cruelty of a later age to send in a single day thousands of men, marching with banners spread, into the jaws of death[1]—a sentiment which is not far removed from the Stoic commonplace that progress in power has meant progress in cruelty and that our inventions have been turned to our destruction.[2]

The first influence, then, which we have to take into account in explaining the theory of degeneration is an out-and-out disenchantment with the results of the arts and inventions of civilized man.[3] This alone is, perhaps, enough to inspire poetic dreams of an ideal past; but the well-considered doctrine of the philosophers that man in the natural state is endowed with the fundamental social virtues which the characteristic institutions of civilization have conspired to vitiate or destroy must, to some extent at least, have been grounded on experience and observation. When they sought for justice in the actual relations of living men, they found it, not in the τρυφῶσα πόλις as Plato calls it, but in the more simple life of peasants and shepherds where πλεονεξία had not dried up the milk of human kindness;[4] and among far-away races whose primitive conditions had remained undisturbed by contact with the sophisticated world.

The ethnology of so-called primitive peoples has always presented striking contrasts to the life of civilization, and these contrasts have not always favored the latter. Professor Tylor in his chapter on the "Development of Culture," admits that "ethnographers, who seek in modern savages types of the remotely ancient human race at large, are bound by such examples to consider the rude life of primeval man under favorable conditions to have been, in its measure, a good and happy life."[5] He refers to the experience of Sir Alfred Wallace, who says:

> I have lived with communities of savages, in South America and in the East, who have no laws or law courts but the public opinion of the village

[1] v. 988 ff.

[2] Seneca *N.Q.* 5. 18. 15, "nihil invenies tam manifestae utilitatis quod non in contrarium transeat culpa"; cf. Tibull. i. 10. 1–6, and Kirby Smith's commentary.

[3] "Eine übersättigte Cultur, im Ekel vor sich selbst," Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[4] "Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
ut prisca gens mortalium,
paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni faenore."

[5] *Primitive Culture*, I, 30.

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freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellow, and any infriction of these rights rarely or never takes place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There are none of those wide distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant, which are the products of our civilization; there is none of that widespread division of labor, which, while it increases wealth, also produces conflicting influences; there is not that severe competition and struggle for existence, or for wealth, which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitements to great crimes are thus wanting, and petty ones are repressed, partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that natural sense of justice and of his neighbor's rights, which seems to be in some degree inherent in every race of man. Now, although we have progressed vastly beyond the savage state in intellectual achievements, we have not advanced equally in morals. . . . . It is not too much to say that the mass of our populations have not at all advanced beyond the savage code of morals and have in many cases sunk below it.[1]

The Greeks also had from an early period traditions of such innocent tribes, who, living simply, without differentiation of property or function, were "the justest of men." There were, for example, the Aethiopians in the extreme South and the Indians of the Far East,[2] but these were semifabulous races of whom they had no direct knowledge. Their actual experience with uncivilized tribes was drawn mainly from the contact of their settlements with the peoples north and east of the Black Sea.[3] As early as Homer we have a reference to the Mysians who fed on the milk of mares and were *δικαιότατοι ἀνθρώπων*.[4] Aeschylus in a fragment of the *Prometheus Unbound* speaks of the well-governed Scythians, whose food is the milk of mares;[5] and in another fragment of the same play[6] there is a more extended sketch of the Gabians, a people most righteous and

[1] *Malay Archipelago*, II, 460–61. For similar observations and generalizations, compare Stefánson, "My Quest in the Arctic," *Harper's Magazine*, CXXVI, 512; and Georg Forster's confirmation of the Garden of Eden story from his explorations with Captain Cook, cited by Myers, p. 44.

[2] Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[3] For the experience of the Greeks with these northern tribes, see the introduction to the thorough work of Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*.

[4] Il. xiii. 4–6.

[5] Nauck, 198; cf. Choerilus, frag. 13 (Didot):

μηλονόμοι δὲ Σάκαι, γενεῇ Σκύθαι . . .
νομάδων γε μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι
ἀνθρώπων νομίμων.

[6] Nauck, 196.

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kindly to strangers, who do not stir the soil with plow or hoe, but live on the natural produce of the earth.[1]

Even Herodotus, who sees in the northern tribes mainly unregenerate savages,[2] makes exceptions of the Argippaeans, whose food is the fruit of trees, who wrong no man, and are wronged by none;[3] and of the Issedonians, who, save for one savage custom, are said to be just, and to treat their women as equals.[4]

The geographer Ephorus, who was apparently the first to describe the Scythian tribes at any length, contrasted two types of these northern barbarians, the savage *Ἀνθρωποφάγοι* and a sequestered tribe of nomads whom he identifies with Homer's *Γαλακτοφάγοι*. The latter he describes as dwelling in wagons, abstaining from animal food, harming no living thing, having all things in common, even wives and children, waging no war against others, and free from attack because they possessed nothing to tempt aggression.[5] The philosopher Posidonius, whose interests embraced also geography and ethnology, devoted much attention to the Mysians, their pious scruples against taking life, their diet of milk and honey and cheese, their moral simplicity and innocence,[6] and appears to have drawn from them arguments for his theory of the original state of man in the Golden Age.[7]

There were not wanting those who, as Apollodorus, took a consistent view of savagery and dismissed such accounts as poetic moonshine.[8] Against these skeptics Strabo takes up the cudgels and challenges them to explain the fact that some of the nomad Scythians of his own day still preserved very much the same manner of life as that ascribed to them by earlier authorities, notwithstanding that by this time Greek civilization had spread its degenerative influence

[1] It is tempting to take Eumenides, 706, *οὐτ' ἐν Σκύθαισιν οὔτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις* to mean that Scythia and Sparta are the traditional homes of justice, as do Riese (*Die Idealisirung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, p. 11) and Pöhlmann (*op. cit.*, I, 134), but surely the significance of these places is here purely geographical; cf. Soph. *Oed. Col.*, 694.

[2] iv. 127. [3] iv. 23. [4] iv. 26.

[5] Müller, *Fr. Hist. Graec.*, I, 257, p. 257; frags. 76, 78.

[6] Strabo vii. 3. 3.

[7] Schmekel, *Die Phil. d. Mittl. Stoa.*, pp. 287–88.

[8] *Πλάσματα*, Strabo vii. 3. 7, 10.

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to almost all peoples of the world and infected them, especially where they had come into contact with the sea, with the poison of greed and inhumanity.[1]

It is easy to read both in and between the lines of Strabo's extended discussion of this question that his interest in it is not merely that of a dispassionate ethnographer, but almost that of a zealot who is defending an important article of faith.[2] His earnestness and heat betray as evidently as if he had said it in so many words that he is here the spokesman of a sect who cherished the nomad Scythians as a pure type of man in the natural state and derived from them the principal argument for their belief in the degenerative influence of civilization.[3]

If, furthermore, we take the outstanding features in the description of these northern tribes—a pastoral or prepastoral life; a frugal, mainly a vegetarian, diet; community of property or no property at all; community of wives and children; a peaceful, orderly, and kindly existence—and compare them with the characteristics ascribed by the philosophers to the original state of man in the Golden Age, the correspondence is too exact to be accidental.

But to what extent the facts suggested theory or theory supplied the facts is, perhaps, open to discussion. The historicity of the milk-eating, peace-loving nomads is commonly doubted; Rohde, for example, apparently treats them as a product of the idealizing imagination and thinks them as unreal as the Hyperboreans;[4] and our

[1] vii. 3. 7.

[2] vii. 3. 7, 11: *ἁπλουστάτους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς νομίζομεν καὶ ἥκιστα κακεντρεχεῖς εὐτελεστέρους τε πολὺ ἡμῶν καὶ αὐταρκεστέρους.*

[3] *ἃ δοκεῖ μὲν εἰς ἡμερότητα συντείνειν διαφθείρει δὲ τὰ ἤθη καὶ ποικιλίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἁπλότητος . . εἰσάγει* (vii. 3. 7, 22) reveals the Stoic.

[4] *Der griech. Roman.*, p. 217. Rhode follows Riese, who contends that the tradition of the nomad Scythians begins with Homer, whose fancy sketched the first outline of a milk-eating, just-dealing, northern race, and that henceforth the Greek imagination filled in the sketch with various ideals, mainly Pythagorean and Platonic (*op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21). Riese dismisses the researches of Ephorus as bookish and second-hand. Neumann, however, regards Ephorus as a trustworthy authority, who may idealise the customs of the Scythians, but always does so on a basis of fact (*op. cit.*, I, 315 ff.).

The crux of the problem is the community of wives and children. This according to Riese is read into the institutions of the Scythians from Plato. But, in the first place, the limited communism of Plato is not the communism attributed to the Scythians; and, in the next place, Plato cannot be held responsible for the sexual

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own view is likely to be determined by a more or less a priori assumption of how the Stone Man and his later representatives should have behaved in order not to disturb a consistent plan of evolution. But we can at any rate be sure of these points: that the nomad Scythians of Ephorus were regarded by the Greeks generally as historical;[1] that the preponderance of ancient authority is in favor of this view; and that there is ethnologically no improbability in attributing to uncivilized tribes of that time the unspoiled simplicity and the substantial virtues which Stefánson found in the Eskimos, who had never seen a white man, and which led him to infer that "the hand of evolution had written the Golden Rule in the hearts of the contemporaries of the mammoth millenniums before the Pyramids were built."[2]

We are, then, in accord with the testimony of antiquity as well as with modern experience in concluding that the Greeks in their contact with uncivilized peoples found two sets of facts—one which supported the view that primeval man existed in a slough of brutish

promiscuity, more or less idealized, ascribed by Herodotus to the Auseans (iv. 180); to the Agathyrsians (iv. 104); and to the Massagetae (i. 216). Furthermore, it is quite clear from the last reference that the common Greek view, from which Herodotus here dissents, attributed this custom to the Scythians as did Ephorus and later writers generally (see, fr. ex., Nicolaus Damascenus, 123; Müller, III, 460). Indeed, such contrasts to their own marriage customs the Greeks found in many parts of the world; other examples are reported by Aristotle, *Pol.* 1262 A 19; Xanthus, frag. 28; Theopompus, frag. 222; Nicolaus, frags. 111, 135, in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*; and Diodorus ii. 58—enough to give plausibility to the dramatic exaggeration in Eur. *Andromache*, 173 ff.

τοιοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος
πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται
κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ. . . . . .
. . . . καὶ τῶν δ' οὐδὲν ἐξείργει νόμος.

For parallels from modern ethnology, see Andrew Lang's article "Family," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

No one denies, so far as I know, that the customs of the so-called nature peoples have been "idealised" in interpretation, as when Strabo says that the Scythians had wives and children in common πλατονικῶς (vii. 3.7) or when Lewis Morgan finds the exact conditions of his "Maylayan" or "Consanguine" family in Plato's *Timaeus* 18 C, D. (*Ancient Society*, p. 417); but it seems more probable that ethnological facts, however imperfectly understood, should have given suggestion to theory (see Gompers, II, 413; Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, p. 56; and Adam's edition of Plato's *Republic*, I, 355) than that Plato's ideal of communism should have been foisted on the nomad Scythians and other primitive peoples.

[1] Strabo vii. 3. 7, 10. αὕτη ἡ ὑπόληψις καὶ νῦν ἔτι συμμένει παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

[2] "My Quest in the Arctic," *Harper's Magazine*, CXXVI, 512.

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savagery, the other that he lived in an Eden of innocent simplicity; that at the time of exultant pride in their own life and contempt for what lay outside of it they seized on savage and revolting practices among the wild barbarians as typical of the dark age from which they were confidently pressing forward to a golden future; and that later in a period of discontent and disillusionment their philosophers emphasized the uncorrupted virtues of primitive races to prove that time must "run back and fetch the Age of Gold."[1]

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[1] The poetic fancy of Milton and Vergil and Shelley that the Golden Age will be restored is also a Stoic hope. See Kirby Smith's article "Ages of the World" in *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 198.

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THE SOURCES AND THE EXTENT OF PETRARCH'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIFE OF VERGIL

By Duane Reed Stuart

A conspicuous feature of Vergilian study in the last decade and a half has been the effort to arrive at a saner conception of the events of the poet's life than has held good hitherto. That substantial progress has been made in this direction is undeniable. The higher criticism of the *Appendix* and of the *Eclogues* which, at least from the beginning of this century, has usurped perhaps the supreme place in the interests of students of Vergil has precipitated fruitful, though not always final, discussion of various topics germane to the poet's life and literary activities and has furnished us with new standards for differentiating *Wahrheit und Dichtung* in his works. Furthermore, thanks to the editions of the *Vitae Vergilianae* produced by Diehl[1] and Brummer,[2] books which supplied a long-felt want, and to sundry articles from the pens of Klotz,[3] Kroll,[4] Leo,[5] Norden,[6] Vollmer,[7] and others, we may boast of a newly acquired intelligence in the use of the ancient biographies of Vergil.

These additions that latter-day research has made to our knowledge of Vergil's life have been due, of course, not to the discovery of new documentary evidence, but to the rationalistic criticism of sources long existing. An enlightened estimate of the reliability of the data contained in these sources has freed us from inveterate and "vulgar errors." So far as the raw material for the reconstruction of Vergil's life is concerned, the humanists of the fifteenth century were equipped about as adequately as are we. At least, after the discovery of the *Catalepton*—as Birt has taught us in *Jugendverse*

[1] *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen* (Bonn, 1911).

[2] *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipzig, 1912).

[3] *Rh. Mus.*, LXVI (1911), 155–60; LXVII (1912), 306–9.

[4] *Ibid.*, LXIV (1909), 50–55.

[5] *Hermes*, XXXVIII (1903), 1–18.

[6] *Rh. Mus.*, LXI (1906), 166–177.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 481–90; *SB. der Bayer. Ak. Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1909, Abhand. 9, pp. 5–11.

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und Heimatpoesie Vergils, no negligible source of information—they could have laid their hands on all the essential primary sources included in our modern apparatus. Nolhac goes so far as to say (*Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2d ed., I, 124) that even Petrarch, at the dawn of the Revival of Learning, knew concerning the life of Vergil all that can be learned from the poems and well-nigh all that the ancient sources and testimonia have to offer.

Petrarch's acquaintance with the genuine version of the *Vita* written by Aelius Donatus and based, as we know, on the biography of Vergil included in the *De viris illustribus* of Suetonius has long been regarded as indisputable. Nevertheless, no formal attempt has been made to present the evidence on which this belief rests except by Sabbadini,[1] whose studies have contributed in large measure to our knowledge of the classical scholarship of the Renaissance. Nolhac in both editions of his great work asserts categorically that Petrarch had read the Life of Vergil written by Donatus, but only in the first edition does he adduce any evidence in support of his affirmation. This evidence consists in a single datum which, unfortunately, turned out to be quite untenable. In note 6, p. 106, Nolhac reported the existence on the cover-leaf of the celebrated Vergil of Petrarch, which is now one of the treasures of the Ambrosian Library, of a long citation accompanied by the surface reference, *Donatus in vita Virgilii*. As Sabbadini subsequently pointed out,[2] the citation is not derived from the Suetonian Life, and the supposed surface reference is non-existent. Petrarch's appeal is to the commentary of Donatus on the *Eclogues*, whatever it was that the humanist knew under this name.[3] Nolhac tacitly admitted his mistake by excising this part of his original note from his second edition (see p. 124). However, he left the statement in the text unaltered, presumably because he was content to rest his case on Sabbadini's

[1] "Quali biografie vergiliane fossero note al Petrarca," *Rend. del r. ist. Lomb. di sc. e litt.*, XXXIX (1906), 193–98.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

[3] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, pp. 38–39, presents evidence that Petrarch had a commentary on the *Eclogues*, believed by him to be the work of Donatus. This is another rubric in the enigmas attached to the history of the commentary of Donatus. Let us hope that Professor Rand has put us on the road to a solution; see *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), 158.

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article, which had appeared just prior to the publication of the second edition of *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*.

As the result of an endeavor to test for my own satisfaction and instruction the validity of the arguments advanced by Sabbadini in favor of the accepted view, I have found myself, to my own surprise, forced to the conclusion that the treatment previously accorded to this topic is unconvincing and incomplete. The pertinent data are far from being exhausted. I have tried, therefore, to assemble with greater fulness than has been done all that Petrarch knew or thought that he knew about the life and the personality of Vergil. Thus we shall be in a position to project upon the point at issue all available evidence and to realize in general the character and the sources of the great humanist's information concerning the Roman poet who was one of the chief idols and mentors of his intellectual life. First, I shall have to crave the patience of the reader while I summarize Sabbadini's arguments in the order in which he sets them forth.

1. In Petrarch's text of the Servian commentary on the works of Vergil, which frames the text of the poems in the *Ambrosianus*, Tarentum is cited as the place where Vergil breathed his last.[1] According to Donatus, ll. 131–32,[2] and Jerome *Euseb. Chron.* 2. 1998, the poet died at Brundisium. Petrarch twice refers to this variant tradition, once in *Famil.* 13. 4, Vol. II, p. 223, Fracassetti: "cuius cinerem vel Tarento ereptum vel Brundisio tua possidet ac sua Parthenope," again in *Itiner. Syriac.*: "Tarentum tibi monstrabitur . . . . fatalis locus; quamvis alii Brundisium dicant." In the latter reference, *alii*, says Sabbadini, would seem to point to Donatus and Jerome.

2. In the Life by Donatus, ll. 100–103, is found the allusion, quoted by all the handbooks, to the pre-eminence bespoken for the *Aeneid* by Propertius in the famous couplet 2. 34. 65–66: "Aeneidos vixdum coeptae tanta extitit fama, ut Sextus Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare:

> cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
> nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade."

[1] The passage in question is found in the later manuscripts of Servius, such as the Codex Dresdensis; see Thilo-Hagen, I, p. 4.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, references to the *Vita Donatiana* are given according to Brummer's text.

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In Petrarch's second letter to Cicero (*Famil.* 24. 4, Vol. III, p. 266 Frac.), we read: "ut Aeneidi cederet Ilias [te] iussurum fuisse non dubito, quod iam ab initio Vergiliani laboris Propertius asseverare non timuit. Ubi enim Pierii operis fundamenta contemplatus est, quid de illis sentiret, et quid speraret aperte pronunciavit his versibus: cedite," etc. Sabbadini asserts that Petrarch's words could not have been based directly on the text of Propertius, but must have been suggested by the context in the *Vita*, since here alone do we find definite, chronological allusion to the inchoate state of the *Aeneid*, expressed in the sentence "vixdum coeptae . . . . fama," to which the phrase "iam ab initio Vergiliani laboris" harks back.

3. In *Famil.* 3. 11, Vol. I, p. 164 Frac., Petrarch refers to letters written by Augustus to Vergil and Horace, and to the democratic tone adopted by the Princeps in this correspondence with his two friends: "Mitto alia, iis fortasse mirabilia, ... qui . . . . principis illius ad eosdem humiles amicos, velut ex aequo missas, et saepe dulcibus blanditiis refertas, epistolas non legissent." Sabbadini remarks that only in the Life by Donatus is reported the letter of Augustus to Vergil. The context is given in ll. 104–7: "Augustus vero . . . . supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitaret, 'ut sibi de Aeneide,' ut ipsius verba sunt, 'vel prima carminis *ὑπογραφή* vel quodlibet *κῶλον* mitteretur.'"

4. Near the end of the poetical epistle to Vergil, Petrarch refers to the frustration of Vergil's wish that the *Aeneid* be burned:

> . . . . miserum Aeneam iam summa premebant
> fata manu, iamque ore tuo damnatus abibat,
> arsurumque iterum pietas Augusta secundis
> eripuit flammis, quem non morientis amici
> deiecti movere animi, meritoque supremas
> contempsisse preces aevo laudabitur omni [*Famil.* 24. 11, Vol. III, p. 292 Frac.]

Sabbadini sees in the words *arsurumque . . . . flammis* a reminiscence of the celebrated epigram of Sulpicius, quoted in one of its two variant versions in the Life, ll. 142 f. The concluding couplet runs thus:

> infelix gemino cecidit prope Pergamon igni,
> et paene est alio Troia cremata rogo.

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Now, in my opinion, the cogency of these arguments is by no means absolute; examination will show that they do not all stand close scrutiny. Certain objections are bound to occur to one who is intent on settling beyond peradventure of a doubt the interesting, and not entirely trivial, question as to the biographies of Vergil known to Petrarch and utilized by him.

Apropos of Sabbadini's first point, it may well be urged that the plural *alii* does not definitely betoken a duality of sources. It is quite conceivable that Petrarch might have derived from the *Chronicon* only the tradition that makes Brundisium the scene of Vergil's death, and still have permitted *alii* to slip from his pen. Such laxity in reference is, as we know, one of those venial sins against the ethics of strict quotation that find ample analogy in the writers of every age. Or by the plural Petrarch may have intended to allude, not specifically to variant tradition found in one group of literary sources, but in general terms to report the currency, among one set of the *litterati* and *curiosi* of his own time, of the belief that Brundisium had stronger claims on the melancholy distinction than had Tarentum.

Luckily, however, we do not have to confine ourselves to conjectures as to what liberties Petrarch may have allowed himself in the technique of quotation. There is a third passage, overlooked by Sabbadini, the evidence of which is directly pertinent. In *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, Lib. 2. dial. 125 (p. 686, edition of 1649), Petrarch writes: "Virgilium mundo dedit Mantua; Brundisium, sive ut alii perhibent, Tarentum rapuit, nunc Neapolis tenet." Now, as I have previously remarked, the statement that Vergil died at Tarentum is found in certain late manuscripts of Servius, in which we find appended to the Servian biography of the poet the words: "periit autem Tarenti in Apuliae civitate," etc. (see Thilo-Hagen, p. 4; Diehl, p. 42). The exemplar from which Petrarch's text of Servius was derived belonged to this class. Furthermore, the Servian Life is the *only* literary source that presents this tradition. Hence it is evident that in the passage cited above Petrarch used *alii* loosely or was referring primarily to contemporary opinion. Evidently no inference of any weight can be derived from his use of *alii* in the passage from the *Itiner. Syriac.* cited by Sabbadini as an

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indication that Petrarch had in mind the Life by Donatus as one of two sources.

As to Sabbadini's second argument: only a rather determined prejudgment could maintain that the lines of Propertius, read in the original context, give no pretext (*non da alcun appiglio*) for such chronological assumptions as those expressed in the words of Petrarch, "iam ab initio Virgiliani laboris" and "operis fundamenta contemplatus est." The context in Propertius speaks quite plainly of the inchoate *Aeneid:*

61 [iuvet] Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi
Caesaris et fortes dicere posse rates,
qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma
iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.
Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
66 nescioquid maius nascitur Iliade.

Lines 63–64 contain an unmistakable reminiscence of the opening lines of the *Aeneid*, as Rothstein *ad loc.* has observed. Certainly no great exegetical acumen was essential in order to discern that it is the *initia ipsa* of the *Aeneid* that are here echoed, that "nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma" "is now stirring to action the arms of Trojan Aeneas," means in poetical but plain language that the *Aeneid* was in the early stages of composition. *Nascitur* also is no obscure chronological indication, whether read in the context of the elegy or in the isolated couplet. We know enough about the technique of the author of the *Vita* to realize that probably the sole authority for the words *Aeneidos vixdum coeptae* was inference based on the passage from Propertius. It would be a needlessly harsh commentary on the intelligence of Petrarch to deny him the possession of the same degree of critical sense. Petrarch had read Propertius directly; two citations in the Ambrosian Vergil prove this fact beyond cavil.[1]

It is, of course, one thing to contend that Petrarch's allusion could have been inspired solely by his knowledge of the elegy of Propertius, another to maintain that this was actually the case. One's attitude will be directly affected by what one can learn as to whether Petrarch knew the Life by Donatus and how far he depended

[1] See Nolhac, I, 171; on reminiscences of Propertius in the poetry of Petrarch, consult J. S. Phillimore's addendum to Ellis, *Catullus in the 14th Century* (London, 1905), pp. 29–30.

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on it, if at all. We must therefore reserve decision until all the forthcoming evidence has been examined. In the meantime, it is none the less essential to sound criticism to call attention to the over-dogmatism of Sabbadini in his treatment of this particular point.

There is an additional possibility which no thoroughgoing discussion should fail to take into consideration. Sabbadini assumes that only an alternative of sources existed for Petrarch's knowledge of the couplet, that he had perforce read it, if not in the elegy directly, then in the *Vita*. Herewith the fact is overlooked that the couplet has a textual tradition apart from both Propertius and the *Vita*. As the estimate given by one great poet of the masterpiece of a greater contemporary, the lines naturally attained great celebrity, hence were taken up by the *Florilegia*. Thus they are found in the Codex Salmasianus and in Parisinus 8069; see Baehrens, *PLM*, IV, 158, No. 163, Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, I, 214, No. 264. Certain poems of the *Anthology* were known to Petrarch—of one of these more hereafter. We cannot, of course, presume to say that a sylloge containing this couplet had been in Petrarch's hands. It may, however, with propriety be asserted that even a limited currency of the distich in extant *excerpta* enhances the possibility of Petrarch's having read it elsewhere than in the Life. A denial of the truth of one of Sabbadini's alternatives therefore does not inevitably prove the other. As it appears in the *Anthology*, the titulus indicates the authorship of the distich, and, as has been said, *nascitur* alone would justify inference on the part of an enlightened exegete.

Sabbadini's third argument, viewed by him as *un altro indizio sicuro*, does at first sight seem to be the most conclusive of all. He takes it for granted that the passage in *Famil.* 3. 11 transcribed above, in so far as it relates to the correspondence of Augustus with Vergil, was evoked by acquaintance with the brief quotation culled by the author of the *Vita* from the letter to Vergil. It is true that only in the Life by Donatus among our extant sources does an excerpt from this letter occur. Priscian, an author studied by Petrarch from his youth on and frequently cited by him, quotes (p. 901, Keil, Vol. II, p. 533), the words *excucurristi a Neapoli* addressed by Caesar to Vergil and, as we must suppose, notwithstanding the absence of surface reference, extracted from a letter written by the

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Princeps to Vergil while the poet was sojourning in Campania. These three words offer scant grounds for such a generalization as Petrarch's, yet they do show that Augustus wrote to Vergil as man to man. From Macrobius also Petrarch knew that Vergil was a favored correspondent of Augustus; in the oft-quoted passage, *Saturnalia* 1. 24. 10–11, he had read a part of Vergil's reply to the request of Augustus for some specimen portion of the *Aeneid*, a petition which was preferred in the letter partly quoted in the Life. Vergil's reply begins: "ego vero frequentes a te litteras accipio." Petrarch, of course, was intimately acquainted with the works of Macrobius. How well he knew this passage in the *Saturnalia* is shown by *Seniles* 4. 5, p. 785, *Opera*,[1] where he alludes directly to the letter of Vergil, reproduces the substance, and echoes the language of the whole context, thus: "Virgilium . . . . constat divino illo in opere quod sibi ultimum est . . . . altius aliquid sensisse quam quod loquitur, idque non modo poetantium communis habet opinio sed poetae ipsius epistula quaedam ad Augustum Caesarem scripta testatur, ubi se rem maximam et, praeter id quod apparet, studii multiplicis indigam dicit ingressum." Compare the words of Macrobius: "si in hac opinione es ut Maro tibi nihil nisi poeticum sensisse aestimetur . . . . audi quid de operis sui multiplici doctrina ipse pronuntiet"; and *infra:* "ut . . . . tantum opus ingressus mihi videar."

We must not, of course, forget that, in the passage cited by Sabbadini, Petrarch mentions the possibility of *reading* letters written by Augustus to his two poet friends. The same implication is contained in other passages in Petrarch. Petrarch is noticeably fond of reverting to the topic of the close relations maintained by Augustus with the two men of genius who were so far beneath him in the social order. Naturally the imagination of the neo-Latin bard, himself an intimate of the princes of his day, was impressed by the amiability, not to say eagerness, with which the erstwhile lord of the world cultivated the friendship of the two great poets of Rome and strove to place the relationship on a footing marked, not only by absence of all condescension on his part, but by a display

[1] In conformity with the usual practice, references to the *Opera omnia* are cited from the second edition issued at Basle in 1581.

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of democratic informality and self-depreciation. We may add to the passage cited by Sabbadini the following allusions to the correspondence: *Famil.* 23. 2, Vol. III, p. 184 Frac.: "si enim Virgilio, si Flacco gloriosum fuit Augusti Caesaris et notitiam et convictum et epistulas promereri"; *Senil.* 11. 1, p. 881, *Op.*: "Augustus Caesar cui temporali potentia par non fuit, saepe humilibus cum amicis, nominatim cum Virgilio atque Horatio poetis, altis[1] viris ingenii sed ortus humillimis,[1] familiarissimas fecit epistulas ut dulce sit mirumque legentibus in tam sublimi statu talem animum tantamque mansuetudinem inveniri"; *Senil.* 14. 1, Fracassetti's Italian translation: "De re publica optime administranda liber" (p. 385, *Op.*); "[Augustus] habuit ergo in sodalicio . . . . Publium quoque Virgilium, Horatium Flaccum, poetas egregios, ad quos sunt ipsius principis epistulae, quibus ille summus hominum mundi dominus duobus illis rusticanis, Mantuanae ac Venusinae originis, non se aequat tantummodo sed submittit; *De remediis utriusque fortunae*"; 2. dial. 5: "vester ille Virgilius rusticanis parentibus fuit nec se libertino ac praecone patre natum Flaccus erubuit; . . . . Ipse [Augustus] horum duorum ignobilium . . . . amicitiam et convictum ceu grande aliquid blandis ac dulcibus epistolis flagitaret."

Now Petrarch's characterization of the tone and spirit of the missives of Augustus is, strictly speaking, applicable only to the content of the fragments of the Princeps' letters to Horace preserved in the Suetonian *Vita* of this poet. To these Petrarch's comments are peculiarly apposite. *Submittit* is a word perfectly describing the humility displayed by Augustus in his overtures. It is only in the letters to Horace that we find the Princeps "wheedling in honeyed phrases for friendship and *camaraderie*." Petrarch was undoubtedly familiar with the *Vita* of Horace. In *Famil.* 20. 7, Vol. III, p. 26 Frac., he quotes from it almost verbatim a sentence of the letter written by Augustus to acknowledge the receipt of one of the books of Horace and voicing a jocular protest on the part of the Princeps against the brevity of the *libellus*.[2] In themselves, the few words

[1] Thus the edition of Basle; presumably we should read *alti* . . . . *humillimi*.

[2] "Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es," Roth, p. 298; cf. Petrarch, *op. cit.*: "non tuam, fateor, legere visus epistolam sum, sed Flacci, cum quo iocans Caesar: 'vereri,' inquit, 'mihi videris ne maiores res libelli tui sint, quam ipse es.'"

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quoted by Donatus from the letter to Vergil give no warrant whatever for inclusion in the characterization so accurately given of the spirit pervading the letters to Horace and of the phraseology in which these are couched. There is nothing but Donatus' comment on the vein of the letter to Vergil—"supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris"—to give pause to an expression of utter skepticism as to whether Petrarch's several allusions were founded at all on a knowledge of this section of the Life. Certain it is that if he knew this context his recollection of it became so merged in the more vivid impression naturally exerted by the racy and comparatively extensive fragments in the Life of Horace that he could forget that in the biography of Vergil there is no entreaty made for intimate friendship, but simply for advance sheets of the *Aeneid*.

Should we not, therefore, admit the possibility that Petrarch's comments may be the result of generalization based on the passage in Macrobius and on our extant fragments of the letters to Horace, granting, perhaps, that the passage in Priscian partakes too much of the character of the proverbial needle in a haystack to make probable the assumption that it also may have played a part in crystallizing Petrarch's ideas on this subject? The objection that the implication in more than one of the passages quoted above is to the effect that letters, or at least a letter, written by Augustus to Vergil, were accessible to Petrarch and had been read by him, will appear by no means final to one who recalls what we know concerning the workings of the humanist's imagination, how tricks of memory and lapse of time conspired to make him the victim of self-deception as to the works of ancient literature which he had read. Such hallucinations were furthered by the bibliophilic conditions of the times; any day might be marked by the discovery of some new treasure, the work might be handled or possessed by scholar and collector, then, through such causes as petty proprietary jealousy, unscrupulous "borrowing" —to adopt Huck Finn's euphemism for a "shorter, uglier word"— might vanish into the limbo of the inaccessible, there to remain, perhaps, for years.

The most famous instance of the expansiveness of which Petrarch's imaginative processes were capable in respect to the events of his intellectual life is to be seen in the development into an *idée fixe*

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of the notion that he had once possessed the treatise of Cicero, *De Gloria*. Nolhac's reasoning on this subject (I, 260 f.) is most convincing. But we do not need to confine ourselves to one hypothesis, however attractive, to find support for another. The workings of an analogous obsession may be traced in connection with this very point that here concerns us, viz., the basis of Petrarch's apparently circumstantial knowledge of the correspondence of Augustus with Vergil.

Nolhac (I, 266, n.) has called attention to Petrarch's assertion, *Res. memor.* 1. 2, p. 395 *Op.*, that, in his youth, he had once had in his hands a book of epigrams and letters composed by Augustus, but that in subsequent years he had sought the work in vain. The contents are definitely appraised: "scripsit et epigrammatum librum et epistularum ad amicos, conditum facetissima gravitate et luculentissima brevitate"; also certain external characteristics are noted: "opus inexplicatum et carie semesum." To be sure, Franz Rühl in *B.Ph.W.*, 1895, col. 468, suggests that perhaps this is not a case of confusion on Petrarch's part, but that he had actually seen such a book, identical, perhaps, with a *Liber Octaviani imperatoris*, listed in a twelfth-century catalogue from Limoges.[1] It is very unlikely, however, that Petrarch had ever seen, though he came to believe that he had, a book of such a nature from the pen of Augustus. It is barely possible that some late compiler had assembled from such sources as the biographies of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, written by Suetonius, and the *Vita Horatii* the fragments of Augustus' correspondence, and that this was the book that Petrarch had once possessed for a time. It is far more likely that the words in *Res. memor.* resulted from a confusion in Petrarch's mind of the *Liber epigrammatum*, mentioned by Suetonius (*Vit. Aug.* c. 85) as among the poetic attempts of the Princeps, and of the numerous quotations from the letters of Augustus found in the biographer. As to Rühl's theory of a genuine *Liber Octaviani* existing down to humanistic times, it may be remarked in passing that such a combination by Augustus, into one book, of poetic epigrams and prose epistles, as the literal acceptance of Petrarch's words entails, would have been an incredible breach of the conventionalities of literary arrangement.

[1] See Manitius, Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen, *Rh. Mus.*, XLVII (1892), "Ergansungsheft," p. 27.

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A piece of kindred evidence, germane to our question and quite indubitable, is forthcoming from the following sentence, *Famil.* 24. 12, Vol. III, p. 294 Frac.: "Virgilii epistolas oratione libera non inamoenas legi." As a matter of fact, Petrarch could have read only the fragment of the letter preserved in Macrobius. For the moment, this fragment is multiplied into a plurality by an exaggeration, psychic or verbal, it is difficult to decide which. The explanation which best accords with the line of indications that we have been following is to assume the influence of an aberration of the memory. In either case we have an unquestionable proof that great caution must be exercised in basing on what Petrarch tells us about the correspondence of Augustus and Vergil conclusions as to the sources from which this apparent knowledge was derived.

In the presentation of his fourth argument, Sabbadini's method is not characterized by the acumen which usually attaches to his work. It is an erroneous assumption that the echo in the poetic Epistle to Vergil, if echo it be, must necessarily go back solely to the hexastich commemorating the proposed burning of the *Aeneid* and incorporated, with mention of its author, Sulpicius, in the Life by Donatus. The conceit that, figuratively speaking, a second Iliupersis was averted when the *Aeneid* was saved from the flames is a favorite topos of the metrical—I shall not say poetical—*ludi* and epigrammatic *tours de force* which were evoked by the name and fame of Vergil, and which are plentifully illustrated in the *Latin Anthology*. The motif, for example, is expressed perhaps more graphically in a variant of the hexastich. I quote from Riese, *Anth. Lat.*, II, 121, No. 653; Baehrens, *PLM*, IV, 169, No. 177, took unwarrantable liberties with the text.

> Carmina Vergilius Phrygium prodentia Martem
> Secum fatali iusserat igne mori.
> Tucca negat, Varius prohibet, superaddite Caesar
> Nomen in Aenea (Aeneae Bücheler, recte?) non sinis esse nefas.
> O quam paene iterum geminasti funere funus,
> Troia, bis interitus causa futura tui.

The theories voiced in the last century by Baehrens (*Praef.*, pp. 44–45) and by others as to the origin and the authorship of the two versions, a question complicated by the fact that in the so-called

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Life by Probus the first four lines of the epigram, in the version appearing in Donatus, are attributed to a Servius Varus, otherwise *non est*, need not concern us here. The suggestion of Norden (*Rh. Mus.*, 61 [1906], p. 175, n. 1) that Servius Varus is a stupid invention, and that the same Sulpicius played one tune on two keys, as we know the Greek epigrammatists and Martial sometimes did, is a rational explanation of the existence of the doublet. For us, as it should have been for Sabbadini, the significant thing is that there existed, apart from the text of the Life by Donatus, a version of the hexastich which, so far as its language goes, furnishes as close a parallel to Petrarch's "Aenean arsurumque iterum . . . . secundis flammis" as does the variant found in the *Vita*. To be sure, the version in the *Anthology* is found in one manuscript only—i.e., E—a fact which of course makes against the suggestion that it was this version with which Petrarch was acquainted. None the less, in the interests of accuracy Sabbadini should have apprised his readers of the existence of any possibility that might modify his conclusion.

The theme of the second burning of Troy occurs also in another poem of the *Anthology*, one which possessed a somewhat wider textual dissemination, i.e. *PLM*, IV, 183, No. 185 = Riese I, 198, No. 242. In the first four lines the death of Vergil and his injunction that the *Aeneid* be destroyed are related; then the piece continues:

> Roma rogat, precibusque isdem tibi supplicat orbis,
> Ne pereant flammis tot monumenta ducum.
> Anne iterum Troiam, sed maior, flamma cremabit?

This poem is found in the Codex Salmasianus under the heading "Unde supra," which looks back to some other poem treating a like theme. It is also contained in the Vatican manuscript No. 1575 (Z Baehrens) of the eleventh century, with a heading which, with greater piquancy than regard to chronology, attributes it to Cornelius Gallus. This fiction was doubtless instrumental in securing to the decastich the popularity which it evidently came to possess, for it is found rather widely distributed in manuscripts of the fifteenth century as well as in the older editions of Vergil.

These instances of the motif, however, are of minor significance for our purpose in comparison with another which I am about to add; they have been cited in order to show that Petrarch and his generatio

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might conceivably have met the theme in sources other than the Life by Donatus, a contingency which Sabbadini totally ignored. We need not, however, confine ourselves to indicating possibilities. We can, if I am not oversanguine, lay our hands on the specific influence to which Petrarch reacted in penning the lines in the Epistle to Vergil. I refer to the famous little poem in the *Anthology* (Riese I, 2, No. 672; Baehrens, IV, No. 183) the authorship of which is attributed to Augustus by the manuscripts. The first three lines are:

> Ergone supremis potuit vox improba verbis
> Tam dirum mandare nefas? ergo ibit in ignes
> Magnaque doctiloqui morietur Musa Maronis?

In ll. 27f. we find again the conceit developed as follows:

> Si mens [i.e. Vergilii] caeca fuit: iterum sentire ruinas
> Troia suas, iterum cogetur reddere voces[1]?
> Ardebit miserae narratrix fama Creusae?
> Sentiet appositos Cumana Sibylla vapores?
> Uretur Tyriae post funera vulnus Elissae
> Et iurata mori, ne cingula reddat, Amazon?

We know that Petrarch was acquainted with this poem. Sabbadini, *op. cit.*, p. 197, Nolhac, I, 125, n. 1 and, on the authority of these scholars, Cosenza (Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors [Chicago, 1910], p. 146) cite two allusions. One of these is contained in a marginal note in the *Ambrosianus* apropos of the words of the Servian Life, "hac lege iussit emendare," Thilo-Hagen, I, 2, 13; Petrarch commented as follows: super hoc elegantissimo carmine se excusans." Again, in *Opera* 3, p. 90, there is written:

> Carmen adhuc superest quo Caesaris atque poetae
> Maiestas studiumque vigent semperque vigebunt.

To these two references should be added *Res memor.* l. 2, p. 396, *Op.:* "nec poeticae expers fuit [Augustus]; extat eius in Virgilium carmen breve quidem sed nec humile nec insulsum." This third citation, previously overlooked, has, for a reason which will soon appear, an importance not shared by the other two. Now, in the humanistic redaction of the Life by Donatus (Diehl, p. 33, sec. 58; Brummer, p. 28) ll. 1–3 and 18–22 of the poem are quoted. Sabbadini observes that the manner of Petrarch's references would indicate that he knew

[1] *Poenas*, Vat. 1575, Baehrens; *lucem vel luces?* Riese.

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the poem as a whole, hence must have read it in some one of the collections of excerpts now gathered into the *Latin Anthology*. I am glad to indorse this opinion, although I do not place great stress on the tone of Petrarch's citations, in so far as this is exemplified by the two contexts mentioned by Sabbadini and Nolhac. In the first instance, it is only an appreciation of the literary merit of the poem that is expressed; this could have been founded on a knowledge of a few lines merely. Furthermore, it must be confessed that it would be quite in consonance with his method of expression to imply that he knew the entire poem, even if he had read only extracts from it. We have seen that he writes as if he had read complete letters of Augustus to Vergil and Horace when, as a matter of strict accuracy, he could at the most have read excerpts only; that he so refers to the letters of Vergil that an unwary reader might surmise that he had read a collection instead of a fragment of one. There are weightier reasons which justify the conclusion that Petrarch knew the poem as a whole and hence derived his acquaintance with it from some other source than the interpolated version of the *Vita*. (1) The existence of the *Donatus Auctus* in its present form cannot be traced back beyond the first quarter of the fifteenth century;[1] Nolhac's assertion (I, 124) that Petrarch probably knew the interpolated version cannot be substantiated. As I shall hereafter point out, there is only one instance of parallelism even suggesting dependence by Petrarch on the *Auctus*, and this instance will not stand. (2) The popularity of the poem was great and it was widely disseminated. How numerous the manuscripts are in which it is incorporated a glance at the apparatus cited by Baehrens and Riese in their editions will show. (3) In the passage from *Res memor.*, to which attention is called above, the word *breve*, unlike references to the artistic character of the poem, certainly seems to betoken knowledge of the poem in its entirety.

It is indeed surprising that Sabbadini should assume on one and the same page that Petrarch knew the poem *Ergone supremis, etc.*, in its entirety, and should also argue that the words in the Epistle to Vergil actually echo the epigram of Sulpicius. Evidently

[1] Sabbadini, *Le biografie di Vergilio antiche medievali umanistiche, Studi Ital. di filol. class.*, XV (1907), 260.

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ll. 27–32 of our poem, which have been quoted above, must have escaped Sabbadini's memory, else their claims to consideration as the source of Petrarch's inspiration would not have been overlooked. Credit should be given to Cosenza for avoiding this pitfall. In his note on the lines in the epistle (*op. cit.*, pp. 145–46) he rightly asserts that Petrarch knew the story of the rescue of the *Aeneid* "also from the famous poem *Ergone supremis*," as well as from Macrobius and Donatus, and regards the poem as first in order of importance among the three sources. I cannot, however, accede to the propriety of here according to the *Vita* the standing of a source. Of course, in so doing, Cosenza acted under the spell of the traditional view, to which this article is endeavoring to apply the acid test. He should at all events have taken cognizance of the Servian Life as well, since it is almost as explicit on the subject of the frustration of Vergil's order to destroy the *Aeneid* as is the Life by Donatus. The Servian Life does not contain the epigram of Sulpicius, but admitting, as does Cosenza, the significance of *Ergone supremis* as a source of suggestion to Petrarch, there is no compelling reason to send us beyond the poem and the Servian Life in order to account for everything that we meet in this context of the Epistle to Vergil.

How closely in thought and in motivation Petrarch approaches the poem, will be most apparent if we can bring ourselves to employ for a moment that analytic method to which the pedantic seeker after the well-springs of a poet's fancy often is compelled to resort. Aeneas, says Petrarch, lives in the immortality of the great poem about Aeneas. This is the old motif on which the Roman poets are never tired of ringing the changes; says Tibullus,

> Quem referent Musae, vivet dum robora tellus,
> Dum caelum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas,

or, as the author of *Ergone supremis* has it,

> Illum, illum Aenean nesciret fama perennis,
> Docta Maroneo caneret nisi pagina versu! (ll. 15–16.)

Survivor of the burning of the material Troy, Aeneas was, figuratively speaking, facing death in the flames a second time because of Vergil's condemnation of the *Aeneid*. The hero is saved by the loyal devotion

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of his descendant, Augustus, an act which is a replica of the deed of filial piety to which Anchises owed his escape. Augustus did not respect the wishes of the dying poet, nevertheless the verdict of all time will justify this obduracy.

The turn which Petrarch gives to the topos of the second Iliupersis bears far closer resemblance to the treatment accorded to the theme in *Ergone supremis* than to the manner in which the motif is handled in either version of the epigram of Sulpicius or the other pieces in which it figures. The fancy that the leading personalities of the *Aeneid* would be cremated by the flames that should consume the poem is common to Petrarch and *Ergone supremis* alone among all possible sources. In the latter the theme is driven home by the accumulation of exempla—Creusa, the Sibyl, Dido, and Camilla in the received version,[1] in *Recensio* β the last three—all, except the Sibyl, being figures that had met death in the story, hence would, as it were, feel the flames a second time if the epic were burned. In the line devoted to Dido the paradoxical *bis perire* is present, whatever the text we choose. Petrarch adopts this same nuance, but, with a true instinct for effect, heightens the gravity and the pathos of the impending disaster, and emphasizes the service performed for posterity by Augustus, by confining himself to one, and that the most poignant, example of what the destruction of the *Aeneid* would have spelled, viz., the annihilation in the world of fame after his erstwhile narrow escape from a like fate in the world of myth, of the essential character of the poem.

Again, the dominant mood of *Ergone supremis* is apologetic. Augustus is represented in it as pleading for exculpation because he has set at naught the last mandate of a dying man. The defense put on the lips of the Princeps is that the end justified the act, that he observed a higher law (cf. ll. 18 f.), that such a masterpiece as the *Aeneid* deserves immortality. Similarly, Petrarch defends Augustus in a vein that seems unmistakably reminiscent of the tenor of what he regarded as the authentic plea of the Princeps. *Pietas*

[1] Whether Petrarch's text of the poem was that found in most manuscripts and in those which constitute our main reliance today, or belonged to the class of the inferior version, β in Riese's terminology, I cannot presume to say. The chances would favor the former alternative. In any case our arguments are not affected by the uncertainty.

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Augusta reads like a conscious rebuttal of the accusation of bad faith which the imaginary critic is anticipated in the poem as bringing. This also is the bearing of the sentence "meritoque supremas contempsisse preces aevo laudabitur omni." In passing, we may note that the verbal resemblance between ll. 27 f. of the better *recensio*, "iterum sentire ruinas Troia suas, iterum cogetur reddere voces? Ardebit, etc.," and Petrarch's "Arsurum iterum . . . . secundis flammis" is closer than between the epigram of Sulpicius and Petrarch; we may compare Petrarch's *supremas preces* with *supremis verbis* l. 1, *suprema voluntas* l. 18. We need not, however, lay great stress on similarities in phraseology; common stock of words tends to accompany common stock of ideas. Furthermore, it must always be borne in mind that in the case of a writer such as Petrarch, whose style so frequently reproduces without conscious effort of memory on his part the locutions of the ancient authors with whom he lived, and who prescribed with reference to the ethics and technique of imitation—"curandum imitatori, ut quod scribit simile, non idem sit" (*Famil.* 23. 19, Vol. III, p. 239 Frac.)—parallelism in diction is bound to be an elusive thing. The analogies that we have noted in spirit and in motifs yield proof, so far as it is possible to effect a demonstration in an attempt to call back the ghosts of a poet's literary processes, that the famous little poem was the source *par excellence* which suggested to Petrarch the conceit of the second burning, that the context in the Life by Donatus has really no claim to consideration as a collateral source, and, certainly, none as an exclusive source.

It may not be amiss, before leaving this topic, to mention an interesting personal application which Petrarch makes of the conceit, although there is nothing in the passage to indicate unequivocally the influence of one source to the exclusion of others. In *De contemptu mundi* 3, p. 365 *Op.*, he tells, how, stricken with a serious illness, he had been tempted to consign to the flames with his own hands his unfinished manuscript of the *Africa*, because he feared that his friends, after the precedent of Vergil's, might play him false. Had he followed this impulse, Africa, always scorched by the rays of the sun, and thrice wrapped in flames by Roman torches, would have suffered at his hands another conflagration!

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II

My apology for the riot of destructive criticism to which the previous pages of this article have been so largely devoted must be the inchoate stage at which the discussion of the question has been left by our foremost critics in the field of Petrarchan study. Naturally, those pioneers whose task it is to blaze a trail *per una selva oscura* may occasionally fail to exercise the meticulous inspection of the route that those who follow in their footsteps find it comparatively easy to do. By way of supplementing the data thus far presented, I now turn to the consideration of the other passages in Petrarch's works that must challenge the attention of one who is interested in determining the sources from which the humanist derived such knowledge as he possessed of Vergil's life. References by Petrarch to such topics of universal knowledge and widely disseminated mention in the testimonia as Vergil's birthplace, his rustic origin, and the like may be dismissed as indices of no moment. In this same class fall allusions to the literary executorship of Varius and Tucca (*Senil.* 3. 1) to the proposed burning of the *Aeneid* (*Famil.* 20. 12, Vol. III, p. 40 Frac.) where there are forthcoming no precise indications to declare for one source among the several possible sources. I shall confine myself to a review of passages containing biographical information of such a character as fairly to suggest the possibility of contact between Petrarch and some specific source or sources.

In *Famil.* 10. 4, Vol. II, p. 89 Frac., there is, so far as I have discovered, the sole surface reference in Petrarch to a biography of Vergil. That the *Vita* to which reference is made is not the Life by Donatus, but the Servian Life, is a fact of prime importance. Notwithstanding its significance for our question, the passage has not been cited in this connection. In elucidating the symbolism of the eclogue entitled *Parthenias*, Petrarch wrote: "Parthenias ipse est Virgilius, non a me modo fictum nomen; in vita enim eius legimus quod Parthenias, quasi omni vita probatus, dici meruit." Mention of this maidenly surname of Vergil and of the reason of its application to him is found in two of our extant ancient lives of Vergil. (1) In the Suetonian Life, ll. 35–37, we read: "cetera sane vitae et ore et animo tam probum constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgo appellatus

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sit." (2) In the Life by Servius we find a similar comment, evidently derived from the Suetonian Life: adeo autem verecundissimus fuit, ut ex moribus cognomen acceperit; nam dictus est Parthenias; omni vita probatus uno tantum morbo laborabat, etc., Diehl, p. 41. The presence in Petrarch and in the Servian Life of the locution *omni vita probatus*, by no means the sort of crystallized formula that two writers, independent of each other, would necessarily adopt to express the idea, gives patent proof that Petrarch was here quoting exactly the Servian Life. Noteworthy for us is the obvious fact that he writes as if the Servian Life were for him the canonical biography of Vergil.

A close parallel to the passage from the *Familiares* cited above is to be found in the *Epitome* which Petrarch composed of his Bucolics. Concerning the *Parthenias* he says: "Istius egloge que prima est in ordine titulus est Parthenias quod nomen interpretatur omni vita probatus. Nam et Virgilius Parthenias vocatus est qui in omni vita probatus in hac egloga primus et principalis pastor introducitur;" see *Scritti inediti di Fr. Petrarca pubblicati ed illustrati da Attilio Hortis*, Trieste, 1874, p. 359. Here also the echo of the Servian Life is plainly discernible. Let us not be too hasty in formulating on the basis of these passages the conclusion that Petrarch had never read the Life by Donatus. We cannot, however, disguise the trend of the evidence which they offer. In former instances we have seen that when the subject-matter was of a type that might conceivably indicate recourse to the Suetonian Life, we were not forced to the decision that this was the source of which he necessarily or probably availed himself. In the present case, under similar conditions, we can demonstrate his entire independence of the Life by Donatus.

A similar deduction may be drawn from a passage in the *Itinerarium*, p. 560, *Op.* Referring to Naples, Petrarch says: "Haec est civitas ubi Virgilius noster liberalibus studiis operam dedit, cum iam patria illum tua Mediolanum tenerioribus annis discipulum habuisset. Hic se carmen Georgicum scripsisse, hic se ignobili studio floruisse iucundissime[1] memorat. Hanc dulcem vocat ille Parthenopem . . . . demum peregre moriens inter extrema suspiria suae meminit

[1] The text of the Basle edition is *floruisseve iucundissime;* the Venetian edition of 1501 reads *floruisse verecundissime.*

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Neapolis et huc revehi optavit ut quae vivus amaverat vita fructus incoleret." The tradition that included Naples among the seats of Vergil's education is not found in the genuine redaction of the Life by Donatus; herein are mentioned (ll. 20–24), sojourns at Cremona and at Milan prior to the young poet's departure to Rome. In the Servian Life, on the other hand, we read: "diversis in locis operam litteris dedit; nam et Cremonae et Mediolani et Neapoli studuit." The interpolated Donatus follows the Servian in this detail, inserting after the words found in the genuine version (Diehl, sec. 7), "sed Vergilius a Cremona Mediolanum et inde paulo post," the interpolation: "Neapolim transiit. Ubi cum litteris . . . . vehementissimam operam dedisset, tandem omni cura . . . . indulsit medicinae et mathematicis . . . . se in urbem contulit." We must therefore conclude that it was from the Servian Life that Petrarch derived his information as to Vergil's study at Naples, unless we are prepared to accept as an alternative the view that he used the interpolated redaction of the Life by Donatus. As has been previously pointed out, the present state of our knowledge does not warrant the assumption that the humanistic redaction existed in Petrarch's time. There is, nevertheless, an element in the passage from the *Itinerarium* which might seem to bear on this problem and hence demands a moment's consideration. I refer to the allusion contained in the last sentence to Vergil's devotion to Naples and to his wish to be buried there. It happens that in respect to this detail none of the extant biographies of Vergil stands so close to Petrarch's statement as does the interpolated Life. In section 54 Diehl, there is an insertion that reads thus: "voluit etiam eius ossa Neapolim transferri, ubi diu et suavissime vixerat; ac extrema valitudine hoc ipse epitaphion fecit distichon:

> Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
> Parthenope: cecini pascua, rura, duces.

Translata ergo iussu Augusti eius ossa prout statuerat Neapoli fuere, sepultaque," etc. Here the fact that it was Vergil's *last wish* that he should be buried at Naples is as explicitly stated as it is by Petrarch. In the corresponding context of the genuine version no direct allusion to an expressed wish is found; we are merely informed

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that Vergil was buried at Naples, and the epitaph is quoted. Precisely these elements and no more are present in the account given by the text of the Servian Life utilized by Petrarch.

However, this one instance of parallelism should not lead us to annul the prevalent doctrine, which seems rightly to deny dependence by Petrarch on the interpolated Life. Vergil's fondness for his *dulcis Parthenope* was, of course, known to Petrarch from the concluding lines of the fourth Georgic, partly paraphrased in our passage. The epitaph itself, in which Vergil looks forward to his interment at Naples as *fait accompli*, implies that the poet entertained the wish and anticipated its fulfilment. But, to account for this context in the *Itinerarium*, we are not restricted to speculations, plausible though they be, as to what—given a knowledge of the Servian Life—the powers of inference, the imagination, and the vocabulary of Petrarch might have achieved. Jerome, an author whose works were well thumbed by Petrarch, states directly (*Euseb. Chron.* 1998) what the Servian Life allows to be inferred, that the epitaph was composed by Vergil in his last moments with the expressed anticipation of lying at Naples. Note that Petrarch had merely to embellish the words *quem [titulum] ipse moriens dictaverat.*[1] The trail of the interpolator doubtless leads back to the *Chronicon*, unless we care to hazard the suggestion that he had borrowed from Petrarch the element which both have in common.

We have a more striking instance of reliance on the works of Jerome, in this case for an incident about which the genuine version of the Life would have been as adequate a source of information. In ll. 186 f. is quoted on the authority of the book of Asconius Pedianus, *Contra Obtrectatores Vergilii*, Vergil's retort to the critics who accused him of plagiarizing Homer: "sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere adsuetum ait: 'cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere'!" This reply was to furnish to future generations of Vergil's partisans their favorite weapon of defense. Petrarch of course employed it. However, in the case of each of the four allusions or reminiscences that his works contain, it is evident that he has not preserved the point of the anecdote as the Life presents it and that

[1] For passages indicating knowledge of the *Chronicon*, see Nolhac, II, 206, n. 3.

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he betrays no acquaintance with that version. Instead, he followed Jerome, who gave the retort a force appreciably different; see *Praef. hebr. quaest. in Genesim*, Migne, Vol. XXIII, col. 983: "Hoc idem passus est ab aemulis et Mantuanus vates, ut cum quosdam versus Homeri transtulisset ad verbum, compilator veterum diceretur. Quibus ille respondit, 'magnarum esse virium, clavam Herculi extorquere de manu.'" Now, it will be observed that in the Life Vergil is made rather to emphasize his innocence of the charge, his defense being the sheer impossibility of rifling the treasure house of Homer. Such a procedure is classed among *ἀδύνατα*, of which *Herculi clavam subripere* is a typical formula; cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 5. 3. 16. Jerome gives the story the following color: Borrowing from Homer is cheerfully admitted by Vergil, as an act in itself betokening the possession of superlative poetic power. Examination of the parallel passages in Petrarch will show that he gives only this latter shading: (1) *Famil.* 22. 2, Vol. III, p. 126 Frac.: "etsi enim non me lateat quosdam veterum Virgiliumque ante alios versus innumeros non modo e graeco in latinum versos, ubi abstulisse clavam Herculi gloriatur." (2) *Famil.* 24. 12, Vol. III, p. 298 Frac.: "quae [de Virgilii imitatione] tamen ex ordine ipsis in Saturnalibus scripta sunt, quamvis hoc loco ille suus iocus innotuerit, cui cum obiiceretur ab aemulis quod versus tibi [i.e., Homer] tuos eriperet, magnarum virium esse respondit auferre clavam Herculi;" as Cosenza (*op. cit.*, p. 197) has pointed out, Petrarch confused in memory the contents of the passages in Jerome and Macr. *Sat.* 5. 3. 16 and made a slip in quotation. (3) *Res memor.* 2. 3, p. 419 *Op.*: "nec illepide Virgilius, cum sibi exprobratum esset quod versus Homericos abstulisset et in operis sui congeriem redegisset, respondisse traditur magnarum esse virium auferre clavam de manu Herculis, non dissimulans se illis versibus non praecario sed pro suis uti." (4) *Variae* 62, Vol. III, p. 476 Frac.: "solus adversum agmina clavam de manibus Herculis extorsisti." This is evidently a reminiscence of the passage in Jerome; cf. *extorsisti* and *extorquere.*

The treatment accorded by the Life to the rubric of Vergil's detractors is conspicuously detailed; see ll. 170–92. In addition to the passages just cited, Petrarch alludes to this topic in the following passages: (1) *Famil.* 1. 1, Vol. I, p. 31 Frac.: "quid Virgilio

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maius habuit lingua latina? Reperit tamen ille, qui non poetam sed raptorem alienarum inventionum et translatorem diceret. Ipse autem et ingenii fiducia et iudice fretus Augusto, alto animo invidorum verba despexit." (2) *Famil.* 4. 7, Vol. I, p. 217 Frac.: "ipsorum quoque Maronis ac Flacci aetas non aequa tantis ingeniis fuit, quorum alter divini spiritus poeta dum vixit, aemulorum bellis sine fine vexatus, ut alienorum operum deflorator carpitur." In these references to the disparaging criticism directed against Vergil by his contemporaries we can detect primarily the influence of the passage in Jerome. Certain it is that there are no features of content or language that suggest the influence of the Suetonian Life.

In contrast with the too copious data found in the ancient commentators and biographers on the subject of the eviction of Vergil from his farm, Petrarch shows no great interest in this feature of the biographical tradition. In *Famil.* 11. 5, Vol. II, p. 115 Frac., he writes: "Virgilio Augustus Caesar agrum reddiderat sed quem ipse praeripuerat." This bare epitome of the traditional account, based on exegesis of the first Eclogue and set forth in detail by Servius in the prooemium to his commentary on the *Bucolics* (Thilo-Hagen, III, 3) offers little that is instructive for our purpose. However, it may be noted that in the Life by Donatus credit for protecting the poet and for active intercession in his behalf is given to Pollio, Alfenus Varus, Cornelius Gallus, and Maecenas. No mention is made of the clemency of Augustus, though naturally he was the final court of appeal. By Servius, just as by Petrarch, the Princeps is explicitly made Vergil's benefactor; cf. Servius, *cit.*: "postea ab Augusto missis tribus viris et ipsi integer ager est redditus, etc."

What Petrarch tells us about the material fortunes in general of Vergil bears no mark suggesting that the Life, with its specific inventory of the poet's property (ll. 40–43), was a source of knowledge. In *De remediis utriusque fortunae* 2. 9, to a list of poor but illustrious Roman men of letters, including Plautus, Horace, Pacuvius, and Statius among poets, Vergil is added: "Inops demum aliquando Virgilius donec praeter suum morem opes ingenio accessere." In *Senil.* 2. 2 we find: "nunquid ergo aut Virgilius multo auro ditatus a Caesare fuit obscurior quam dum rure primo depulsus exul atque inops Romam peteret?" Here also the specific allusion

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to Augustus as Vergil's benefactor points to the first *Eclogue*, to Servius on *Aeneid* 6. 861, as we shall see in a moment, a *locus classicus* for Petrarch in connection with another event in Vergil's life and which records the liberal honorarium received for the sixth book of the *Aeneid* as follows: "qui [i.e., Vergil] pro hoc aere gravi donatus est, id est massis." There was also Horace *Ep.* 2. 1. 246 testifying to the bounty of Augustus:

> At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
> munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt,
> dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae.

Another instance plainly betokening ignorance or neglect of the Life by Donatus is furnished by Petrarch's version of the incidents attendant on the famous *recitatio* of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. In the Life, ll. 109–12, we have the dramatic story of the swoon of Octavia at the words *tu Marcellus eris*; nothing is said as to the emotions aroused in the breast of Augustus. Servius on *Aeneid* 6. 861 paints the scene differently: "et constat hunc librum tanta pronuntiatione Augusto et Octaviae esse recitatum, ut fletu nimio imperarent silentium, nisi Vergilius finem esse dixisset"; there follows the allusion to the reward as transcribed above.

It was evidently to the passage in Servius that Petrarch reverted when penning the following words in *De remediis* 1. 114: "Marcellinus . . . . quantum putas exspectaretur ab avunculo, qui eum sic dilexit, ut Virgilianum illud carmen nobilissimum . . . . sine lacrimis audire non posset et actori silentium imperaret," although, as the reader can discern, he slightly exaggerates the reaction of Augustus. He might, of course, have utilized merely the testimony of this passage as to the poignancy of Octavia's grief for her child. Instead, he preferred to dignify this topic and at the same time to enhance the effect of his exempla by devoting to it a separate allusion based upon a different source. He continues: "quomodo mater Octavia quae illum sic amavit, ut usque ad ultimum vitae suae finem, quasi tunc extinctum, continue deploraret, omnemque consolatorem, non tantum contemneret sed odisset?" In *Variae* 25, p. 389 Frac., and in *Senil.* 10. 4, p. 876 *Op.*, appears similar allusion to the life-long persistency of Octavia's mourning

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and to the obduracy with which she refused to be comforted. As comparison will show, underlying these three passages is the same source, viz., Seneca, *Ad Marciam de consolatione* 2. 4: "Nullum finem per omne vitae suae tempus flendi gemendique fecit," etc. Without indulging in the luxury of an *argumentum ex silentio*, I may at least venture to say that it is astonishing that the spectacular appeal and the effectiveness of the anecdote as related in the Life, if Petrarch had ever read it there, did not force it on his memory in connection with some one of these contexts.

In *Epist. metr.* l. 2, Vol. III, p. 90, col. 2 *Op.*, Petrarch alludes to Vergil's laborious methods in composition:

> O utinam nostro quondam tam larga Maroni
> Copia dicendi! numquam, mihi crede, laborem
> Lentus inexpletum seros traxisset in annos.

The time spent by Vergil on his works, the merciless pruning to which at times he subjected them, the deliberation and the capriciousness that in general characterized his literary *modus operandi*, are set forth in the Life by Donatus, ll. 78–90, with considerable detail. In our passage, however, the poet's lack of fluency seems to be an inference resting merely on the fact that the composition of the *Aeneid* was so long protracted. The Servian Life furnishes sufficient testimony that the poem was left without the final revision.

This is the only topic connected with Vergil's literary technique at which Petrarch and the Life by Donatus come in contact. He thrice alludes to Vergil's lack of felicity as a writer of prose, viz., in *Famil.* 4. 15, Vol. I, p. 238 Frac.; *Res memor.* 2. 2, p. 410 *Op.* (twice). The source of this assertion is Seneca, *Contro.* 3, p. 243 K, to whom surface reference is made in each of the three instances.

A chapter in the *De vita solitaria* treats of the ancient poets who preferred to live a life apart from "the madding crowd's ignoble strife." Among the exempla Vergil of course finds a place: "Quid Virgilium nostrum loquar? qui fugiens urbem Romam ubi et ingenii laude et toto orbe regnantis principis amicitia florebat ac solitariam libertatem petens, mortem quidem immaturam obviam habuit, quae omnibus eum talibus curis absolveret. Ille sic censebat ope solitudinis opus esse ut divinum illum suum opus posset absolvi" (*De vita sol.* 2. 7. 2, p. 279 *Op.*).

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The Life by Donatus recites with greater circumstance than any of our other extant sources Vergil's antipathy toward life at Rome and his preference for a secluded existence in the "provinces," see l. 37: "Romae, quo rarissime commeabat;" ll. 41–44: "habuit . . . . domum Romae Esquiliis . . . . quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur;" ll. 122–25: "anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo impositurus Aeneidi summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare." In this case, at first sight, Petrarch seems more nearly to coincide with the *Vita* than in any of the other instances that I have added to those utilized by Sabbadini. Especially is this true if we are to see in the sentence "ille . . . . absolvi" allusion to Vergil's departure to the East, there to put the finishing touches to the *Aeneid*. The Life by Donatus, alone of our extant sources, expresses thus concretely the intention with which Vergil undertook the journey. In Petrarch's exemplar of the Servian Life nothing is said of that desire to revise the *Aeneid* which impelled Vergil to seek new scenes; indeed, the poet's presence in Apulia at the time of his death is quite unmotivated.

Nevertheless, before this passage in Petrarch can be classified as evidence corroborative of the use of the Suetonian Life by him, it is necessary to assure ourselves that what he tells us here must needs point inevitably to that source only. I cannot regard the data as thus definitive. Petrarch did not need the Life by Donatus to inform him that Vergil lived by choice away from Rome. Tradition alone connected the major portion of the poet's life indissolubly with Naples. There were also the concluding lines of the *Georgics*, the devotion to a country life pervading both *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and voiced as an object of personal longing in *Georg.* 2. 483 f. Petrarch knew from the Servian Life that Vergil died while traveling in Southern Italy. Analysis of the passage in *De vita solitaria* shows that the sentence "ille sic," etc., looks back to the preceding sentence. Here the members *fugiens urbem Romam* and *solitariam libertatem petens* certainly do not justify the assumption that Petrarch could be referring only to the departure from Italy chronicled by the Suetonian Life. His language is not thus restrictive. He had in mind merely Vergil's chronic dislike of life at the capital, his habitual taste

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for seclusion, manifested by his fondness for Naples and his residence there, his death while he was visiting places of a bygone greatness, in the idyllic regions of Southern Italy. Such an expression as "in quest of the freedom of solitude" is better applicable to a sojourn in the reposeful country "qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus" than to a journey to the East. The reason assigned for Vergil's retirement—the desire to finish his great epic—is that which above all others would naturally have suggested itself to Petrarch in this connection, intent, as he was, on lauding the advantages of the life lived by the literary recluse, knowing as he did that, in spite of the long years spent in travail apart from "the seats of the mighty," the *Aeneid* was left unfinished.

An item in which there is approximate agreement between Petrarch and the Suetonian Life is the age of Vergil at his death. Compare with ll. 122–25 cited above this passage in *Senil.* 16. 2: "septuaginta [annos] vixit Ennius, totidem Horatius Flaccus; duos et quinquaginta Virgilius nostra etiam aetate breve tempus."

As a matter of fact, Vergil died just before the completion of his fifty-first year—he would have been fifty-one had he lived to the ides of October, 19 B.C. The Life attributed to Probus is that one of the ancient sources that is most precise in this respect: "decessit in Calabria annum agens quinquagesimum et primum." The loose calculation of the Suetonian Life may be the result of carelessness. However, a more plausible supposition is that Vergil, when he started on the journey that was to be his last, was so close to the beginning of his fifty-second year—in modern parlance was so near "fifty-one and going on fifty-two"—that the author of the *Vita* felt justified in disregarding the few weeks intervening. Perhaps, as is likely to be the case in numerical approximations, a round even number had an appeal. Petrarch's "fifty-two years" of course transcends in license even the statement of the *Vita*, yet might conceivably have been based upon it. The question is whether this source furnished the only likely authority for the number adopted by Petrarch.

As a possible alternative, we should think first of all of Jerome's version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. This work merely sets down the dates of Vergil's birth and death as they are given in the Suetonian Life, undoubtedly the source from which Jerome derived them. He

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did not record the age of Vergil at his death, although he followed this practice elsewhere, in the case of Horace, for example (Migne, p. 440) and Ennius (Migne, pp. 417–18). An exact computation based on the *Chronicon* would not yield the number fifty-two for Vergil's mortal span. Furthermore, the numbers that figure in this passage were not the products of painstaking calculation or of the utilization of annalistic data. Petrarch was clearly drawing on the stores of memory; nor did he after the approved fashion of modern scholarship trouble himself to turn pages in a deliberate effort to verify his recollection. Hence his error of thirteen years[1] in respect to the duration of Horace's life, although the number is given correctly both in the Suetonian Life of Horace and in the passage of the *Chronicon* referred to above.

Have we then in this instance an argument undeniably impressive in favor of the view that Petrarch knew and used the Life by Donatus? Without for the time being appealing to the rather consistent trend away from such a conclusion maintained by the evidence, new and old, which we have thus far examined, we can cite one consideration which, by itself, makes against the absolute cogency of this parallel. The authority of the Suetonian Life had centuries before Petrarch's time conferred a traditional standing on the number fifty-two as the sum-total of the years of Vergil's life. This is shown by the fact that the number was adopted in the imaginary epitaphs of Vergil in the composition of which the poetasters of later years were fond of trying their skill: cf. *Anthol. Lat.*, Baehrens IV, p. 129, ll. 21–24; p. 130, ll. 45–48 = Riese I, 2, Nos. 560, 566; I quote the pertinent distichs:

> Ille decem lustris geminos postquam addidit annos
> Concessit fatis et situs hoc tumulo est;
>
> Iamque ad lustra decem Titan accesserat alter,
> Cum tibi me rapuit, Mantua, Parthenope.

The authors of the epigrams permitted themselves the same liberty of computation that we have noted in the case of Petrarch. There seem to be reasonable grounds for doubting that Petrarch's statement

[1] The *sessanta* of Fracassetti's Italian translation, II, 535, is, I surmise, a slip or a typographical error, not a deliberate correction. The same number cannot be right for both Ennius and Horace, in any case.

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was inspired by memory of the sentence in the Life—memory, I say, because the passage as a whole does not reveal the results of research and verification. It may well be that he merely set down for the years of Vergil's life the approximation which, established by tradition, had become a commonplace of information with him as well as with the world of learning.

We have now reviewed the passages in Petrarch that furnish points of departure for an attempt to discover whether, as has been universally held, Petrarch knew the genuine version of the Suetonian Life, and, if so, to what extent he derived from it such information about the career and the personality of Vergil as he gives us. Concerning the latter question there can be, in the light of the evidence that we have marshaled, no two opinions. In the great majority of the instances that have been examined we have seen that Petrarch turned to the Servian Life, to the Commentary of Servius, and to his well-read authors for data which the Life by Donatus was equally, and, in some cases, better fitted to supply. Among possible biographical sources the authority of the Servian Life is pre-eminent. It is apparent that, if Petrarch had read the Suetonian Life, his reliance on it was not even semi-occasional.

I am not without hope that the reader of judicial mind has been persuaded to subscribe to my belief that, in the present state of our knowledge, we are not warranted in assuming that Petrarch used the Life by Donatus. At all events, we may justly contend that the current theory has been revealed as resting on supports more tenuous than has hitherto been realized, that such assertions as Nolhac's "il lisait, en effet, la vie de Virgile attribuée à Donat" and Sabbadini's "il Petrarca adoperava certamente . . . . la biografia breve di Donato" would better have been couched in more conservative phraseology. A candid estimate, it is safe to say, would rate highest as indications of acquaintance on the part of Petrarch with the Suetonian Life his allusions to the age of Vergil at death, to the letters written by Augustus to Vergil, and, lastly, his knowledge of the couplet of Propertius. In each of these three instances, examined by themselves, we discovered, unless I am oversanguine, reasonable grounds for denying their absolute cogency; the cumulative effect of the evidence as a whole makes potently

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against stressing unduly the testimony that they might be supposed to offer in favor of the traditional view.

Of great significance, to my mind, is the fact that, as we have seen, the Servian Life is the only biography of Vergil to which Petrarch directly refers. At a relatively late period in his life he implies that for him the Servian *Vita* was *the* biography of Vergil. The date of the letter in which the passage in question occurs is, as fixed by Fracassetti, 1348. However, the passage may fairly be regarded as symptomatic of the extent of his knowledge of Vergilian biographies at a later epoch in his life, that is, the five or six years subsequent to 1359 during which he was re-reading and editing his letters for publication. We know that retention of language and subject-matter precisely as they had existed in the original drafts was not a part of his program; he did not hesitate to introduce changes and to make insertions representative of the stages of knowledge and taste to which he had attained in these later years of his life.[1]

I must not neglect to mention certain facts of an external nature which form an element in our discussion. The meritorious researches of Sabbadini[2] have demonstrated that the Life by Donatus in its genuine version was known to friends and contemporaries of Petrarch. Benvenuto Rambaldi, surnamed da Imola, to whom *Senil.* 15. 11 is addressed, derived from ll. 49–50 the authority for the assertion, l. 43, "Virgilius fuerat tardissimus in sermone . . . . ut scribit Donatus super Virgilium." The surface reference is a notable exception to the ignorance of the authorship of the *Vita* generally prevalent in the fourteenth century. The works of Boccaccio also seem to reveal acquaintance with the Life[3] and he apparently possessed a copy of it, although he did not know it under the name Donatus.

These facts do not by any means enhance the likelihood that Petrarch had perused the biography, even though we grant that he may have known of it by hearsay. It is almost superfluous to point out that the presence of a given monument of ancient literature in

[1] Cf. Sabbadini, "Il primo nucleo della biblioteca del Petrarca," *Rendic. del r. ist. Lombardo*, XXXXIX (1906), 369.

[2] "Le biografie di Virgilio antiche medievali umanistiche," *Studi Ital. di filol. class.*, XVI (1907), 242.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–44.

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the collections of Petrarch's friends is no proof that he had ever read the work in question. As we know, in the library of Boccaccio were several ancient authors of the first rank, Tacitus and Martial[1] among them, whose works remained closed books to Petrarch, notwithstanding the friendship and the community of intellectual interests that held good between these two leaders of humanism. Boccaccio's acquaintance with the *Appendix Vergiliana* was quantitatively greater than Petrarch's. Hence it should not cause surprise that, even though his coenthusiast in the study of antiquity had a manuscript containing a biography of Vergil more elaborate than the Servian Life, Petrarch should not have had this longer and more detailed biography by him and should not even have read it. The accessibility of the Servian *Vita* and the possibility of supplementing it by the copious material available to him in the works of many of the authors who were the constant companions of his waking hours, may well have tended to satisfy him with what these sources, endowed as they were with the prestige of great names, could teach him about Vergil. We must also bear in mind that in Petrarch's lifetime the authoritative name of Donatus had not been definitely and universally attached to the biography, that in general it remained anonymous until toward the close of the fourteenth century.[2] Therefore, external data of this character cannot vitiate the conclusions that we have based on internal evidence. Indeed, a set of facts which I have reserved for final consideration comes tantalizingly near to offering welcome corroboration of my belief in Petrarch's ignorance of the Life by Donatus.

As Sabbadini[3] has reported, Francesco Nelli, the Simonides who figures so frequently as the recipient of letters from Petrarch, in a letter written to Petrarch in the year 1351 quotes from the Life, ll. 48–49 as follows: "scis quoque, ne iocundum hoc obmittamus, Virgilium semel causam egisse."[4] Now, on the margin of the manuscript there is the following note, written, as Cochin testifies, in a

[1] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, pp. 28 f.

[2] Of the manuscripts listed in Brummer's apparatus, which are anterior to the fifteenth century and contain the Life in full, one only (Parisinus lat. 11308) is by caption connected with Donatus: cf. Sabbadini, *Studi Ital. di filol. class.* XV, 235.

[3] *Studi Ital. di filol. class.* XV, 242.

[4] H. Cochin, *Lettres de Francesco Nelli à Petrarque* (Paris, 1892), p. 182.

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hand different from that which appears in the rest of the manuscript: "Non memini me legisse de Virgilio, nisi forte iste vir intelligat Virgilium egisse causam pro possessionibus sibi ablatis et postea restitutis." Apropos of this note the editor comments: "Je n'oserais pas affirmer que cette note soit de Pétrarque." It is tempting, indeed, in the light of our results, to claim the note definitely as the product of Petrarch's pen. However, in the face of Cochin's hesitation and until inspection of the note and its comparison with other specimens of Petrarch's handwriting can be undertaken, dogmatism would be ill-timed. We must rest content with suspicions and with the hope that these may be verified. If I may be permitted to lapse into a personal vein, I should like to say that my conclusions with reference to Petrarch's relation to the Life were formed quite without recourse to the argument suggested by the note.[1] Knowledge of it came merely as agreeable, though not unquestionable, support of a position already assumed. This is certain: The—let me say—scholiast's ignorance of the provenience of the statement in Nelli's letter and his suggestion that it is an inference derived from the first and the ninth *Eclogues* savors strongly of what we have discovered elsewhere as to Petrarch's methods of exegesis, and conforms precisely with the conclusions that we have framed on the basis of the internal evidence.

In the works of Petrarch there are a few other contexts which, although they do not offer evidence pertinent to the issue that has primarily inspired this paper, nevertheless present such interesting problems in respect to the sources of Petrarch's knowledge of the life of Vergil as properly to claim consideration here. The assertions made in these passages are either at variance with the information furnished by the sources on which we have seen Petrarch chiefly relied, or even overstep their testimony. We are thus confronted with the question whether he had access to sources not comprised in our modern apparatus.

In this hypothesis Sabbadini took refuge in order to account for a remark made by Petrarch in *Famil.* 6. 3, Vol. I, p. 324 Frac., to the effect that Vergil became prematurely gray. Such a physical

[1] Cochin's book was not easily accessible to me. I owe to the kindness of my friend Professor N. G. McCrea a transcript of the essential context.

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characteristic of Vergil is not specifically mentioned by any ancient source. The passage is: "et Numa Pompilius, cuius supra mentionem feci, prima aetate canus fuit, et Virgilius poeta." Besides this passage cited by Sabbadini there are two others in which Petrarch portrays Vergil as a "good gray poet." (1) In *Senil.* 8. 1 he adds to the *exempla* of Numa and Vergil that of Domitian: . . . . "Virgilii iuvenis barba candidior et Domitiani adolescentis coma senescens." Here *barba candidior*, an echo of *Eclogues* 1. 28, gives a plain hint as to the source of Petrarch's notion. (2) In *De contemptu mundi*, dial. 3, p. 803, ed. of 1649, the riddle is solved by Petrarch himself. Commenting on his own gray hairs, he consoles himself by recalling the prematurely silvered locks of Domitiam and Numa, then continues: "Nec poeticum defuit exemplum siquidem Virgilius noster in Bucolicis, quae 32 aetatis anno scripsisse eum constat, sub persona pastoris, de se ipso loquens ait: Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat." Thus we see that it was merely the allegorical identification of Tityrus and Vergil, a theory which ages of criticism more modern than Petrarch's have been slow to relinguish, that lay at the root of his assertion. In this connection it is interesting to see that Petrarch flatly dissents from the note of Servius on this line of the Eclogue. The commentator rejects for this context the supposition that Tityrus equals Vergil, hence suggests "aut mutatio personae est ut quendam rusticum accipiamus loquentem, non Virgilium per allegoriam" or, as an alternative, proposes to couple *candidior* with *libertas*. Thus, to find Petrarch's informant in this instance we are not led beyond the sources that lie within our ken.

The assignment of the composition of the *Eclogues* to Vergil's thirty-second year is a surprising departure from the testimony of Servius as given in the prooemium to the commentary on the *Eclogues*, Thilo-Hagen III, 3, in the note on *Eclog.* 1. 28, and, a third time, in the note on *Georg.* 4. 564. In all these places as well as in the Life attributed to Probus, we are told that Vergil was twenty-eight years of age when he wrote—meaning in *lingua scholastica*—began to write the *Eclogues*. Our other data on the chronology of the *Eclogues* are limited to what can be learned from the poems themselves and to the statement found in both the Life by Donatus

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and the Servian *Vita*, that the composition of the *Eclogues* covered a period of three years.

Owing to the lamentable inaccuracies which disfigure the texts of the greater part of the works of Petrarch, we cannot be certain that we have not to do with a blunder founded on a misread Roman numeral[1] and perpetuated in our editions. On the other hand, if thirty-two be the number that came from the pen of Petrarch, we can but assume another lapse of memory in recalling figures, and a failure to verify. In none of the three passages in Servius is any trace of a variant indicated by Thilo-Hagen. If Petrarch had said that Vergil *finished* writing the *Eclogues* in his thirty-second year, we could conjecture that the computation represented the sum of the twenty-eight years appearing in Servius and the *triennium* recorded in the Servian Life. However, we cannot read this into Petrarch's words, *scripsisse eum constat*, any more than we can into the statement of Servius (Thilo-Hagen, p. 3, l. 26): "sane sciendum Vergilium XXVIII annorum scripsisse bucolica." Furthermore, such a deliberate modification of the number in Servius as this suggestion would presuppose is most unlikely for the reason that it is the smaller number that would by preference commend itself to Petrarch here; the earlier the period in Vergil's life to which the premature grayness can be assigned, the more effective the *exemplum* for Petrarch's purpose. Again, for Petrarch, unversed as he was in the intricacies of the data on which depends the determination of the relative chronology of the *Eclogues*, the first Eclogue would undoubtedly be the earliest in point of time. It was still so regarded by Charles de la Rue in the latter part of the seventeenth century, pioneer though he was in the field of Vergilian chronology.

There is another piece of biographical data, the provenience of which is by no means obvious. In *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, 1. dial. 80, entitled "De excellente praeceptore," *Ratio*, one of the interlocutors, contends that gifted teachers do not invariably produce great pupils, that genius may attain fruition apart from, or in spite of, formal instruction received from a master. Among the *exempla* are numbered Vergil and Horace: "Nullum Virgilio praeceptorem

[1] In XXVIII, VI might as the result of a blot or of some analogous mishap easily coalesce into a third X.

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legimus. Horatius Flaccus de suo nihil, nisi quod plagosum dixit, verberum puerilium, credo, meminerat."

This assertion of Petrarch as to Vergil, the interpretation of which I shall in a moment discuss, has, so far as I have discovered, awakened but a single echo in subsequent biographical criticism. Sebastian Corrado, a professor at Bologna, who died in 1556 and who wrote a biography of Vergil marked, *ut temporibus illis*, by critical acumen and independence of judgment, devoted a few words to a refutation of Petrarch's statement. This biography is to be found in Henri Etienne's editions of Vergil, issued in 1583 and 1599. Its repute lasted until the seventeenth century, as its inclusion in Taubmann's edition, Wittenberg, 1618, testifies. Corrado writes: "nullum praeceptorem Virgilio legimus (imquit Franciscus Petrarca) male: nam Macrobius autor est eum Parthenio grammatico in litteris Graecis usum fuisse: Servius Sironem eius doctorem in rebus Epicureis agnoscit." Corrado's exceptions are well taken; Servius on *Eclog.* 6. 13 and on *Aen.* 6. 264 is authority for the statement that Vergil studied the tenets of Epicureanism under Siro. The passage in Macrobius is *Sat.* 5. 17. 18: "versus est Parthenii quo grammatico in Graecis Vergilius usus est." The clause *quo . . . . est*, suspected by Ian and bracketed by Eyssenhardt, appears in all the manuscripts of Macrobius except P, which shows an erasure. It is practically certain, therefore, that Petrarch had read the clause in his exemplar, although this has not, so far as I know, been identified.

It is puzzling to explain how Petrarch came to make an assertion so specifically contradicted by the testimony of authors to whose works he had such constant recourse and knew so thoroughly as he did Macrobius and Servius. Was it again simply a case of *lapsus memoriae*? The other alternative is that he chose deliberately to neglect evidence which he had encountered, if not in two sources with which he was intimately acquainted, then certainly in one. Intent though he was on making out a case for the heaven-inspired, self-taught genius, we can scarcely believe that he would have resorted so far to *ex parte* pleading as gratuitously to suppress evidence conflicting with his thesis. Nothing that we know concerning the spirit and the method of his scholarship justifies so harsh an accusation. If he consciously refrained from taking into account discrepant

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testimony, it would rather be that he did not set a high value on it, a supposition which does not accord with his regard for Macrobius and Servius.

If we may judge from the form in which Corrado cast his comment, he understood Petrarch to mean that Vergil had never had a teacher, and that the assertion was based upon a categorical statement to that effect found in some ancient author whose identity was a mystery to the later critic. For he goes on to say: "Nec video quem secutus autorem Franciscus idem Petrarca scripserit Marcellum, Octaviae filium, a Virgilio reprehensum vel irrisum fuisse quod avibus delectaretur." This reference to a fling of Vergil's at a hobby of the young Marcellus is found in *De remediis* 1. dial. 32, p. 106, ed. of 1649. This passage will claim further attention. Corrado's interpretation, or, as I believe, misinterpretation of the sentence "nullum Virgilio praeceptorem legimus," is also indicated by his transposition of the dative to a place following *praeceptorem*. No source known to us contains any such statement about Vergil as Corrado assumed Petrarch to make here.

What we have learned in a recent instance recommends the wisdom of seeking first some other explanation than the hypothesis that Petrarch used biographical sources now lost to us. Let us see if a plausible solution may not lie in a correct understanding of what Petrarch says. Corrado, I believe, failed to grasp the precise shade of meaning that Petrarch intended to convey by the sentence "nullum Virgilio praeceptorem legimus." The literal sense is "we read of no teacher for Vergil," the dative, as, indeed, its intermediate position would show, being dependent on *praeceptorem*. This construction, though more in the form of Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus than that of Cicero, needs no justification, of course. This use of *lego* has, we recall, ample precedent in good authors; cf. Cicero, *De imp. Pomp.* 28; *Pro Marc.* 28; *Cato Mai.* 20; Pliny *Ep.* 7. 19. 7; it is strictly in conformity with the Latinity of Petrarch; see, for example, *Variae* 32, pp. 389–91 Frac.

By interpreting in this way the passage before us we obtain, in my opinion, the most plausible explanation of the genesis of Petrarch's statement. I should assume that he had in mind at the moment of writing, to the temporary exclusion of his other sources, the data

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offered by the Servian Life on the subject of Vergil's education. We read there "diversis in locis operam litteris dedit," a statement which certainly to Petrarch would have implied that Vergil had undergone a formal training. The name of a teacher is not given. It is easy to see, therefore, how Petrarch could write "we read of no teacher of Vergil," in the *Vita* of the poet, that is, where such an allusion might be expected to occur. It certainly does less violence to the probabilities to surmise that under the spell of his familiar, formal biographical source he forgot contradictory evidence existing in isolated contexts elsewhere, than to hold that he here gave vent to the positive declaration that Vergil had no teacher. Against accepting this alternative view is the fact that this would be the sole instance among all his allusions to Vergil in which a clue to his source resides neither in the traditions nor the literary testimonials known to us. Lastly, exalted as was Petrarch's estimate of Vergil's genius, I find it difficult to entertain the belief that he was capable of regarding the poet as entirely self-made. Such a notion on the part of Petrarch would not square with what he had read in the Servian Life about Vergil's sojourn and study at the academic center of Milan.

Thus far in our enumeration of Petrarch's references to the life and the personality of Vergil, we have not found it necessary to shift our gaze from the figure of the poet as it is sketched in our literary sources. Petrarch's Vergil has been the Vergil of Servius, Macrobius, Jerome—in fine, to adopt the caption of Comparetti, the Vergil of literary tradition. We know in general that Petrarch's conception of Vergil was uncontaminated by the legendary balderdash and the old wives' tales which had attached themselves at Naples to the figure of Vergil. For Petrarch, as his biographers have pointed out, the Mantuan was neither charlatan nor thaumaturge. Petrarch's oft-quoted rejoinder to King Robert of Naples, "nusquam me legisse magicarium fuisse Virgilium," is a classic indication of his attitude. One passage, however, seems to lead us away from the beaten paths of the literary tradition. I refer to the story cited by Corrado from *De remediis* 1. 32, to the effect that Vergil scoffed at Marcellus' devotion to birds, or rather, as the context and the title of the dialogue, "De venatu et aucupio" indicate, to falconry. The

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passage reads thus: "atqui ducum et illustrium multos equis, quosdam canibus delectari solitos audivimus . . . . avibus nullum fere: unde et irrisum ferunt a Virgilio Marcellinum, Augusti nepotem, quod dare his operam adolescentulus videretur."

This anecdote, the unique significance of which has been overlooked by students of Petrarch, belongs to a lower stratum than any of the humanist's other allusions to Vergil's career. Corrado, it will be recalled, failed to discover any authority for the assertion. Modern scholarship is not driven to a like confession of inability, for a passage in John of Salisbury, though perhaps not itself the direct source of Petrarch's knowledge of the story, at least paves the way to conclusions. This passage, which both Comparetti[1] and Schaarschmidt[2] have utilized, is our *locus classicus* of information concerning the famous fly which Vergil is said to have constructed of bronze and set up in Naples as a talisman to rid the city of a plague of flies. See *Polycraticus* 1. 4: "fertur vates Mantuanus interrogasse Marcellum, cum depopulationi avium vehementius operam daret, an avem mallet instrui in capturam avium, an muscam informari in exterminationem muscarum. Cum vero quaestionem ad avunculum retulisset Augustum, consilio eius praeelegit ut fieret musca, quae ab Neapoli muscas abigeret et civitatem a peste insanabili liberaret." This story John undoubtedly had heard during one of his visits to Italy; see Schaarschmidt, p. 31. As Comparetti has shown, we have here a tale belonging to the cycle of Neapolitan folk-stories told about Vergil, the great local celebrity. Among other vagaries, the popular legend made Marcellus the duke of Naples and Vergil his prime minister.

The supposition that Petrarch had read the works of John of Salisbury would seem, on a priori grounds, not improbable. Guglielmo da Pastrengo, a correspondent of Petrarch's, cites the *Polycraticus* four times, though without naming the author. Sabbadini,[3] on the basis of two indications mentioned by him, assumes Petrarch's indebtedness to the treatise. With the exception of this passage, I am able to contribute no striking case of parallelism, and in

[1] *Virgilio nel medio evo*, 2d ed. (Florence, 1896), II, 36.

[2] *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862), p. 98, n. 2.

[3] *Rend. del r. ist. Lomb. di sc. e litt.*, XXXIX (1906), 387.

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this present instance Petrarch's version of the story seems rather to separate him from the *Polycraticus*. I should not lay stress solely on the absence of allusion in Petrarch to the talismanic fly. This detail, as smacking of practice of the black art and foreign to his own rationalistic conception of Vergil, he might have been moved to banish from his account, even if the passage in the *Polycraticus* had been the source of his knowledge of the story. But we note that, according to Petrarch, the central point of the incident is Vergil's derision of Marcellus for indulgence in fowling because this was a bizarre pastime, unsanctioned by the approval of the sporting world. This element cannot be read into the account of John of Salisbury. It is simply a case of an option offered in good faith between two gifts, one subserving the interests of the city, the other destined to further the selfish pleasure of Marcellus alone. If John of Salisbury were Petrarch's informant, the original was drastically adapted to point a different moral and to adorn a different tale, or a hazy memory of the version in his source led him to give the anecdote a different turn. The verbal resemblances that are discernible inhere in common locutions.

On the whole, it seems more likely that Petrarch gleaned the story from another source in which the incident was cast in the form in which he has handed it down. We cannot say whether, as John before him, he had heard the story at Naples where tales of this sort were rife, or whether he had come upon it in some wonderbook of the type of the *Gesta Romanorum* or the *Cronica di Partenope*, such as were written to chronicle the deeds of "Master Vergil" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The significant thing, after all, is that Petrarch in this one instance, but in this one only, did not hold aloof from a story emanating from a domain apart from the classic literary tradition which he ordinarily followed in touching on topics connected with the biography of Vergil.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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THE ANTECEDENTS OF HELLENISTIC COMEDY

By Henry W. Prescott

The possibility, which I have briefly indicated (*CP*, XI, 127 ff.), that certain features of Roman comedy regarded by modern critics as inartistic and Roman in origin were inherent in the Greek originals necessitates a review of the evidence upon which this modern criticism bases its presupposition that Hellenistic comedy is the issue of a great *Kunstentwicklung* in which Euripides was the initiating and controlling force. In such a review I must be content, without pretentious bibliography or detailed analysis, to consider the broad foundations of this theory; the critical question which I have to answer is, how far the interpretation of the technique of Roman comedy must be influenced and determined by known facts regarding the development of the form of comedy in earlier stages of its history.

The study of literary genesis in classical literature seldom leads to convincing conclusions. There are usually tremendous gaps in the evidence. And in the case of comedy, particularly, the disadvantage of fragmentary evidence is increased if one admits, as I must, that whatever validity is attached in general to evolutionary development in literature, comedy is peculiarly exposed, as originally an informal popular entertainment and even in its more artistic form ever *en rapport* with the audience, to influences which promote spontaneous generation and encourage the creation of what the biologists call sports. There is great danger in taking comedy too seriously. The problem forced upon me by the modern interpretation of Roman comedy I should be glad to dismiss in the words which Mother Jaguar addressed to her son when he found difficulty in discriminating two new animals in the woods which, like Euripidean tragedy and Hellenistic comedy, seemed to have lost distinguishing traits by a process of exchange and merger: ". . . . the one you said couldn't swim, swims, and the one you said couldn't curl up, curls; and they've gone shares in their prickles, I think. . . . . " "Son, son," said Mother Jaguar, ever so many times graciously

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waving her tail, "a Hedgehog is a Hedgehog, and can't be anything but a Hedgehog; and a Tortoise is a Tortoise, and can never be anything else." "But it isn't a Hedgehog, and it isn't a Tortoise. It's a little bit of both, and I don't know its proper name." "Nonsense," said Mother Jaguar, "everything has its proper name. I should call it 'Armadillo' till I found out the real one. And I should leave it alone."

I

Mother Jaguar's first contention is practically identical with the view of ancient theorists who, in various Greek documents dating in their present form from the eighth to the fifteenth century A.D., derive Hellenistic comedy from the Old comedy of the fifth century.[1] To them comedy is comedy. The general insistence of ancient literary theory upon comedy and tragedy as independent entities may have blinded these critics to the discovery of modern scholars that this later comedy is not comedy, but merely Euripidean tragedy with comic appurtenances. In any case there are reasons for rejecting the ancient theory, at least in so far as it represents Greek comedy throughout its entire history as primarily devoted to abusive criticism of men and affairs, and as changing the objects and the form of its criticism under the influence of external conditions, political or economic.

Democracy encourages an extreme form of λοιδορία; oligarchy represses open criticism. So far as it covers only the Old and the Middle periods of Greek comedy, the political environment of the two periods supports the relative validity of the theory up to this point, even if one finds violent criticism in fragments of Middle comedy and observes that orators of the fourth century are apparently immune in attacking men prominent in public life. But the absurdity of the theory becomes apparent when, as may have been the case, a rigid systematizing led to the extension of this simple political formula in order to cover, consistently with the controlling idea, the different form and content of New comedy; for then the

[1] Kaibel, *Comic. Gr. Frag.*, I, 3 ff. contains the text of these documents. References to Kaibel, without further definition, are to the pages and the marginal numbering of lines of this edition. For a critical study of sources, cf. Kaibel, "Die Prolegomena ΠΕΡΙ ΚΩΜΩΙΔΙΑΣ," *Abhandl. götting. Gesell.*, II/4 (1898).

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ancient critics were driven to the extreme contention that in New comedy abusive attack was directed against slaves and foreigners. It is quite evident from the remains of New comedy and from the Roman adaptations that the poets of this later period were innocent of any malicious designs upon slaves and foreigners; the political systematizer has selected these two categories out of the many characters represented in the plays of New comedy, because they furnish a direct antithesis to the rich freemen and influential citizens who, according to the same theory, were subjected to violent criticism in Old comedy. At this point, therefore, ancient critics become purely rhetorical. One may, however, still insist on the plausibility of the general notion if it is limited to Old and Middle comedy, and may regard the weakness as mere botching, by some later hand, of a theory that was reasonable when first presented, perhaps in the course of the fourth century, as an explanation of the differences between Old and Middle comedy.[1]

By this shift from explicit criticism to veiled attack and innuendo ancient theory accounts for essential changes in content; development in form it relates particularly to the gradual elimination of the chorus. The statement of the case in Platonius[2] is blurred and inaccurate. He mentions the defect of *choregoi* and the consequent omission of parabases and *chorika mele* in close connection with his statement of the limitations of free speech under an oligarchy. A clearer statement of the case, in accord with probability, might explicitly relate the diminished importance of the chorus to this suppression of frank criticism, for the chorus as the main instrument in the expression of lampooning attacks on individuals and public policies would necessarily lose its function so soon as outspoken criticism was checked, and would ultimately disappear unless it could acquire a new and equally essential function. But Platonius leaves this important consideration implicit in the context and explicitly refers the diminished rôle of the chorus to financial exigency, resulting apparently from the Peloponnesian War. Consistently, in point of date, he mentions as an example of comedies produced under these conditions the *Aiolosikon* of Aristophanes,

[1] Kaibel, "Die Prolegomena," 48 ff.

[2] Kaibel, 4/21 ff., and repeated in different form 5/45 ff.

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and inaccurately includes, as if of the same date, a mythological travesty by Cratinus, the *Odusses*, which was probably exhibited as early as 440–38; and he explicitly refers this shift from lampooning comedy to mythological travesty, in respect to content as well as to form, to the necessity of diverting criticism from men and affairs to literary material as found in mythological tragedy. A mythological travesty without parabases and *chorika* he represents to be typical of Middle comedy.[1]

In my opinion this part of Platonius' statement is a plausible theory, if one revises the form of his expression in accord with known facts and conceivable conditions, correcting his obvious error and emphasizing what he left implicit. Such a revised statement might run thus: Old comedy in the fifth century was devoted mainly to satirical criticism of prominent men. At intervals and temporarily from the middle of the fifth century on this outspoken criticism was checked;[2] on such occasions the playwrights often resorted to mythological travesty, and the chorus, as the main instrument of satirical attack, dropped into the background. At the turn of the fifth century, when free speech was more effectually suppressed, these mythological comedies, approximately chorusless, emerged as the dominant type of comedy; so that what was occasional and temporary in the case of Cratinus' *Odusses* became normal in the later years of Aristophanes' career and in the productions of Plato and of the earlier poets of the Middle period. That a more reasonable exposition of the theory once existed in Greek documents is suggested by the form which it assumes in Latin documents presumably Greek in origin. A more explicit statement of the case for the chorus, for example, is made by Horace (*A. P.* 283): "chorusque turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi." And the theory in the large appears

[1] It is not clear that Platonius intended to indicate the complete removal of the chorus from the plays that he regards as anticipating the Middle comedy; for some mythological plays the chorus seems to be well authenticated, and for its retention in the Middle period cf. Capps, *AJA*, X (1895), 303 ff.; *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXXI (1900), 133; Koerte, *N. JHBB. f. d. kl. Alt.*, V (1900), 81 ff.

[2] The extent of this repression in the fifth century, the legal procedure involved, the particular kind of criticism prohibited by the legal procedure, are all matters of dispute; for discussion and full bibliography cf. Kalinka, *Die Pseudoxenophontische* ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ, pp. 7 ff., and his commentary on II. 18; also Starkie, in his edition of the *Acharnians*, excursus II, pp. 243 f.

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in a more rational form in the Latin versions of Evanthius,[1] Diomedes,[2] and the *Liber Glossarum*.[3] Here the absurdity of slaves and foreigners as objects of attack in New comedy is replaced by more discreet generalizations in which New comedy is described as a portrayal of private life devoid of malicious criticism.

II

Acceptable as this revised version of the ancient theory might be, it would have only the validity of partial truth; for it is demonstrable that the exponents of this theory not only committed errors, but omitted an essential amount of evidence that might well have contributed to an understanding of the transition from Old to Middle comedy. For in many of the Greek documents, with remarkable consistency, the individual poets who serve as illustrations of the normal type of comedy in the Old period are Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes—these three and no more.[4] The concentration upon this famous triad of scurrilous poets is much earlier than the Greek documents in question; for the phrasing in passages of Horace,[5] Quintilian,[6] and Velleius[7] clearly indicates that these three poets had come to stand quite exclusively as representative of Old comedy, at least as early as the first century B.C.

We have, however, unassailable evidence that there existed in the fifth century, quite apart from these and other scurrilous poets, a distinct type of comedy differing in form and content from the scurrilous plays usually cultivated by this triad of poets. Aristotle, in his *Poetics* (1449*b*), having previously stated the successive changes in tragedy, professes ignorance of corresponding changes in comedy. Comedy was informal; it was officially recognized only late in its development and had already assumed definite form at the time when individual poets were recorded in the official reports of dramatic contests. In the midst of this frank confession of ignorance, however, Aristotle asserts positively that the invention of plots originated in

[1] Kaibel, 64/66 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, 58/166 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, 72/15 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, 3/3, 3/12, 6/73–90, 15/70, 58/165, 62/23; also Ps. Dionys. *Ars rhet.* 57.19 Usener; cf. Kroehnert, *Canonesne poet. script. artif. . . . . fuerint*, Königsberg (1897), 27.

[5] *Serm.* i. 4. 1; cf. Persius i. 123 ff.

[6] x. 1. 66. [7] i. 16. 3.

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Sicily and was introduced into Athens by Crates, who was the first of the Athenians to abandon scurrilous comedy and to generalize themes or plots.[1] There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that Aristotle in this passage is conscious of the antithesis between the comedy of his own day and the Old comedy. The general context indicates a close relation between the iambographs and the poets of Old comedy, who have in common the *ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα* and *λοιδορία*. To Aristotle the generalized comedy of his own day is opposed and superior to this scurrilous comedy (cf. *Poet.* 1451*b*; *Eth. Nic.* 1128*a*. 22), and by implication he is finding in Epicharmus and Crates the earlier background of the generalizing tendencies of Hellenistic comedy and its unity of plot as contrasted with the incoherent satirical burlesque usually cultivated by poets of the Old comedy. The great difficulty lies in our determining from such a general statement and from fragmentary evidence of the content and form both of Sicilian comedy and its issues in the hands of Crates and Pherecrates[2] just what progress, if any, had been made near the middle of the fifth century toward either the non-scurrilous mythological travesty of the Middle period or the well-organized comedy of manners that we find ultimately in the Roman adaptations of Greek models, most of which were probably post-Aristotelian in date.

From the tantalizing array of titles and fragments of Epicharmus' plays[3] one fact immediately emerges: more than half of the thirty-six extant titles point to mythological themes. It is, of course, a negative fact of doubtful significance that the fragments contain no evidence of scurrilous attacks on individuals, but the Doric farce

[1] *τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις· τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε· τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.* (Cf. Themistius *Or.* 27. p. 406 Dind.) Changes proposed in the text of Aristotle do not affect the passage for our purposes. On the interpretation of *λόγους καὶ μύθους* cf. Vahlen, *Sitzb. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien* (phil.-hist. Cl.), L (1865), 295–98; and for a summary of various modern interpretations of the passage cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. d. Auffassung d. aristoph. Vögel*, II, 6, n. 2.

[2] An anonymous treatise on the poets of comedy, after characterising Crates, says of Pherecrates (Kaibel 8/33): . . . . *ἐζήλωκε Κράτητα καὶ αὖ τοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη, πράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καινὰ ηὐδοκίμει, γενόμενος εὑρετικὸς μύθων.*

[3] The extreme skepticism regarding Epicharmus and his work (Wilamowitz, *Textg. d. gr. Lyriker*, 24 ff.; *GGA* [1906], 621 ff.; Fraenkel, *de med. et nov. com. gr. quaest. sel.* [Göttingen, 1912], 78, n. 1) seems to me quite unwarranted; cf. Körte, *Burs.-Jahresb.*, CLII (1911), 231.

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from which Sicilian comedy is supposed to develop and the political environment of Epicharmus do not provide a background for lampooning comedy such as Athens cultivated in the atmosphere of the carnival-*komos*.[1] It is quite possible that to Athenians of Crates' time the mythological plays of Epicharmus furnished a sharp antithesis to the lampooning burlesques of Cratinus. And not only in content but in form; for mythological themes, whether derived from oral tradition, epic poetry, or tragedy, have already been organized for the comic poet, in earlier popular or literary tradition, with a degree of coherence and unity that would stand in striking contrast with the inorganic satirical drama of Athens in the fifth century. In brief, the conditions provide for a direct line of descent from the mythological plays of Epicharmus through occasional Athenian vagaries like the *Odusses* of Cratinus to the mythological travesty that dominated the comic stage at Athens in the later days of Aristophanes and in the time of Plato and his immediate successors. And not only the relative coherence of mythological plot, but the absence of a chorus from the plays of Epicharmus, so far as the fragments negatively attest, provide the requisite background for both the chorusless Hellenistic type and for an intermediate form in which a chorus, relatively inactive, perhaps appeared with an entrance song, but denied itself parabasis and regularly recurring *chorika mele*, as Platonius seems to assert and as the present text of the *Plutus*[2] may serve to illustrate. Such an intermediate form may have been a compromise between the Sicilian and the normal Attic form of comedy, leading the way to a chorusless type of play in the New, if not in the Middle, period.

But, although known facts and conditions could be harmonized with such a theory of historical continuity in the development of a

[1] Non-scurrilous comedy, in the sense in which I use the term, does not necessarily avoid satirical attacks upon social and political groups or implicit attacks on individuals, but does eliminate explicit lampooning of governmental policies and individuals, particularly those prominent in public life. So, for example, Epicharmus may attack the soothsayers (frag. 9, cf. Rhinthon frag. 17 Kaibel), and even in Sicilian mime, under the direction of the tyrant Dionysius, Xenarchus may lampoon the citizens of Rhegium (Xenarchus frag. 2 Kaibel). Similar attacks upon social and political groups frequently recur in Hellenistic comedy.

[2] On the *Plutus* as a "neoterizing" comedy, cf. *Vita Aristoph.* (Van Leeuwen, *Proleg. ad Aristoph.*, p. 173) and the critical apparatus of Kaibel 18/30.

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non-scurrilous mythological comedy, it would be difficult from extant evidence to resolve plausible theory into incontestable fact. And even if mythological comedy in the Middle period were satisfactorily accounted for by such reasoning, a coherent comedy of manners, sentiment, and intrigue such as emerges in the Middle period and becomes dominant in the New period would still remain unexplained. Of course, as a mere statement of possibility, it is reasonable to assert that mythological comedy offers an opening for the development out of itself of a comedy of manners, sentiment, and intrigue; for the travesty of the gods and heroes of myth is most easily effected by reducing these supernatural beings to the level of ordinary human creatures and by subjecting them to the experiences of everyday life; mythological comedy had probably anticipated Euripides in humanizing gods and heroes.[1] Yet the development of a comedy of manners from such a source would seem somewhat forced and roundabout if the rudiments of a comedy of manners existed in the germs which, transferred to Sicily and Southern Italy from the Peloponnesus, Epicharmus and others may have developed in his artistic rehabilitation of earlier Dorian elements. It should, however, be expressly stated that any attempt to reconstruct a comedy of manners from what we know of Epicharmus, Crates, and Pherecrates is bound to result merely in the accumulation of a number of facts, each weak in itself, and many of them resting upon somewhat dubious hypotheses. The difficulty of differentiating the character-

[1] Mythological comedy may of course be political, as Cratinus' *Dionusalexandros*, *Nemesis*, and *Drapetides* attest, but in such cases innuendo rather than explicit attack seems to have been the rule; and general social satire was always available in mythological comedy. On the other hand, Plautus' *Amphitruo* may suggest how easily a mythological comedy approaches a comedy of manners, and how fully some myths provide the essential themes of intrigue, sentiment, confusion of identity. It is probable that mythological comedy provided a rich variety of form and content. The handling of the myth in Cratinus' *Dionusalexandros*, as we now know from the hypothesis, illustrates the comical perversion of the story, while the *Amphitruo* shows how closely the travesty may keep to the myth, expanding simply the theme of confused identity. And as regards form, though the chorus in Athenian mythological comedy may have been relatively inactive in some cases, yet it seems to have maintained its function in other cases, as the hypothesis of the *Dionusalexandros*, again, perhaps attests. In brief, though I think I may safely refer to mythological comedy as non-scurrilous in the Aristotelian sense, I do not intend to ascribe any uniformity in content or form to the type; it furnished an opportunity for mitigating or avoiding personal attack. A complete and orderly synthesis of the attainable facts regarding the form and content of mythological comedy is much desired.

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istics of Sicilian comedy in general is due, not merely to the scantiness of material evidence, but to the fact that Sicilian comedy and Attic comedy, in the opinion of many modern scholars, were both dependent upon Doric farce, the former being an embellished form of Doric farce, the latter a combination of Doric farce with an indigenous Attic element, the *komos*-chorus. If these modern views are correct, even Aristophanic comedy is likely to reveal some features that appeared in the plays of Epicharmus;[1] and if we are searching for a non-scurrilous type of Old Attic comedy that existed before and alongside of Aristophanic comedy, but distinct from most of it in form and content, it becomes peculiarly hazardous to stress the broad characteristics of Doric farce as possibly continued through Epicharmus, Crates, and Pherecrates to the time of the Middle comedy and later. Only the precise statement of Aristotle leads me, with this admission of the difficulty and the hazard, to emphasize in the evidence of Doric farce, of Epicharmus, and of Crates and Pherecrates those features which conceivably might foreshadow distinguishing traits of a comedy of manners in the Middle period.

Doric farce in the Peloponnesus may well have been hardly more than a loosely connected series of scenes, a compromise between mime and drama.[2] The statement in Athenaeus 621*d*, on the authority of Sosibius, regarding an early Spartan παιδιά performed by a *dikelistes* suggests mime rather than fully developed drama; and the scenes briefly covered under the captions "men stealing fruit" and "a foreign physician," with a quotation from a comedy of Alexis in the Middle period to illustrate what a foreign physician might say in such a παιδιά, may have been independent mimes rather than parts of a larger play. The bracketing of "men stealing fruit" with a foreign physician weakens the force of the passage for our purposes, but the physician as a character,[3] the implied differentiation of foreign and native professional types, and the use of a passage of Middle comedy for illustrative purposes should at least arrest the

[1] Cf. von Salis, *de Doriensium ludorum in comoedia Att. vestigiis*, Basle, 1905.

[2] Cf. Thiele, *N. JHBB f. d. kl. Alt.*, IX (1902), 411 ff.

[3] The passage of Alexis seems to point to the use of dialect, whether native or professional; a physician is generally supposed to be the speaker in Crates, frag. 41, and there uses Doric; cf. von Salis, *op. cit.*, 22 f.; the physician appears in late mimes according to Choricius V. 4 (*Rev. de phil.*, I [1877], 212).

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attention of anybody who is searching for possible anticipations of the professional types of Hellenistic comedy in earlier dramatic forms. In harmony with this evidence of professional types and also of the discrimination of foreign and native rôles stands the statement regarding masks used in the farce of Peloponnesian Megara: a native and a foreign cook were provided with distinguishing masks and type-names, Maeson and Tettix.[1] Whether these and other professional types,[2] if there were such, were taken over by Epicharmus from his home in Peloponnesian Megara to his Sicilian habitat and there developed in a comedy of manners, we have no means of knowing. There is hardly valid evidence, but only a priori assumption that any plays of Epicharmus were comedies of types, of manners, of private life, such as we find in the Hellenistic period.

We must certainly beware of ascribing to Epicharmus any strict uniformity in the content and form of his dramatic poems;[3] the general word "comedy" is improperly applied to them; some of them may have been mimes. Among these mimes probably belong the "debates," Γᾶ καὶ Θάλασσα and Λόγος καὶ Λογίνα; these titles do not suggest anything more than a dramatized debate constituting the whole of a dramatic poem. We have no reason to suppose that the two debates were smaller parts of a larger drama and corresponded to the *agones* of Aristophanic comedy; such debates, however, might easily become parts of a larger whole, and one may properly find analogues, not in the *agones* of Aristophanic comedy, but in the

[1] For the evidence and discussion, cf. Kaibel 76; Schneidewin, *Coniect. crit.*, 120 ff.; Rankin, *The Rôle of the Mageiroi*, etc., 13 ff.; Robert, *Die Masken d. neuer. att. Komödie*, 12 ff., 71 ff. The comic effects secured by Cratinus in his *Odusses* may be due to a fusion of the *mageiros* and of the epic Cyclops (cf. Tanner, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XLVI [1915], 176).

[2] Modern scholars usually find the background of the professional types of Hellenistic comedy in corresponding figures in the episodic scenes of Aristophanic comedy. So far as professional rôles in later comedy are often inorganic, there is some analogy, but as regards the particular professional types employed, the cook, physician, and parasite of Doric farce and Epicharmus offer a more precise background than anything in Aristophanes. The passage of Athenaeus (659*a*) which seems to refer to Megarian farce the mask of the cook also mentions a mask of a *θεράπων*. The slave is too general a rôle to be used for discriminating varieties of comedy, though the Phlyax-vases may provide evidence for Doric farce (von Salis, *op. cit.*, 23 ff.). It is the slave who makes comedy out of tragedy according to the prologue of the *Amphitruo;* it is interesting to find him emerging into the foreground in the later plays of Aristophanes; on his rôle in Old comedy cf. Zuretti, *Riv. di filol.*, XXXI (1903), 46 ff.

[3] Cf. Thiele, *op. cit.*, 418, who argues more from titles than I should venture to do.

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discussion between the two Λόγοι in the *Clouds* and in a faded form in the implied opposition of Wealth and Poverty in the *agon* of the *Plutus* (487 ff.).[1] Among these debates of Epicharmus there is no valid reason for including the Ἐλπὶς ἢ Πλοῦτος; neither the title nor the fragments indicate the nature of the piece; from it are quoted the only fragments that may bear upon professional rôles in Epicharmus. These two fragments (34, 35) are spoken by a character whom Athenaeus (235*e*) describes in the words: "Carystus the Pergamene, in his work Περὶ διδασκαλιῶν, says that the parasite, as we now call him, was first invented by Alexis, forgetting that Epicharmus introduced him in his Ἐλπὶς ἢ Πλοῦτος." Accepting the correction, we note again the *post hoc* in the combination of Epicharmus and Alexis corresponding to the quotation of Alexis in Athenaeus 621*d* to illustrate what the foreign physician in Doric farce might say.[2] In the second place we must observe that Athenaeus' statement implies that Epicharmus did not call the character a parasite;[3] nor have we evidence that the parasite, under that name, existed in contemporary society. Thirdly, as regards technique, we should not overlook the fact that Athenaeus distinctly says that the character in speaking these verses was answering inquiries—that is, the speech was not in the form of monologue as corresponding speeches of parasites in Hellenistic comedy are likely to be; nor can we determine the

[1] Cf. the same opposition in Pherecrates' *Persai*. The debates in Epicharmus seem to me to be peculiarly rhetorical, as we might expect them to be in the home of rhetoric. The figures in the debate are abstract. The immediate issues and connections are to be found in the pastoral debate, in Callimachus' poem on the contest between the olive and the laurel, in the *Mortis et Vitae Iudicium* and *Cocus et Pistor*. The vigorous action and the live questions involved in Aristophanic *agones* might have developed, under the special conditions of Athenian life in the fifth century, from the placid debates of Epicharmus, but I should more easily admit a common origin of the two things than a development directly from mere debate into *agon;* such a common source might perhaps be found in the religious practices discussed by Usener, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, VII (1904), 297 ff., 313. Conceivably, Luxuria and Inopia in the prologue of Plautus' *Trinummus* are a much faded relic of the debate in Epicharmus, and abstractions like *Agnoia* and *Auxilium* in the prologues of New comedy may weakly reflect the interest of Epicharmus in allegorical figures instead of being merely casual variations of the usual divinity-*prologus*. Sieckmann's extravagant theory of the debate in Epicharmus (*de com. Att. primordiis*, Göttingen, 1906) is exploded by Süss, *BPW* (1907), 1377.

[2] On the general connection between Alexis and Epicharmus cf. Kaibel in *PWRE*, I, 1470.

[3] But cf. Giese, *de parasiti persona* (Berlin, 1908), 5, n. 1.

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organic relation of the speaker to the rest of the action. But with all these reservations the fragments which Athenaeus quotes, and especially frag. 35, put in the mouth of the speaker many of the stock themes of the later parasite, as ἄκλητος, γελωτοποιός, κόλαξ, and poverty-stricken, returning after the banquet besotted and unattended, mauled by the police, to his rough shake-down.[1] If the character in Epicharmus played only such a rôle as the parasitic slaves of Demos in Aristophanes' *Knights*, or the parasites of Eupolis' *Kolakes*, or of Aristophanes' *Tagenistai* he loses much of his significance for our present purpose, but in view of Aristotle's statement we are justified in pointing out the possible import of the two fragments.

The evidence of a comedy of manners in Sicily is not increased by consideration of the extant titles of Epicharmus' plays. One may often identify mythological comedy and the debate in Epicharmus by the title, but a supposition that the *Agrostinos* or the *Megaris*[2] is necessarily a comedy of private life can never with our present material be more than idle hypothesis. A vague argument from probability may be easily constructed by anybody who notes the obvious portrayal of private life in contemporary mimes of Sophron, or who cares to stress the scenes from private life often recognizable in the Phluax-vases of Southern Italy, assuming that these reflect a form of Doric farce which Epicharmus himself elaborated;[3] and one may fairly observe that the Atellan play in Italy, with its obvious points of contact with Hellenistic comedy, is supposed by many modern scholars to have developed from the same elements of Doric farce which were incorporated in the Phluakes and embellished by

[1] For parallel themes in Hellenistic comedy, cf. Giese, *op. cit.*, 8, nn. 1, 2. That Crates frag. 3 was spoken by a parasite is merely an interesting guess, particularly interesting because the fragment is from the *Geitones*, in which (cf. below p. 420) Crates, after Epicharmus, exhibited drunkards on the stage. There is some general resemblance between Epich. frag. 35 and the epigram of Posidippus on the parasite which I have interpreted in *CP*, V (1910), 494 ff., so far as the difficulties of the homeward journey are concerned. For an extremely skeptical view of the evidence, cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 78, n. 1.

[2] Having no faith in titles as evidence, I refer to von Salis, *op. cit.*, 51 ff. for a list of titles which Epicharmus has in common with poets of later comedy.

[3] The contrary view that the vases, being from the third century, illustrate a drama influenced by Hellenistic comedy would vitiate such evidence.

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Epicharmus.[1] In general, it would facilitate our understanding of Hellenistic comedy and its background if we were in a position to prove that back of Epicharmus and of the Atellan play and of the Phluakes lay mythological and biological mimes which the Sicilian poet had developed from isolated or loosely connected scenes into coherent plays of manners and mythology, perhaps shorter in compass than the plays of either Old or New comedy. But of the mime in any early period it is difficult to recover clear traces, least of all to discern what relation it bore to the comedy, whether Dorian or Attic, which so often shows traits in common with it. Personally I find it difficult to regard as purely casual and accidental the transition which Athenaeus makes to his account of the beginnings of comedy, particularly of the mimic entertainments of the Spartan *dikelistes*. The whole passage, it will be remembered, is imbedded in an account of musical entertainments. Before passing to the *κωμικὴ παιδιά* of the Spartan *dikelist*, as described by Sosibius, Athenaeus, discussing the musical mime, quotes Aristoxenus for the assertion that *τὴν μὲν ἱλαρωδίαν σεμνὴν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μαγῳδίαν παρὰ τὴν κωμῳδίαν*, and continues: *πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγῳδοὶ καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑποκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν*. Then briefly explaining the etymology of *μαγῳδία*, he passes at once to the *κωμικὴ παιδιά* of Sparta and ultimately to the heckling phallic chorus from which Aristotle derives Attic comedy. Magody is Ionic rather than Doric, but it is only a form of the pan-Hellenic mime and the rôles which the magodist assumed, *ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας* [*καὶ*] *μοιχοὺς καὶ μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον παραγινόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην* bring us into the range of characters and materials that would help much toward a reconstruction of the background of Hellenistic comedy, if we could once demonstrate that any of the plays of Epicharmus, contemporary of Sophron, were variously developed forms of the mime.[2] But as it is, the titles of Epicharmus' plays

[1] Cf. Marx, *PWRE*, *s. v.* Atellana.

[2] As Hiller has pointed out (*Rh. Mus.*, XXX [1875], 72) one should not hastily infer from Aristoxenus that magody developed later than the comedy with which it has characters and themes in common. The post-Christian remains of mime are always open to the charge of being influenced by comedy, but they read like popular, unliterary productions. The *certamen* between sailors on river boats and sailors on

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lend greater plausibility to a theory of the influence of mythological than of biological mime.

With substantial evidence of a mythological comedy in Sicily and hardly more than vague surmisings of a comedy of manners we turn to Crates and Pherecrates. The scanty evidence of their dramatic work only negatively supports Aristotle's statement; the fragments are devoid of scurrilous attack; the titles are often non-committal, but they certainly suggest no emphasis upon mythological subject-matter and only by the incautious may they be used to demonstrate a comedy of manners. But outside the unknown and unknowable of titles and fragments there lies a tangible bit of evidence that seems to corroborate in a general way Aristotle's sharp discrimination of Crates' work from the less organic scurrilous comedy of the fifth century. In the notable document which Aristophanes gives us in the parabasis of the *Knights*, recounting the history of comedy down to his own day, the characterization of Crates, following the account of Magnes, with his interest in fantastic plays, and of Cratinus as the browbeater of contemporary wrongdoers, is highly significant in comparison with Aristotle's statement. Unfortunately Aristophanes' mysterious figurative language is as tantalizing as Aristotle's broad generalization; yet the two statements are, in a somewhat negative sense, harmonious. Crates, according to Aristophanes,[1] served a lunch to the audience at slight expense; he fashioned the neatest conceits in the driest style.[2] His reward was the wrath of the audience and hard knocks; yet *he* single-handed held his ground, sometimes failing, sometimes succeeding. Naturally

ocean-faring vessels, the opposition of sober man and drunkard, in late mimes are in spirit and form, though not in time, near the debates of Epicharmus (cf. the fifth edition of Crusius' Herondas 134–39). And the *Charition* (Crusius, *ibid.*, 101 ff.) should be more significant to any student of Hellenistic comedy than Euripides' *Iph. Taur.* and *Helena*.

[1] οἷας δὲ Κράτης ὀργὰς ὑμῶν ἠνέσχετο καὶ στυφελίγμους,
ὃς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπεν,
ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας·
χοὗτος μέντοι μόνος ἀντήρκει, τοτὲ μὲν πίπτων τοτὲ δ' οὐχί [537–40].

[2] On the interpretation of ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων I have no convictions, but whether the adjective is connected with κράμβη, of a plain fare, or with κράμβος, of a dry style, the phrase reinforces the meaning of ἀριστίζων; for various views, compare, not only the commentators, but Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 96, and the recent suggestions discussed by Körte, *Burs.-Jahresb.*, CLII (1911), 293.

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the interpretation of the passage is much disputed. A possible clue to the main thought is contained in Aristophanes frag. 333,[1] in which Crates is caricatured again for what we may suspect is an example of his "conceits" (cf. Crates frag. 29), and the adverb ἀπόνως seems to be applied with a suggestion of the slight outlay of intellectual effort which, from Aristophanes' standpoint, was expended by Crates in his comedies. To this meager mental expenditure, I think, Aristophanes refers in the "lunch at small expense" in the *Knights*. But that Aristophanes has in mind a tamer non-scurrilous comedy which, as compared with the virulent abuse in Cratinus, seems to him a lunch at slight expense is by no means clear; he may be referring only to such details of Crates' plays as he attacks in frag. 333, in which, apparently, a mere phrase or conceit of Crates is ironically handled in figurative language that is not unlike the figure employed in *Knights* 538.[2] The value, therefore, of the passage of the *Knights* lies, in my opinion, simply in the sharp differentiation of Crates from the other comic poets, not in the details of the description, which only by hasty and rash interpretation can be made to refer precisely to a non-scurrilous comedy.[3]

Outside of the *Knights* (and the scholia *ad loc.*, to which I shall refer later) only a scrap or two of external evidence remains, and that, again, is tantalizing. A recently discovered commentary on Aristophanes (*Papiri Greco-Egizii*, ii. 9) contains the words: (πρῶτος δ)ὲ ὁ Κράτ(η)ς (ε)ἰσή(γαγεν), then a gap, and καπηλίδων in the next sentence. This may have ascribed to Crates the introduction of characters like the καπηλίδες, and the general drift may have loosely corresponded to the assertion in an anonymous writer on comedy

[1] The text of the fragment (cf. Kaibel's Athenaeus 117*c*) is unintelligible in part, though the general meaning is clear. Comedy is represented, ironically, as furnishing μέγα βρῶμα at the time of Crates; and the diet supplied by Comedy in his time is illustrated by τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον, the whimsical phrase of Crates.

[2] The resemblance lies between the lunch in the *Knights* and the μέγα βρῶμα furnished by Comedy according to the ironic statement of the fragment.

[3] I admit, of course, that with Aristotle's statement in mind one easily yields to the temptation of pressing the meaning of the passage of the *Knights*, but in view of frag. 333 I think that it is in the interest of conservative interpretation to avoid such large inferences as Neil, *ad loc.*, draws in saying that Crates represents "a foreshadowing of the New comedy" and that "ἀστεῖος would especially suit the Athenian Terence."

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(Kaibel, 7/30), who says of Crates: *καὶ πρῶτος μεθύοντας ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παρήγαγεν.* The same fact is reported in Athenaeus (429*a*), who in a trivial discussion of the use of drunkards in the drama, after contending that Aeschylus, not Euripides, *πρῶτος . . . . παρήγαγε τὴν τῶν μεθυόντων ὄψιν εἰς τραγωδίαν*, continues: *ἀγνοοῦσί τε οἱ λέγοντες πρῶτον Ἐπίχαρμον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν παραγαγεῖν μεθύοντα, μεθ' ὃν Κράτητα ἐν Γείτοσι.* Quite apart from the validity of such accounts of *εὑρήματα*, the use of drunkards does not necessarily point to any specific type of comedy, but we may at least observe in Athenaeus the *post hoc* that again binds Epicharmus and Crates; it is not, however, stated as a *propter hoc.*[1]

Passing to internal evidence, we find that neither the titles nor the fragments of Crates' and Pherecrates' plays have more than negative value. The statement of Suidas regarding Crates that there were two poets of the name attaches some doubt to the authorship of the titles and fragments referred to him. Clearly, however, neither Aristophanes nor Aristotle was conscious of any ambiguity in referring to Crates. Of the *Thesauros* and the *Philarguros*, titles which seem to some indicative of a comedy of manners, we have no fragments. Meineke,[2] judging from the titles, immediately denies the authorship of Crates, and ascribes the plays to the period of Middle or New comedy, a rather singular procedure in view of Aristotle's statement. But only a hasty critic will argue much from such titles. Plays with the title *Thesauros*, to be sure, were written by half a dozen Hellenistic poets, and Philemon's play of that name was the model of Plautus' *Trinummus*. Certainly *Philarguros* would be a fitting title for a character comedy such as suggested Plautus' *Aulularia*. But Crates' *Thesauros* may in plot have more nearly resembled Aristophanes' *Plutus* (in this case, perhaps, of some interest as an example of the type of Middle comedy), and we cannot deny that *φιλάργυρος* may mean "grafter" as well as "miser," and that the play was as likely to be a scurrilous satire as a character comedy.[3] These possibilities I mention simply to justify my refusal

[1] The evidence clearly does not warrant any suggestion of connection between the drunkards in Crates' plays and the *κῶμος μεθυόντων* of Menander.

[2] *FCG*, I, 64.

[3] The rôle played by Thesauros in Lucian's *Timon* (compared with Antiphanes' *Timon*) strengthens the suggestion that Crates' *Thesauros* might have resembled the

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to argue from titles alone. Of mythological comedy, which is the most completely authenticated material of Epicharmus' plays, Crates has no clear trace save in the title *Dionusos*. Little can safely be argued of the content of the plays from the fragments; the *Theria* presented a picture of Schlaraffenland in which the table set itself, wine poured itself, and the like. This may have been social satire rather than personal abuse; if so, one may well note that such a type of comedy might fall within the range of Aristotle's reference to generalized comedy. Such criticism of social conditions, as distinguished from personal abuse, is more fully suggested by the titles of Pherecrates' plays; frag. 155 proves that this poet was not entirely averse to personal attack, but otherwise the fragments contain no personal criticism. Titles like *Agrioi*, *Metalles*, *Krapataloi*, *Murmekanthropoi*, in combination with fragments and external evidence, point to an interest in Utopian sociological comedy. *Anthropherakles*, *Pseudheracles*, *Cheiron* might have been mythological. Tantalizing possibilities of a comedy of manners are contained in three titles, *Ἐπιλήσμων ἢ Θάλαττα*, *Korianno*, *Petale;* for there is some reason to think that Korianno, and possibly Thalatta and Petale, were names of courtezans.[1]

Baffling as the search is for positive confirmation of the facts expressed in Aristotle's statement, I think that we may safely say that his characterization of Crates was part of a larger and consistent theory which found in Sicilian comedy, and in occasional imitations of it in Athens in the fifth century, a substantial foreshadowing of Hellenistic comedy. The scholia on the passage of the *Knights* already discussed are the usual mass of error, idle fancy, and possible fact. One of them, erroneously referring to Crates as a tragic poet,

Plutus in a general way rather than any such play as Philemon wrote. On *φιλάργυρος* in the sense of "grafter" cf. Platonius' account of comedy (Kaibel 3/8), where *φιλάργυροι* is obviously covered by the *χρήματα συλλέγουσιν ἐξ ἀδικίας* of Kaibel 5/49.

[1] The evidence in the case of Thalatta and Petale is hardly valid, that for Korianno is more substantial; cf. Meineke, *FCG*, I, 82, 83, 86 n. 29. The bibulous women, the quarrel of father and son, both perhaps in love with the same courtesan, are suggestive details in the *Korianno*. That Anaxandrides (Suidas *s.v.*) was the first to introduce into comedy *ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθοράς* is contradicted by what is reported of Aristophanes' *Kokalos* and, in general, statements in which *εὑρήματα* are ascribed to Hellenistic comic poets only substantiate the frequent recurrence in their plays of certain characters and themes. On the *Agrioi* cf. Hoffmann, *Ad antiq. com. historiam symbolae*, Berlin, 1910.

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ascribes to him ὀλιγόστιχα ποιήματα, and another begins σμικρὰ ἐποίει. . . . . These references to the smaller compass of Crates' productions may be idle inferences from the "lunch at small expense" in the text of Aristophanes,[1] but a play without a chorus or with a relatively inactive chorus would naturally be appreciably shorter than the normal play of Aristophanes. The concluding sentence, however, of the second scholium is worthy of more serious attention. It will be remembered that Aristophanes in the text distinctly says that Crates endured the anger of the audience and rough knocks at the hands of the spectators, though the younger poet admits that occasional success in the dramatic competition rewarded Crates' efforts. This second scholium is sufficiently at variance with Aristophanes' statement to warrant an inference that the scholiast has information other than that furnished by Aristophanes; the scholium reads: σμικρὰ ἐποίει καὶ ἔτερπε τοὺς ἀκροατάς, γράφων ἡδέα. Aristophanes has certainly not emphasized the entertainment furnished the audience by Crates. Now in a familiar passage of Aristotle's *Ethics* (1128*a*) the philosopher distinguishes buffoonery from true wit:[2] the buffoon aims only to excite laughter rather than to say what is seemly and to avoid paining the object of his ridicule. Later Aristotle illustrates the difference by an appeal to the Old and the New comedies, meaning by the latter what we call the Middle comedy, and expresses the thought which underlies the ancient theory of comedy found in the late Greek documents summarized above, viz.; that Old comedy found τὸ γελοῖον in αἰσχρολογία, New (Middle) comedy in ὑπόνοια. He then raises the question how we are to define seemly jesting in these words: πότερον οὖν τὸν εὖ σκώπτοντα ὁριστέον τῷ λέγειν μὴ ἀπρεπῆ ἐλευθερίῳ, ἢ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν; ἢ καὶ τό γε τοιοῦτον ἀόριστον; ἄλλο γὰρ ἄλλῳ μισητόν τε καὶ ἡδύ. The sharp antithesis between τὸ λυπεῖν and τὸ τέρπειν, as coterminous with the differentiation between αἰσχρολογία

[1] The *Liber Glossarum* (Kaibel, 72/14) ascribes to the earliest writers of Old comedy plays not over 300 verses in length, a statement that is discredited by Kaibel, "Die Prolegomena," 46, n. 1 and exploited by Sieckmann, *op. cit.*, 24, as harmonising with Birt's conjectural estimate of the length of Epicharmus' plays.

[2] Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, 218 n. 1, briefly notes the relation between the two passages (and Evanthius, quoted above), but Hendrickson, in dealing with Roman satire, had already made full use of the relevant material; cf. *AJP*, XV (1894), 1 ff; XXI (1900), 121 ff; especially XV (1894), 25 and nn. 1, 2.

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and *ὑπόνοια*, and between Old and Middle comedy warrants us, I think, in suspecting that the scholiast on the *Knights* in his strange emphasis on *ἕτερπε* and *ἡδέα* is dependent upon just such a differentiation of Old and Middle comedy as Aristotle makes, and by referring to Crates as interested primarily in *τὸ τέρπειν* the scholiast may be echoing part of a fuller discussion of the matter by Aristotle in which not only was Middle comedy differentiated from the Old in the terms of the *Ethics*, but Crates was represented as anticipating the Middle comedy in the terms of the *Poetics*.

This theory seems to emerge in other ancient documents. An anonymous writer on comedy (Kaibel 7/28–8/35) agrees with Aristotle in ascribing non-scurrilous comedy to Crates and adds Pherecrates to the list. In describing Crates he uses the phrase *πάνυ γελοῖος καὶ ἱλαρὸς γενόμενος*. The adjective *ἱλαρός* is in implied antithesis to *αὐστηρός*, *πικρός*, and the like, descriptive of the normal poets of Old comedy. This particular antithesis is prominent in the Latin documents, which, we have already remarked, offer a more reasonable statement of Greek theory than the Greek documents, when they come to differentiate the New comedy from the Old. So in the *Liber Glossarum* (Kaibel 72/15) the adjective *ἱλαρός* applied to Crates is recalled in the sentence: "postea autem omissa maledicendi libertate privatorum hominum vitam *cum hilaritate* imitabantur, admonentes quid adpetendum quidve cavendum esset." And *ἡδέα γράφων* applied to Crates by the scholiast on the *Knights* is recalled when we observe the sharp antithesis between the bitter and the sweet of the Old and the New comedy, respectively, in such statements as Diomedes makes (Kaibel 58/165): "secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes, Eupolis et Cratinus, qui et principum vitia sectati *acerbissimas* comoedias composuerunt. tertia aetas fuit Menandri, Diphili et Philemonis, qui *omnem acerbitatem* comoediae *mitigaverunt*. . . . ." And so Evanthius (Kaibel 64/70) distinguishes New comedy as the type "quae . . . . *minus amaritudinis* spectatoribus et eadem opera *multum delectationis* afferret." Through all such commentary runs the Aristotelian antithesis of *λυπεῖν* and *τέρπειν*, of (*πικρός*) and *ἡδύς* as coterminous with the *λοιδορία* and the *ὑπόνοια* of Old and Hellenistic comedy, and the characterization of Crates is an inherent part of this theory.

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The theory as theory therefore can be substantially rehabilitated; the value which we attach to it will accord with our estimate of Aristotle's worth as a literary critic. It will, however, still be impossible to confirm either the facts or the theory from the material evidence supplied by our extant remains of Sicilian comedy and of Crates. From this evidence the only conservative inference, if we attach any value to Aristotle's statement, may be best expressed in Wilamowitz' discreet comment:[1] "Um die Entwicklung des Aristophanes und der Komödie überhaupt zu beurteilen, müssten wir eine mythologische Travestie und ein Stück des Pherekrates, wie die *Korianno*, kennen: so ist es bitter, aber unvermeidlich, dass wir resignieren." This passive state of resignation, however, may well become one of positive opposition if modern students of Roman comedy, minimizing this tantalizing evidence of a generalized comedy developing under Sicilian influence in the hands of Crates and Pherecrates in the fifth century, proceed to construct a theory in which Hellenistic comedy appears largely as an issue from Euripidean tragedy.[2] For weak as the links may be that connect Epicharmus, Crates, and Pherecrates with Hellenistic comedy, they are at

[1] *Sitzb. d. berlin. Akad.* (1911), 485.

[2] Very reluctantly, in the pages above, I have briefly resumed the evidence of ancient theory, without expecting to add much to the discussion. The proper appreciation, however, of the Euripidean theory seemed to me impossible without once more surveying, I hope conservatively, the opposing view of ancient critics and distinguishing two versions of ancient dogma. The emphasis upon political conditions in one version may be old, as a comparison of Platonius (Kaibel 3/9 ff.) with Ps. Xenoph. *de rep. Ath.* II. 18 suggests; and the aesthetic version does not necessarily exclude the main elements of the political theory. Yet my main interest is not in any precise determination of sources, but in sketching the outlines of an Aristotelian theory in which Old and Middle comedy are sharply differentiated, with proper provision for foreshadowings of the Middle comedy even in the fifth century, and these foreshadowings not primarily in the aggressive triad, Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes. Very likely, if we had all the material of comedy before us, we might not accept this Aristotelian theory, for modern procedure, in explaining the development of literary types, is more exact than ancient theory; but it is none the less important to note that, with the exception of a single document to be discussed later, ancient theory that is substantially due to Aristotle has found no place for Euripides in accounting for the development of comedy down to at least the middle of the fourth century.

In a brief survey, written simply as preliminary to a discussion of the Euripidean theory, a full bibliography of the treatment by modern scholars of Sicilian-Attic comedy is out of place. A detailed examination of the question may be expected in a Princeton dissertation, as yet unpublished, entitled *The Transition from Old to Middle Comedy*. Older handbooks of Greek literature, as, for example, Bergk-Peppmueller, followed Aristotle's clue, often exaggerating the value of the evidence. Welcker in his study

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least sufficient to induce a sober conservative attitude toward any exclusive emphasis upon Euripidean tragedy, or upon a combination of scurrilous comedy and Euripidean tragedy, as the dominant force in the generation of later comedy. The vogue of the modern theory, however, requires a serious consideration of the bases upon which it rests.

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[To be concluded]

of Epicharmus in *Kleine Schriften* did not hesitate to emphasize the value of Sicilian-Attic comedy. Hasper devoted a loosely written programme (*De Cratete et Pherecrate nov. com. praecursoribus* [Leipzig, 1877]) to the subject. Zielinski, *Die Gliederung d. altatt. Komödie*, 242, endeavored to discriminate a Dorian, mythological, ethico-social, from an Ionic, political-personal, or elfish, comedy. Süss, in his dissertation *De personarum ant. com. Att. usu atque origine* (Bonn, 1905), saw the significance of Crates and Pherecrates, but in *Rh. Mus.*, LXV (1910), 441 ff. emphasised the value of Aristophanes as foreshadowing Hellenistic comedy. The most recent statements of the case by Körte represent the germs of mythological and realistic comedy as existing in Sicilian comedy; he appreciates the importance of Crates and Pherecrates; nor does he fail to emphasize the influence of Euripides though regarding it as setting in late and gradually increasing; cf. *Hermes*, XXXIX (1904), 486, 490; *Burs.-Jahresb.*, CLII (1911), 233, 244, 258; and his popular essay *Die griech. Komödie* (1914), pp. 24 ff., 68 ff. The effect of Leo's studies in Roman comedy is apparent in most of the recent handbooks of Greek literature, as in Christ-Schmid I^{6}, 400, in which the influence of the Sicilian comedy of types on Old comedy, particularly on Crates, and then upon Middle and New comedy, it is remarked, "kann zuversichtlich angenommen werden," and "the same influence is probably effective upon the Atellan play"; the force of "zuversichtlich" can be estimated by the full statement of Euripidean influence in the same handbook, II/1^{6}, 26 ff.

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LAND RECLAMATION IN THE FAYUM UNDER PTOLEMIES PHILADELPHUS AND EUERGETES I

By W. L. Westermann

CHRONOLOGY

The ancient irrigation system of the Nile Valley which Ptolemy Soter found in operation when he took control of Egypt had been developed by a gradual process of evolution which had already covered a period of more than three thousand years before Alexander entered the country. No data remain to us from the Pharaonic period which can give us an insight into the details of canal and embankment construction. Fortune has been kinder to us in the Ptolemaic period. In 1889–90 Mr. Flinders Petrie made an important discovery of paper coffins at Tell-Gurob, a mound lying south and west of the Bahr-Yusuf (Canal of Joseph) in the angle where it turns sharply northwestward to enter the Fayum. These coffins were found to be manufactured of old papyri glued together. The difficulty encountered in detaching the separate papyri explains the shattered condition of this group of documents, which was published as the famous *Petrie Papyri*.[1] For our present purpose the important documents are a series of letters from the official correspondence of Cleon and his successor Theodorus, engineers in charge of state building projects, including irrigation, in the Fayum.[2] The private letters which passed between Cleon and various members of his family are among the most appealing documents which have come down to us from antiquity.[3] No one endowed with an imagination and a kindly heart could read the intimate letters of this family

[1] *Flinders Petrie Papyri*. Vols. I and II edited by J. P. Mahaffy; Vol. III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly. Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs VIII (1891), IX (1893), XI (1905). Dublin.

[2] P. Pet. II, III.

[3] The private letters will be found in best form in S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1911). The career of Cleon has been sketched sympathetically by Wilamowitz, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 246–53. A. Bouché-Leclercq has reconstructed the whole career of Cleon in an attractive article, "L'Ingénieur Cleon," *Revue des etudes grecques*, XXI (1908), 121–52.

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without a feeling of deep sympathy for Cleon in the hour of his disgrace and retirement from his high position. Unfortunately the private letters do not concern us here, excepting as we may trace in them the outlines of the public career of Cleon.

The official activity of Cleon as engineer (*ἀρχιτέκτων*) in the Arsinoite Nome (the Fayum) may be traced, in the correspondence saved to us, from the twenty-seventh year to the thirty-third year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 258–252 B.C.[1]

The date of the appointment of Theodorus as successor to Cleon is uncertain, although we have an official announcement (date lost) addressed to the oeconomi, nomarchs, royal scribes of the nomes, police officials, comarchs, and village scribes, of the advancement of Theodorus (P. Pet. II, 42 (*a*), p. 138) from the position of sub-engineer (*ὑπαρχιτέκτων*) to that of full guardianship of the dykes and the control of the irrigation waters. In the year 30 of Philadelphus, 255 B.C., Petechonsis was *ὑπαρχιτέκτων*. Presumably, then, Theodorus came into that position *after* the year 255. He appears for the first time as *architecton* in the year 2 of Euergetes, 245 B.C.,[2] is holding that office in the years 241 and 240 B.C.,[3] and appears for the last time as *architecton*, so far as the papyri show, in the year 10, or 237 B.C.[4] The extant papyri falling later than 237 B.C. do not mention the *ἀρχιτέκτων* or the *ὑπαρχιτέκτων*. This may, of course, be chance, and the office may have continued for a long time. But the probabilities are that it ceased to exist thereafter, because the work was completed.[5] The official activity of Cleon and Theodorus was

[1] The memorial addressed by Cleon to Diotimus, P. Pet. II, 13, (17), p. 42, mentions official activities of the year 27 of Philadelphus. I agree with Wilamowitz, *Reden und Vorträge*, p. 249, note 3, as against Wilcken, in identifying this Cleon with the engineer of the entire correspondence. P. Pet. II, 13, (11), p. 39, is of the twenty-eighth year. In P. Pet. III, 42, F *a*, the date must be restored [λ]γ, the thirty-third year, and in it Cleon still has the official title *ἀρχιτέκτων*. In the unsettled condition of the dating of regnal years in the third century B.C. I am arbitrarily accepting the later date of the two possibilities offered by Grenfell and Hunt in their table in P. Hib. Appendix III.

[2] P. Pet. III, 43, (2), p. 119.

[3] P. Pet. II, 9, (2), (3), (4), pp. 22, 23, and 24.

[4] P. Pet. II, 15, (2), p. 52. For the date, *εἰς τὸ ιΓ*, see P. Pet. III, 42, (7), p. 131. As a result of the dating *εἰς τὸ ιΓ* the dioecetes Eutyches in H. Maspero's list, in *Les Finances d'Egypte sous les Lagides*, p. 245, is to be definitely placed in the year 10 of Ptolemy III, or 237 B.C.

[5] Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, 1, p. 332.

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apparently confined to the Fayum. We have, as yet, no information about any *architecton* attached to any other nome than the Arsinoite, nor have we any knowledge of any other original reclamation project from any other nome or period, on any similar scale.[1]

The results of the reclamation work accomplished under Cleon and Theodorus are still discernible to the eyes of the archaeologists who have worked in the Fayum.[2] For no remains or articles have been found on the third, or next to the lowest, plateau of the Fayum and none on the lower half of the second plateau, which antedate the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. In other words, these portions of the Fayum had no villages upon them before Philadelphus' time, but were still under water. Geographic and archaeological evidence, therefore, prove that these plateaus were laid bare in the third century B.C. The *Petrie Papyri* have given us the names of the two engineers who directed the important project, with some details as to the methods of work employed in carrying it out.

Table I may help to visualize our present knowledge of the chronology of the work as shown in the names of the officials in charge as engineers and sub-engineers. Wherever the official title appears along with the name in the correspondence of any year, that fact is indicated in the table.

TABLE I

Year	Engineer	Sub-Engineer
B.C.		
258.....	Cleon	
257.....	Cleon	
256.....	Cleon	
255.....	Cleon, title ἀρχιτέκτων given	Petechonsis, title ὑπαρχιτέκτων given
254.....	Cleon	
253.....	Cleon	
252.....	Cleon, title ἀρχιτέκτων given	
251 } date in- }	Theodorus	Theodorus, title ὑπαρχιτέκτων given
247 } definite }		
245.....	Theodorus, title ἀρχιτέκτων given	
241.....	Theodorus	
240.....	Theodorus, title ἀρχιτέκτων given	
239.....	Theodorus*	
237.....	Theodorus, title ἀρχιτέκτων given	

* In this year Theodorus combined in his person the office of ἀρχιτέκτων and οἰκονόμος. —P. Pet. II, 9, (5), p. 24.

[1] The project described in P. Lille, 1, is for the recovery of waste lands formerly under cultivation, but now unproductive.

[2] Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri* (P. Fay.) (London, 1900), pp. 2, 14, 15.

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The work of reclamation in the Fayum certainly, therefore, extended over a period of twenty-one years, 258–237 B.C. Witkowski[1] seems to put the beginning of the task about 260 B.C. Bouché-Leclercq ascribes the whole reclamation scheme to Ptolemy Soter and indicates a much earlier date in the reign of Philadelphus[2] for the actual beginning of operations. I have little hesitation in agreeing with the latter and find several reasons for suggesting 270 B.C. as the latest date which can be considered. In the year 255 B.C. a "Canal of Cleon," named after the engineer, is nearing completion.[3] One must presuppose that several seasons' work had already been done upon this canal, which is a new one, and that the activities of Cleon had been so important in connection with it as to attract his sovereign's attention to the extent of naming the canal in honor of the chief engineer. This would carry the engineering work of Cleon earlier than 260 B.C. Secondly, P. Pet. II, 16, is undoubtedly a letter out of the correspondence of Cleon's family.[4] It mentions events which occurred in the years 265 and 264 and was evidently written in the period 263–260 B.C. Even that early Cleon is already close to the king. A more convincing consideration is this. The correspondence of the year 28, or 257 B.C.,[5] shows that a certain village in the reclaimed area, named Philoteris, had long since been established, and the land around it brought under cultivation. For even in that year the dykes are distinguished as "new" and "old" dykes. Throughout the Cleon correspondence it is evident that the canals in the reclaimed area were already being used for purposes of irrigation in the years 258–252 B.C. As soon as the size of the lake had been diminished, the reclaimed land was settled with agricultural colonists and brought under cultivation as rapidly as the canals could be extended. As a result of this occupation and use, the further extension of canals and dykes must have progressed slowly. New construction and repairs were carried on usually during

[1] "Circa a. 260 magnam Moeridis lacus partem siccavit"—Witkowski, *Epist. Privatae Graecae*, 2d ed., p. 1.

[2] In *Revue des Etudes grecques*, XXI, 122; cf. P. Fay., p. 15.

[3] P. Pet. II, 6, p. 17: *καὶ συντελέσαι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς* Κλέωνος *διώρυγος.*

[4] Witkowski, *loc. cit.*, No. 4.

[5] P. Pet. III, 37. This village has been identified by Grenfell and Hunt, P. Fay., p. 63, and located at the site of the modern village of Wadfa (see map at end of P. Fay.).

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the months Epiph to Athyr, or July to November inclusive. For this was the flood period, and the labor of the farms would then be available for other than agricultural work. Furthermore, as several of the extant contracts for construction work clearly show, work upon dykes and canals in the remaining months of the year tended to impede the regular process of irrigating the land.[1] These are the reasons which make it seem reasonable to stretch the period of this reclamation work backward from 237 to 270 B.C., or perhaps earlier. The work could not have been completed under Philadelphus, nor could it have been carried out speedily, as Grenfell assumed.[2]

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[1] P. Pet. II, 9, (4), p. 24: *συντελεσθήτω τὸ ἔργον ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτισμοῦ πράγματα ἡμῖν παρέχηι.* Cf. P. Pet. III, 43, Col. II, p. 119, a contract for construction work with the stipulation *οὐθὲν ἐπικωλύοντες βρέχειν τὴν γήν.*

[2] P. Fay., p. 15.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

PROFESSOR REID ON CICERO

ATT. xiii. 33. 1 and *FAM.* xvi. 23. 1

The two passages are as follows:

Att. xiii. 33. 1 (dated June 3, 45): "O neglegentiam miram! Semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relatam? Qui etiam eorum iussu miserim qui profiteretur; ita enim oportere dicebant. Professus est Philotimus libertus. Nosti credo librarium. Sed scribes et quidem confectum."

Fam. xvi. 23. 1 (dated May 27, 44): "Tu vero confice professionem, si potes; etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat. Verum tamen!"

It is seldom that so much depends on interpretation. If the view I have taken is correct,[1] that the *professiones* mentioned here are annual returns of property and are to be identified with the returns provided for in the *lex Iulia municipalis*,[2] we are well on the road to proving that Caesar introduced into Rome (and into the rest of Italy) the yearly property registration in vogue in Egypt, and, in fact, reorganized the Roman census. Professor Reid[3] thinks that my view is mistaken. He admits that the passages have the same context and relate to some legislation of Caesar, but maintains there are at least two more probable explanations. In the first he supposes a reference to the *lex Iulia sumptuaria*, which placed a tax on tombs equal to the amount of expense incurred above the legally permitted limit. As Cicero at this time was intent on a monument to his daughter, the *professiones* are best understood as declarations before an official respecting its cost. In fact, in the words, "haec pecunia ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat," we have "the precise amount to be expended in excess of that fixed by the law." This hypothesis leaves several things unaccounted for, among them: (1) how this "precise amount" was arrived at when Cicero was uncertain what the expense would be, (2) the difficulty (implied in

[1] The discussion has arisen from my article, "The Professiones of the Heraclean Tablet," in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, V, 125–37. A fuller statement of certain points may be found in the writer's "Ciceronian and Heraclean Professiones," *Classical Quarterly*, October, 1917.

[2] The text is conveniently consulted in Bruns' *Fontes* (7th ed.), pp. 102–3. I assume for the moment its Caesarian authorship. If my contention is right, both this and the date are established beyond question.

[3] "The So-called Lex Iulia Municipalis," *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, V, 207 ff.

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the letter to Tiro) of filling out the return, (3) the requirement of two returns just a year apart, (4) the fact that the reports were made before any expense had been incurred. But, aside from this, the hypothesis is disproved by the certainty that the monument was not a tomb, but a shrine, and as such exempt from the sumptuary law. (Even Caesar would hardly put a tax on temples!) It is true that from Tullia's death in February[1] till the following May, Cicero contemplated a tomb, which he then changed to a shrine. One reason for the change (which was coincident with his finding out about the law)[2] was to escape the legal penalty, the other the better to secure his daughter's apotheosis. The evidence for this is Cicero's own statement. "I am determined," he says,[3] "to build a shrine and to avoid all likeness to a tomb, not so much on account of the penalty of the law as most effectively to accomplish ἀποθέωσις." Professor Reid seeks to avoid this fatal objection by supposing that Cicero was mistaken about the law. Instead of being guided by the evidence in the case, Professor Reid would explain it away.

Professor Reid's alternative solution is to relate the passages to Cicero's supposed procedure under the debtors' act[4] to bring about a settlement of his claim against Faberius, to whom he had lent a sum of money some months previous. Being in need of money for the shrine, he placed on public file a statement of the debt—the *professio* of June 3. This statement (by chance) came into the hands of Faberius, himself a public *scriba*, who, seeing that it was his own debt, neglected to enter it on the records. He also deceived Balbus, whose statement that it had been recorded is thus accounted for. A year later[5] Cicero, finding that his claim did not come within the law (his second legal blunder, by the way), wrote to Tiro[6] that "this particular sum did not require registration." And yet in the same breath he assents to the registration. But this is not more strange than that Cicero in the original declaration should look for guidance in the procedure to his debtor. He was not, in fact, unacquainted with the provisions of the law. As early as July 46, in a letter to Paetus,[7] he makes them the basis of some elaborate irony, and on March 17, 45, he writes to Atticus[8] of settling his debt to Ovia by a transfer of land under the same act.

It is an assumption (a very necessary one, indeed) of this hypothesis that Faberius was a *scriba* in the sense that he copied public records or had charge of such work. As we know, he was Caesar's secretary[9] and had but recently returned from this service in Spain[10] to assist Balbus in directing

[1] Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, p. 271.
[2] *Att.* xii. 35. 2.
[3] *Att.* xii. 36. 1.
[4] Carried by Caesar in 49.
[5] May 27, 44.
[6] *Fam.* xvi. 23. 1.
[7] *Fam.* ix. 18. 4.
[8] *Att.* xii. 21. 3.
[9] Appian, *B.C.* iii. 1. 5.
[10] Cic. *Att.* xviii. 28. 1; Schmidt, "Faberius," in *Commentationes Fleckeisenianae*, p. 229.

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affairs in Italy. He had a splendid house on the Aventine.[1] That such a man should occupy himself with clerical labor is almost ludicrous. It is true Vitruvius speaks of him as "Faberius scriba,"[2] but Professor Reid overlooks the fact (as some lexicographers have done) that the word is also used of the secretary to a high official. Cicero refers to his own secretary during his governorship of Cilicia as *scriba meus* and to C. Septimius (who was charged by Vettius with having brought him a dagger from the consul Bibulus) as *scribam Bibuli*.[3] This was undoubtedly the title of Caesar's secretary, so that there need be no further difficulty in identifying Vitruvius' *scriba* with Appian's ὁ γραμματεύς.

A second assumption of Professor Reid's interpretation is that Faberius' debt was still unsettled on May 27, 44. Cicero does not state definitely when the settlement took place. It was probably, as Schmidt has shown,[4] in the week following May 30, 45. At all events the debt is not mentioned further, which is sufficient evidence that it did not drag on for a year longer, especially as Cicero continued to cherish his plan for the shrine,[5] and to be in need of money for this purpose.

Notwithstanding his interest in Faberius, Professor Reid has apparently overlooked Cicero's letter of May 30.[6] Atticus had arranged a tentative settlement with Faberius which, however, was unsatisfactory in some particulars. He then referred the matter to Cicero, who on May 30 wrote to express his approval of the arrangement, though the details were still to be settled. Four days later, on June 3 (on Professor Reid's theory), Cicero announces to Atticus that with the co-operation of Faberius and Balbus he had taken recourse to the law, implying that he had been so engaged for several days and that Atticus had thought him remiss. In the face of such contradiction and absurdity the collapse of the whole hypothesis is inevitable.

As both of Professor Reid's interpretations seem untenable, I may indicate summarily the grounds of my own position. The intervention of Balbus and Faberius in *Att.* xiii. 33. 1 makes it certain that some recently passed law of Caesar's is in question. If we examine the *professiones* which Cicero was required to make out and file, we find they had the following external features: they were presented at Rome; they must be handed in by a fixed date (hence the anxiety of Atticus and of Cicero himself); they could be (and in this case were) made by proxy (by Philotimus in the first instance and by Tiro in the second); they were entered in the public records; they were periodical, that is to say, annual (the two returns being made just a year apart and under almost precisely similar circumstances). The

[1] Vitruvius, vii. 9. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Fam.* v. 20. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; *Att.* ii. 24. 2. Cf. *Verr.* i. 157; ii. 170; iii. 181.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 236; *Briefwechsel*, p. 297.
[5] Cf. *Att.* xv. 15. 3 (dated June 5, 44).
[6] *Att.* xiii. 3.

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subject-matter of the *professiones* was property. This is revealed in Cicero's statement to Tiro: "haec pecunia ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat," in which *pecunia* is the regular word for property, especially in its relation to the census.[1] What, now, was the purpose of the returns? Being made annually and relating to property, they were evidently required by the government for the sake of the information they contained. In other words, they were census returns to be used as the basis of administration. The significance of this is that similar *professiones* are provided for in Caesar's Municipal Law. If, then, Cicero is referring in the two letters to some legislation of Caesar, it must be to this. Unless we are willing (as some critics seem to be) to substitute mere possibilities for known and admitted facts, no other conclusion is possible. With this connection firmly established, it is possible to proceed to some interesting and valuable conclusions, among them, the hitherto unrecognized fact that Caesar completely reorganized the Roman census.

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HORACE, *SERMONES* ii. 1. 34–39

> Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps,
> nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
> missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
> quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
> sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
> incuteret violenta.

The general sense of this passage is clear enough; the particular purpose Horace had in mind in writing this apparent digression (note the resumptive *sed* in 39) has been admirably stated by Wickham. But editors have long felt difficulty over one detail, *quo ne* (37). It will suffice to cite the unsatisfactory notes of two of the most recent editors of the *Sermones*. In 1909 Professor Morris wrote on *quo ne* only the following words: "for *ut ne* or *ut eo ne;* but this use of *quo* is without a parallel." In 1910 Heinze, in Kiessling, *Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren*[4], printed this note: "*quo ne* singulär für *ut eo ne*, idem *eo* im Sinne *ea re* das voraufgegangene *missus ad hoc* wieder aufnimmt: 'damit auf diese Weise nicht. . . . . '"

For a very much better discussion of the passage we may turn to the note in Arthur Palmer's edition of the *Satires*. Professor Palmer also suggested a perfectly simple explanation of the passage, though he did not, in my judgment, make as good a defense of his suggestion as it is easily possible

[1] Cf. Cic. *Leg.* iii. 3. 7; Livy xxix. 37. 7; *Lex Iulia municipalis* v. 147; Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 222.

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to make. He regarded *quo* as the relative pronoun, with its antecedent in *Venusinus . . . . colonus* (35), and he construed it as ablative of separation with *vacuum*, though he translated rather carelessly by "through a space unguarded by him." I have never been able to see why so simple an explanation has been persistently neglected, and why in its stead competent scholars have preferred to foist upon Horace a combination which they admit to be without a parallel. If one looks at the passage carefully, he sees that in 37, even if he accepts the view of Heinze and Morris, he must supply with *vacuum*, as its *necessary* complement, some word in the ablative suggesting persons and equivalent logically to *defensoribus*. Since this is inevitable, why not find that complement in *quo*, and thus at the same time find an easy explanation of that word, in logic and in syntax both? For all this one finds a perfect parallel in Horace himself:

> si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
> praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
> caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
> adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
> heres, et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
> in vacuum venias. . . . . [*Serm.* ii. 5. 45–50]

How can one interpret at all here unless he supplies *eo=filio* with *vacuum*? If he does that, he has a perfect parallel to *Serm.* ii. l. 37, *quo ne*, as interpreted above.

This parallel Professor Palmer did not cite. He referred only to Ovid *Met.* 7. 653, *vacuos cultoribus agros*. But there are many parallels, in fact, for *vacuus* construed with an ablative word dependent on it which suggests a person or persons. Compare e.g., Caesar, *B.G.* vii. 45. 7: "Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus" (the departure of the enemy had been stated in 5); *Aen.* vi. 269: "perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna"; *Aen.* ii. 528 and vii. 379: *vacua atria; Aen.* ii. 761: *porticibus vacuis;* Juvenal iii. 2–3: "laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae"; Horace *Epp.* i. 7. 45: *vacuum Tibur*, and i. 7. 49–51: "conspexit . . . . adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues" (see Morris's notes *ad loc.*). In all these passages and in others it is the absence of human beings that *vacuus* connotes.

Finally, to make entirely clear the interpretation supported above, I add a rendering of ii. l. 38–39: "sent out, after the expulsion of the Sabines, so story says, for this very purpose, that the foe might not make raids on the Romans across land empty of him." An affirmative rendering would be at once less awkward and clearer: "that he might fill up the land and so keep the foe from making raids across it on the Romans."

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NOTE ON PLATO *REPUBLIC* 368A

The playful address ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς has been the subject of many discussions which are summed up in Adam's article in *Classical Review*, X, 237 and in his note *ad loc.* Following Stallbaum and others he takes "that man" to be Thrasymachus, whose doctrine Glaucon and Adeimantus are restating. So in *Philebus* 36D Protarchus is facetiously saluted ὦ παῖ 'κείνου τἀνδρός because he has inherited or taken over the argument of Philebus, or as Bury suggests because he was a disciple of Gorgias. But whatever the jocose application in the *Philebus*, Badham is right in saying that "the word ἐκεῖνος is often substituted for the proper name in speaking of an absent, or deceased person with respect." The entire context in the *Republic* shows that this honorific suggestion predominates here. Adam's fancy that Ἀρίστωνος in the verses is a pun on ἄριστος, that is, "his excellency" Thrasymachus, is wholly out of keeping with the tone and feeling of the passage that celebrates the prowess of Plato's family in war.

A parallel, not, to my knowledge, hitherto cited in this connection, may explain Plato's predilection for the phrase. In Iamblichus *Vit. Pythag.* 88 we read εἶναι δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ἀνδρός· προσαγορεύουσι γὰρ οὕτω τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ οὐ καλοῦσιν ὀνόματι, and again in 255 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ μηδένα τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὀνομάζειν Πυθαγόραν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα μέν, ὁπότε βούλοιντο δηλῶσαι, καλεῖν αὐτὸν θεῖον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Εὔμαιον ὑπὲρ Ὀδυσσέως μεμνημένον,

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν || αἰδέομαι· περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ ἐκήδετο λίην·

If this represents a genuine Pythagorean tradition Plato's playful adoption of the expression is explained. In ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θαλῆν (Aristophanes *Clouds* 186) the more colloquial term differs by the retention of the proper name. How natural the phrasing is in Greek appears from the tone of Pindar's κεῖνος ἀνὴρ O. 6. 7, where the application is of course different but the honorific substitution for the proper name is analogous. λοιπὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἀγησίου φησίν the painfully explicit scholiast comments.

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GREEK PARALLELS FOR *OPUS EST*

In his discussion of *opus est* and *usus est* with the ablative Bennett in his *Syntax of Early Latin*, Vol. II, "The Cases," pp. 356 ff., properly rejects the theory of Reifferscheid[1] that in this expression *usus* is a genitive. In his treatment of *opus est*, however, Bennett accepts the fantastic hypothesis of Reifferscheid that *opus* is a genitive meaning "of service." As the strongest

[1] *Index Lectionum*, Breslau, Wintersemester, 1877.

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evidence in favor of such a view he cites Cato (*Frg.* p. 79, 7 [Jord.]): "Emas non quod opus est, sed quod necesse est; quod non opus est, asse carum est (cf. Cic. *de Off.* iii. 32, 115, and Livy, xliii. 19. 4). If the theory of the genitive origin of *opus est* be true, is it not strange that in the foregoing quoted sentence Cato balances *opus est*, not by *necessus est* or *necessis est*, forms that are sometimes defended as containing a word of genitive origin, but by *necesse est*, for which a genitive origin is never claimed?

The origin of the construction *usus est* with the ablative offers no real difficulties. The use of the ablative with *usus est* may owe its origin to the use of the ablative with *utor*. The development of a special meaning for *usus est* may have caused the Roman mind at an early date to analyze the ablative with *usus est* (ablatival) as being of a different nature from that used with *utor*, which was clearly instrumental. For instance, in Greek we have χράομαι governing the instrumental dative; but in the expressions οὐ πόνων κεχρήμεθα (Eur. *Med.* 334) and ἵν' οὐ χρεὼ πείσματός ἐστιν (Hom. *Od.* ix. 136, cf. Plato *Legg.* 834*b*) we find a genitive that has an ablative flavor. This distinction should be borne in mind as we pass to the consideration of *opus est*.

That *usus est* may have exerted considerable influence in helping the development of *opus est* is not unlikely, but it can be shown from certain Greek parallels that such a development in the meaning of *opus est* was easily possible unassisted, by itself. In opposing the position of Schoell,[1] who holds that the development of the ablative with *opus est* was due to analogy with *usus est*, Bennett says: "The weak point in Schoell's argument is his failure to explain how *opus est* (*opus* meaning 'work') could have acquired a meaning sufficiently similar to that of *usus est* to give opportunity for any such analogical process. Both Hoffmann and Schoell feel compelled to apologize for their difficulty in finding any adequate rendering for *opus est aliqua re* which shall explain how its force developed." True, Schoell did not cite any such parallel; for he (like Bennett himself, I fear) overlooked the significance of the Greek parallels cited by Hoffmann, *Studien auf dem Gebiet der lat. Syntax* (1884), where (p. 126 n. 3) he cites the Greek parallels Herod. i. 79, εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις (cf. *ibid.* i. 207; iv. 11; vii. 12); also Herod. i. 17, ὡς τε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. Hoffmann may not have chosen the most felicitous examples for proving the case, but his examples are sufficient to show that one's work (*opus*, ἔργον, πρᾶγμα) may be regarded as one's duty, obligation, need, "mussarbeit."[2] This *opus*, ἔργον, etc., may be defined by an infinitive clause, as in Herod. i. 79, cited above; or, a genitive (in Latin the ablative, though probably under Greek influence the genitive occurs in Livy, Propertius, Quintilian, and Apuleius) may be used to specify the instrument or the

[1] *ALL.*, II, 207 ff.

[2] See Walde[2] and Meringer in *IF.*, XVII, 127; XVIII, 208 f.

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quality needed wherewith to carry out the work. The transition between the two meanings may well be seen in the two following examples:

τί δῆτα τόξων ἔργον, εἰ δίκην ἔχεις;

[Eur. *Alc.* 39.]

"What . . . . then, is the work of arrows. . . . . What need is there, then, of arrows. . . . . " In Plato *Resp.* 537*d*: καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἔργον, ὦ ἑταῖρε, "And therein verily there is need of great precaution, my friend." In the latter passage the translation "work" would no longer do justice to the meaning. Other instances of the genitive with ἔργον are Eur. *Hipp.* 911; *Androm.* 551; Soph. *El.* 1373; Her. i. 17 (see above); Arist. *Pax*, 1310; *Plut.* 1158; Plutarch, *Popl.* 13; (with πρᾶγμα) Plutarch, *Pomp.* 65.

ANDREW R. ANDERSON

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BOOK REVIEWS

Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway on His Sixtieth Birthday. Edited by E. C. QUIGGIN. Cambridge: University Press, 1913. Pp. xxv+656. 25*s*.

Like other books of its kind, this large volume of essays bids defiance to the reviewer whose space is limited. The unusual breadth of Professor Ridgeway's interests is strikingly shown, in humorous vein, by Mr. Godley's admirable heroic couplets, which open the volume, and in earnest by the variety of subjects treated by the contributors to the work—colleagues, friends, and pupils of the distinguished scholar. The studies are arranged in three groups, twenty-five papers dealing with the classics and ancient archaeology, seven treating of mediaeval literature and history (including two Irish texts), and fifteen on anthropology and comparative religion. The interest of the Greek scholar will not be confined to the first division, for the second contains Mr. Wace's account of "A Byzantine Inscription from Okridha," and the third, Dr. Rendel Harris' "The Dioscuri in Byzantium and the Neighborhood"; but there is room here only for brief notices—enough, it is hoped, to guide the classical reader—of the papers in the first group.

The first paper, Professor R. S. Conway's penetrating study of the structure of *Aeneid* vi, is a valuable supplement to Norden's commentary. In the second, "A New Clue to the Order of the Platonic Dialogues," Mr. J. I. Beare supposes "that Plato's dialogues contain marks of the steps by which their author gradually withdrew from the fallaciously simple Socratic doctrine (i.e., that ἀρετή = ἐπιστήμη), and made his way nearer and nearer to the conclusions which, taking full account of feeling, are found in the *Republic* and the *Laws*." Upon this theory he arranges the dialogues (pp. 36–39), and in the remainder of the essay explains his reasons for the positions assigned. L. C. Purser follows with "Notes on Cicero ad Atticum xi," in which he discusses some twenty difficult passages. Father Browne's "Aristotle's Theory of Poetic Metre" involves a discussion of the meaning of ἢ τοῖς μέτροις in the vexed passage at the beginning of the *Poetics* (1447 *a* 29). He renders the words "metrical language of course," denying the disjunctive force to ἤ here; but at the end of the paper he suggests three different methods of handling the phrase.

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In his paper "ΔΙΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ and Iovem Lapidem," Mr. E. Harrison questions the usual reading of Polybius iii. 25. 6, and holds that διὰ λίθον or διὰ λίθου or διὰ λίθων was the author's meaning; but in view of certain Latin evidence he does not venture to assert that Jupiter the Stone is "a god begotten by a stone on a preposition" (p. 98). A. S. F. Gow ("Elpis and Pandora in Hesiod's *Works and Days*") discusses the difficult ll. 90–104 and shows reasons for doubting Pandora's original connection with the jar-story. A. W. Gomme ("The Ancient Name of Gla") adds Phlegya and Gyrton to the list of possibilities. Mr. J. T. Sheppard ("The Partheneion of Alkman") offers a new version and suggests an ingenious interpretation of ll. 36–101.

Two companion studies in Greek religion are presented by Miss Harrison and Mr. F. M. Cornford. The first is styled "Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, Col. ix. 1–7, and the δρώμενον of Kyllene and the Satyrs." The author notes a connection between the lines cited and a class of vases representing the Anodos of an earth-goddess attended by leaping satyrs. Kyllene she holds to be a local earth-goddess, the mound shown on the vase (within which the goddess rises) is originally a bee-hive treasury, and the δρώμενον—readers of Miss Harrison will anticipate the conclusion!—is the summoning of a year-god. Fortunately Miss Harrison does not ask us to believe that Sophocles was conscious of these inner meanings. Mr. Cornford ("The ἀπαρχαί and the Eleusinian Mysteries"), following a suggestion of Warde Fowler about the Roman *mundus*, holds that the ἀπαρχαί of grain sent to Eleusis were not merely thank-offerings, but seed corn stored up in underground granaries (σιροί) for use in the next sowing. The mythical descent and return of Kore (the corn-maiden) refer to the depositing of seed grain in the house or treasury of Pluto and its later removal, not to the sowing and sprouting of grain in the earth.

I have abandoned the order of the book to group together here the papers of interest to the archaeologist, which occur for the most part toward the middle of this division. G. F. Hill ("Was It the Mint of Smyrna?") describes sixteen bronze coins and eight blanks of copper found near Smyrna, and infers from the circumstances of the find that the place must have been the mint of Smyrna itself or of some neighboring small town. Mr. R. M. Dawkins describes "A Re-cut Gem from Melos," (p. 167), a prehistoric steatite, originally with some animal design, but later fashioned into a Christian amulet. P. N. Ure presents "An Early Black Figure Vase from Rhitsona in Boeotia" (p. 178). Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard republishes and gives the first satisfactory illustration (p. 186) of "An Attic Lekythos from Sicily," with a quaint and interesting group of gods as fishermen—Poseidon, Hermes, and Heracles. Mr. Flinders Petrie ("Some Royal Signets") describes, among others, a bronze official ring of Ptolemy IV and a gold ring with the cartouche of Antoninus Pius (p. 193). O. L. Richmond, writing on "The Temples of

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Divus Augustus and Apollo Palatinus upon Roman Coins," contends that the temple of the latter, not the former, is shown on a certain bronze coin of Caligula (Cohen 9–11), and proposes a new theory as to the site of the *Templum Novum Divi Augusti* (sketch map, p. 212). Mr. R. C. Bosanquet ("Some Axes and a Spear," p. 269) points out that a certain bronze ax found near Patras has an exact counterpart in one found in Campania, and calls attention to the evidence it furnishes of early intercourse between Greece and Italy. An iron spear-butt (*σαυρωτήρ*) said to be from the same neighborhood, he shows to be similar to certain bronze pieces found at Olympia and previously wrongly called spear-heads.

Returning to the philological papers: D. S. Robertson ("The Authenticity and Date of Lucian *De Saltatione*") upholds the genuineness of the piece and assigns it to 162–65 A.D. Professor Mahaffy ("The Arithmetical Figures Used by Greek Writers during the Classical Period") groups together a few passages in Herodotus (i. 72) and Thucydides (iii. 50, 68; iv. 116), where he holds that errors have arisen from misreading of "literary symbols" for numbers; these, rather than the lapidary figures, he believes to have been used by writers of the classical period. Mr. A. B. Cook ("Nephelokokkygia") suggests that the close of the *Birds*, with its parody on the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera, may have special reference to the Argive version of the story, connected with Mount Kokkygion, where Zeus, in cuckoo form, was united to Hera. W. M. L. Hutchinson ("Two Notes on Nemean iii") interprets the "Asopian Water" of ll. 3–4 as referring to the bay between Salamis and Aegina, and reads *ἄγραν* for *ἀγοράν*, l. 14. W. H. Duke contributes a new edition and a valuable discussion of "The Fragments of Heracleides the Critic" (on the cities of Greece).

Less directly related to the interests of Greek and Latin scholars are "Notes on Iranian Ethnography," by J. H. Moulton, whose recent death is deplored by all students of ancient religion and history: "A Bactrian Winged Lion," by Sir Hercules Read; and "An Early Dynastic Vase in the Fitzwilliam Museum," by F. W. Green.

The American reader will be interested in the late R. Y. Tyrrell's clever version in Eupolideans of a passage in the *Biglow Papers*. It is to be regretted that the volume does not contain a bibliography of Professor Ridgeway's writings—for which we would gladly exchange the account of the dinner in his honor.

The scholarly value of the papers is in general very high; they should be accessible to all classical investigators. The typography (by John Clay, at the University Press) is beyond praise; and the illustrations, a valuable feature of the volume, are all well executed.

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Die griechische Komödie. Von PROF. DR. ALFRED KÖRTE. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 400. Bändchen.) Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Pp. 104.

The New Greek Comedy, Κωμῳδία Νέα. By PH. E. LEGRAND. Translated by JAMES LOEB, A.B., with an introduction by JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, PH.D., LL.D. London: William Heinemann; New York: Putnam, 1917. Pp. xix+547.

In the compass of a hundred pages Körte attempts a "popular" essay, of interest to scholars only so far as it reveals the general notions of a specialist. The book presents orthodox belief in compact form. Within the limits of convention, however, Körte deviates slightly from the scheme of development followed in most contemporary handbooks. His account of Sicilian comedy is not qualified by skepticism regarding the traditional record of Epicharmus' activity; and the emphasis which he puts upon Epicharmus, Crates, and Pherecrates as precursors of Hellenistic comedy marks a reaction from the tendencies of contemporary criticism to the views of earlier historians of comedy. But in thorough consonance with recent criticism he attaches great significance to the influence, at least in respect to form, of tragedy upon later comedy. The series for which the essay is planned provides for a work on Roman comedy; Körte's account, therefore, of New Comedy rests on Menander, largely, without full consideration of the Greek material in the Latin plays; one misses, therefore, a comprehensive statement of the content and form of Hellenistic comedy such as Legrand has furnished.

The merits of the French original have been discussed in these columns. Mr. Loeb's translation, which is happily free from any evidences of being a translation, omits many scholarly footnotes, but seldom cuts the main text; the analysis of act-division in Plautus and Terence is the only considerable omission that I have observed, although the French version has been reduced one-third in the process of translation. Legrand adapted the book to the needs of the new audience, a task which Mr. Loeb in his preface calls "ungracious"! A very valuable addition is the full index, prepared under the supervision of Professor Capps.

Although Legrand's book is unquestionably the best available description of New Comedy, it is at times tedious reading, in its English form, for the general student of literature. It is often unnecessarily profuse in arraying examples of a given phase of comedy; the French author's style of exposition is sometimes clumsily mechanical; and in general a clear succinct statement of the essential features of content and form, described from the standpoint of a modern reader of ancient comedy, would serve much better the needs of the audience to whom Mr. Loeb addresses his translation. Decharme's essay on Euripides is more immediately satisfying. Readers of the Loeb

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translations of classical authors will need stimulating studies of authors and of literary types to accompany their reading of the texts; without intending to be ungrateful for Mr. Loeb's excellent versions of both Decharme and Legrand, we should welcome independent studies of authors and types by English and American scholars; scholarship in this country and in England would profit if it were moved to prepare critical essays in which a sense of perspective and the graces of literary style are indispensable.

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Latin Sentence Connection. By CLARENCE W. MENDELL, PH.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917. Pp. x+214. $1.50 net.

In the preface Dr. Mendell describes his work as "an attempt to discover a more fundamental standpoint for the consideration of sentence relations, and to do away with the somewhat artificial distinction between co-ordinate and subordinate by means of a more thorough understanding of the nature and origin of each." His first step is an analysis of the psychological processes which underlie the formation of sentences and their connection with one another. Sentences, he concludes, are never isolated units; adjacent sentences are always related in thought. The mere fact of juxtaposition shows relation, but the quality of the relation must somehow be conveyed to the mind of the hearer or reader if language is to be an adequate means of expressing thought. This treatise is a study of the means used by Latin writers to define sentence relations. It is based on an examination of Tacitus, Cato, Sallust, and the younger Pliny entire, of 300 pages each of Cicero and Seneca, of three books of Caesar, three of Livy, four of Quintilian, and four lives of Suetonius, besides many examples drawn from casual reading. The wide range of the author's material adds greatly to the value of his conclusions.

Dr. Mendell's analysis discovers three main elements in the expression of thought-relations—repetition, change, and incompleteness. Of these, the first two can be used only in the second of two adjacent sentences, the third in either. Repetition, the simplest and most natural means of expressing sentence relation, is discussed first. It consists in "the repetition in the second sentence of any element of the first, the element repeated being the bond which unites the two and defines their relation." The repetition may be semantic or morphological or, as the author prefers to state it, there may be repetition of content or repetition of function. The former is a simple example of the working of the laws of associative thinking. An idea from one sentence becomes the starting-point of the next. The sentence relation defined by repetition of content is, in general terms, logical subsequence.

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The second sentence may merely add an item to the first; it may be explanatory; or it may express the result of the first. The relation is sometimes defined more precisely by the use of a conjunction. *Et*, *que*, and *atque* appear in sentences of the first type; *nam* and *enim* often mark the explanatory second sentence; *igitur*, *itaque*, *ergo*, and *quare* indicate result. *Autem* and *vero* with resumptive force are also sometimes used in connection with repetition of content. But the conjunctions, Dr. Mendell believes, have been introduced merely to add precision and emphasis to a relation already expressed. They are purely supplementary "until, by familiarity, they acquire the force which enables them to express a relation originally conveyed by more fundamental means." Repetition of content means repetition of an idea; functional repetition means repetition of construction, parallelism of structure. The usage is rhetorical in effect. Indeed, it lies at the basis of the rhetorical figure anaphora. The relation indicated is always that of logical coincidence. The sentences may be either parallel or contrasted. *Et* and *que*, with *aut* for negative sentences, are the only conjunctions used.

The next chapter deals briefly with the element of incompleteness when it appears in the second sentence. This retrospective use is unimportant, but must be understood for the better comprehension of the principle in its important field, the anticipatory. Conjunctions, demonstratives, relatives, comparatives, nouns, and verbs inherently relative in meaning occurring in the second sentence, all force the reader to look back for the complete meaning to the preceding. These are all examples of incompleteness of content. In none of these cases, however, does the element of incompleteness define the sentence relation. It merely calls attention to some other determining factor, usually repetition of content. Functional incompleteness may be illustrated by certain dependent uses of the subjunctive and by the relative tenses of the indicative, the pluperfect and future perfect. Except in the case of the pluperfect, whereby the second sentence is often marked as explanatory of the first, retrospective incompleteness of function does not define relation.

In the following chapter the author discusses the principle of change. Nearly every sentence shows decided change in content from the preceding. For this reason semantic change is effective as a means of defining sentence relation only when it is so abrupt as to suggest contrast and when it is confined to words which are either essentially or temporarily in the same category. The relation defined by semantic change is always the same, that of opposition or contrast. Functional change, change of mood and tense, has a wider range but is less efficient than semantic change. It is not in itself definite enough, as a rule, to express any precise sentence relation.

This completes the discussion of retrospective forms of connection. A detailed examination follows of the principle of incompleteness used as an

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anticipatory connective element in the first sentence or clause. Most of the types noted in the examples of retrospective incompleteness may also be used with anticipatory force. The relation expressed is logical subordination, but in most sentences the precise definition of relation is determined by the meaning of the clause or by a conjunction. Sometimes, however, as in the use of comparatives or such words as *ceterus* and anticipatory imperatives, an adversative or concessive relation is directly suggested. Dr. Mendell finds that this study of anticipatory means of connection throws interesting light on the growth of subordinate clauses. The expression of relation in the first sentence is, he says, consciously rhetorical and a "natural step in the rhetorical development of subordination." The connective element, by marking its own clause as logically antecedent, "draws attention to the following clause as the more important, logically, of the two." "This accounts," in his opinion, "for the development of subordinate clauses to do much of the work which might have been carried by these incomplete clauses, resulting in the tendency to look upon the more fundamental and normal types as an exceptional usage and as substitutes for the types with subordinating conjunctions."

In the short chapter on parenthetic incompleteness the author makes a further contribution to the study of subordination. The discussion deals with verbs, chiefly those of saying, thinking, or asking, injected parenthetically into sentences, which without them are syntactically complete, but to which the injected verbs give a tone of earnestness, apology, or the like. Owing to the logical incompleteness of the inserted verbs, the adjacent clause eventually developed into a syntactically subordinate relation. Subordinating conjunctions and particles were later often added, but were originally purely supplementary, the fundamental connective element being the incompleteness of the inserted verbs.

Those who are interested in the study of sentence connection from the standpoint of scientific syntax will welcome Dr. Mendell's work as both sound and stimulating. His analysis should give an impetus to the further investigation of the origins of Latin conjunctional usage. His methods will prove useful, too, in the study and classification of Greek conjunctions and particles.

As a rule Dr. Mendell's illustrations are very apt. Exception may be taken to his interpretation of the quotation from Caesar's *Bellum Alexandrinum* on p. 43. It may be true, as Dr. Mendell asserts, that "the most prominent characteristic of Rhodes which it possesses in common with Syria and Cilicia is that of being a Roman dependency," but the fact does not seem to me patent enough to warrant his using this as an example of sentence connection by repetition of category. Rather it is the parallelism due to repetition of the ablative that serves as a unifying element here. The instances of repetition of category on pp. 53 f. and 78 f. are much more convincing.

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The book is excellently prepared with few typographical errors. On p. 38, l. 25, *utatuur* occurs for *utatur;* on p. 168, l. 6, *cognosite* for *cognoscite.* There are two annoying errors in cross-reference. In the footnote on p. 103 the reference is quite irrelevant; on p. 195, l. 17, reference is made to p. 148 for further discussion of certain interjected verbs of saying, but no trace of such discussion appears on p. 148 or indeed elsewhere in the book, so far as I can find.

GRACE HADLEY BILLINGS

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

The Geography of Strabo. With an English Translation by HORACE LEONARD JONES, based in part upon the unfinished version of JOHN ROBERT SITLINGTON STERRETT. (The Loeb Classical Library.) London: William Heinemann; New York: Putnam. 8 vols. Vol. I, pp. xliii+531.

Mr. H. L. Jones was asked to complete the translation of Strabo left unfinished at the death of his teacher and colleague Professor Sterrett, who was originally chosen as translator by the editors. The introduction and the exhaustive bibliography are mainly the work of Professor Sterrett. In these the chief point of interest for the student of Strabo is the discussion of two controversial questions—the purpose of Strabo's travels and the place and date of the writing of the *Geography.* Professor Sterrett follows Pais in the contention that Strabo did not travel on his own account, but in the interest of persons of exalted rank, not Romans, as Niese believes, but probably Pythodoris, queen of Pontus. On the question of the date and place of the composition of the *Geography* the author again supports Pais against Niese in the thesis that Strabo wrote at Amasia—far from Rome—some time about 7 B.C., but revised his work about 18 A.D.

In the first two books contained in Volume I Mr. Jones, to preserve the unity of the work as a whole, has substituted a more literal version for the free rendering made by Professor Sterrett, although acknowledging his indebtedness to that eminent scholar for much of the diction and other elements of style. The remaining books will be the independent work of Mr. Jones. The translation is in clear, readable English—not over-technical —though sufficiently close to the original. The reader will feel particularly indebted to the translator for the intelligible renderings of the sometimes unfamiliar and obscure vocabulary of Strabo, the lucidity of the involved mathematical passages, and the much-needed explanatory footnotes and geometrical drawings. However, not to renounce entirely the privileges of a reviewer, I must mention a few passages in which Mr. Jones's translation is open to criticism.

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i. 1. 16: διαφερόντως δ' ἐπάγεσθαι δοκεῖ μοι πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος διότι τῆς γεωγραφίας τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς πολιτικάς. "And that other argument is adduced with especial force in reference to the present day conditions, namely," etc. The parallel use of πρὸς τὰ νῦν in i. 2. 25, where it is translated by the author "to my present purpose," and the connotation of λόγος make the usual rendering "to my present argument" undoubtedly preferable here.

i. 1. 18: τοῦ ἕκαστον σῶμα ἐπὶ τὸ αὑτοῦ ἄρτημα νεύειν. The tempting translation "And that each body inclines towards its own centre of gravity" might mislead the casual reader to attribute to Strabo the modern scientific knowledge implied by "centre of gravity." Strabo has borrowed for geographical purposes the word ἄρτημα, which elsewhere is used only in a mechanical sense—as in Herod 2. 69 (of earrings); Aristot. *Mech.* 18 (of a weight attached to a pulley); Plut. *Cat. Min.* 38; Plut. *Moral.* 591 D, 1129 E (of an attachment). Strabo wishes to say that each body tends toward that to which it is attached—the general mass to which it belongs.

i. 2. 3: λέγω δὲ τὸ πολλῶν ὑπάρξαι τόπων ἔμπειρον ἢ στρατηγίας ἢ γεωργίας ἢ ῥητορικῆς ἅπερ ἡ ἀκροάσις, ὡς εἰκός, περιποιεῖ. "I again refer to the poet's being an expert in geography or generalship or agriculture or rhetoric in which subjects one's hearing of poetry naturally invests the poet with special knowledge." The author's failure to see that τὸ ἔμπειρον refers to the hearer, not to the poet, has led him into a mistranslation of περιποιεῖ—which bears the usual force of "procures"—of course for the hearer—the knowledge previously mentioned.

i. 2. 5: τίς ἂν οὖν ὑπολάβοι τὸν δυνάμενον ποιητὴν εἰσάγειν ῥητορεύοντας ἑτέρους καὶ στρατηγοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιδεικνυμένους τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα, αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν φλυάρων ἕνα. The insertion of καὶ στρατηγοῦντας between ῥητορεύοντας and τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα indicates that Strabo used τῆς ἀρετῆς here in the larger sense of "excellence" not "the art of rhetoric."

i. 2. 6: ἡ λόγος μὲν ῥητορικὸς δὲ λόγος οὐκ ἔστι γενικὸς καὶ φράσις καὶ ἀρετὴ λόγου; Mr. Jones translates, "Or, rather, is discourse, in its broadest sense, generic, while rhetorical discourse is not generic, and style is simply an excellence of discourse?" καὶ is plainly copulative in both cases and introduces other terms for ῥητορικὸς λόγος—which are all alike not generic.

The context in i. 2. 8, βλέψαντες εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν πάθος τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου, which the author renders, "since they had an insight into the emotional nature of the reasoning animal," does not point to anything but the usual colorless significance of πάθος as "tendency" or "affection," the phrase meaning simply "the natural tendency of the reasoning animal."

A few other inaccuracies in translation occur, such as "further north" instead of "south" for κατωτέρω in i. 3. 22 (cf. Herod. i. 72 and i. 142, etc.), and "students" for the accepted rendering "readers" in translating τοῖς προσιοῦσιν and τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ii. 5. 1. Iberia in ii. 4. 5 for τῆς τε Λιβύης is evidently a misprint.

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A welcome addition to the forthcoming volumes will be the fuller index of proper names which, it is hoped, will be accompanied by more detailed maps of the sections of the ancient world described by Strabo.

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Pseudogaleni in Hippocratis de Septuuanis Commentarium ab Hunaino, q.f., Arabice Versum. Ex codice Monacensi primum edidit et Germanice vertit GOTTHELF BERGSTRAESSER. (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, XI, 2, 1.) Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Pp. xxiv+203.

We have at last here presented in a scholarly edition a work about which much has been said since Hardy many years ago published extracts from it. Since the controversy was started by Dr. W. H. Roscher regarding the date of the earlier parts of Hippocrates, *περὶ ἑβδομάδων*, scholars may have hoped to derive some light on that treatise from this commentary. This hope, it appears, was doomed to disappointment; for neither is it due to the pen of Galen, as a study of Hardy's extracts long ago convinced me, nor does its unknown author contribute anything of importance, either to Hippocrates or to the solution of the problems raised by Roscher. The value of the treatise, if it prove to possess any, will presumably be found to lie in the light it may some day shed on the later history of Greek medicine and on the devious ways of commentators.

Regarding the accuracy of the German rendering of the Arabic, my limited knowledge of the latter language does not permit me to speak. I had hoped to have the judgment of my friend, Professor Vanderbogart, of the Berkeley Divinity School, on this head; but the illness and untimely death of that scholarly Arabist prevented his taking more than a mere dip into Bergstraesser's work, and delayed this review. I can therefore give nothing more regarding this part of the editor's labors than the impression of the layman, that it is as carefully done as the remainder, which is in accord with the high standard set by the "Corpus Medicorum Graecorum." In this Corpus, which happier times may, I trust, bring to completion, the treatise had of course to be included, and we are grateful that the work of the editor, undertaken at the instance of Dr. Roscher and intended for separate publication, has been claimed and won by the general editors of the larger undertaking.

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Das Leben und die Lehre Epikurs. Diogenes Laertius Buch X. Uebersetzt und mit kritischen Bemerkungen versehen von ARTHUR KOCHALSKY. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Pp. viii+78.

The translation occupies 59 pages; the critical notes, the remainder of the book. The editor and translator, Dr. Kochalsky, was already known by his Marburg dissertation, *De Sexti Empirici adversus logicos libris quaestiones criticae*, 1911, and by his contributions to Mutschmann's edition of Sextus Empiricus. But he is young, and it is well to bear this in mind in passing judgment on the present work.

His book on Epicurus has been highly praised; but it hardly deserves the encomiums pronounced upon it. It will be found to be serviceable if used with extreme caution; for, while it contains much that is good, it is the work of a novice where much learning and a schooled judgment are required. I know of no writer who makes greater demands upon the knowledge of the scholar than Epicurus. It is therefore a pity that, if such work as Kochalsky undertook was to be done, it should not have been reserved for more experienced hands. On almost every page of the critical notes the editor betrays his immaturity and his want of acquaintance with the work of competent scholars on the writings of Epicurus. He says that Epicurus had not been translated before. A glance even at Ruge would have taught him otherwise. It is a real misfortune that he did not know of Hamelin's *Epicure*, published in the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, XVIII (1910), 397–440, where most of what he translates will be found better rendered. But this may not be wholly Kochalsky's fault, because Hamelin's paper was separately issued and for some reason not mentioned in the table of contents. Hence it has escaped the notice of bibliographers, and a friend, whom I directed to the article, failed to find it in a great university library, though the said volume was there, and the paging allowed for it!

An interesting example of Kochalsky's ignorance of previous literature on Epicurus occurs in connection with § 38 (pp. 13 and 63). In a "Note on Merbach's de Epicuri Canonica" in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for August 19, 1911, col. 1046, I called attention to the ludicrous and discreditable comedy of errors and ignorance of philological literature on the part of German scholars which centers around this passage. That comedy has apparently not yet reached the last act; for after the publication of the note appeared Arndt's thesis, and with a copy from the author there came to me a courteous note in effect begging for mercy, because he had been guilty of the same oversight that I had noted. But even this did not conclude the chapter; for now Kochalsky bases his note on Arndt; and gravely proposes, as his own emendation, *κατὰ πάντα*, which (so far as is known) originated with me in my "Epicurea," *A.J.P.*, XXIII (1902), 187, and was

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also subsequently proposed by Dr. Brieger, in similar ignorance of my paper. Surely the critical study of a text implies some knowledge of the critical studies already published about it, does it not?

Regarding the translation and the notes in detail I will not now write. To do so would require much space and would give to Dr. Kochalsky's book an undeserved prominence. The large number of notes I have written on the margin will more fitly appear at a later time in an independent study of Epicurus, *si dis placet.*

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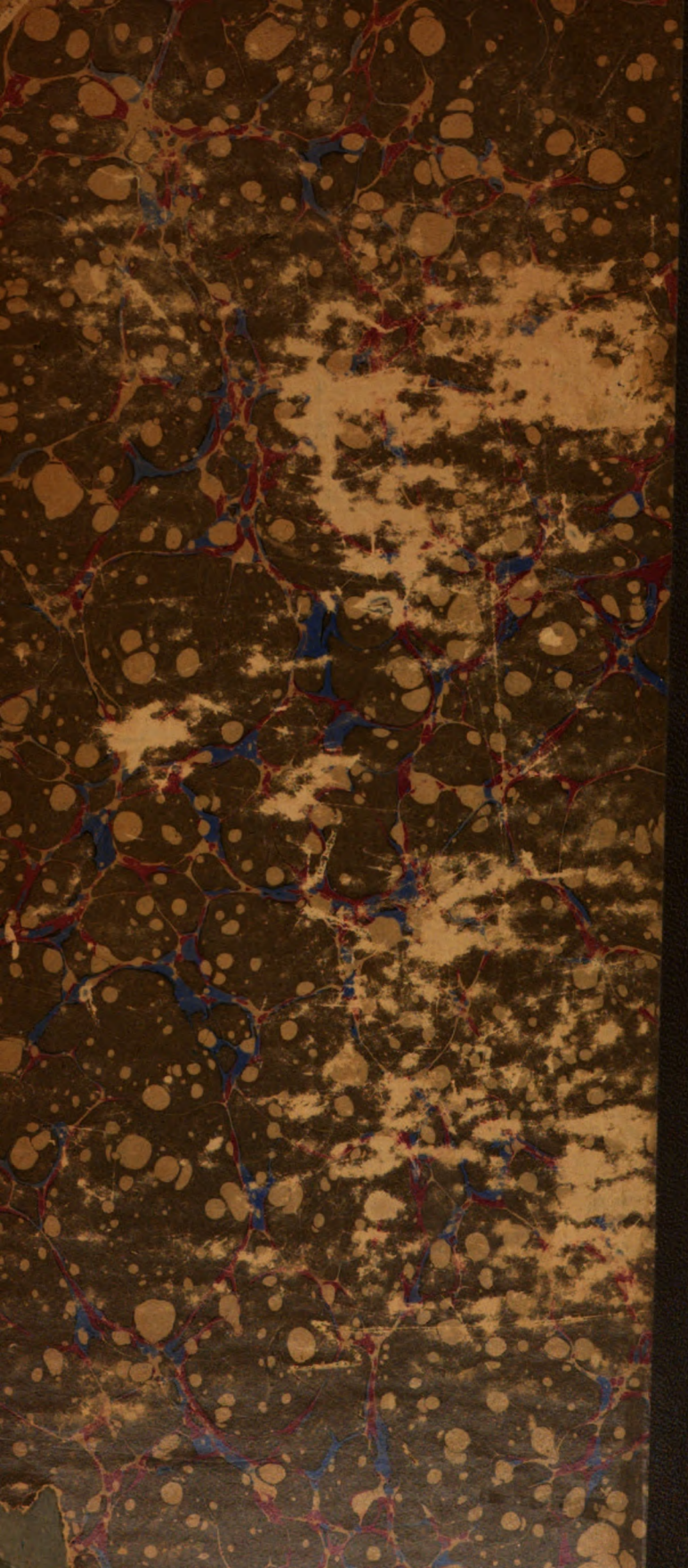
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